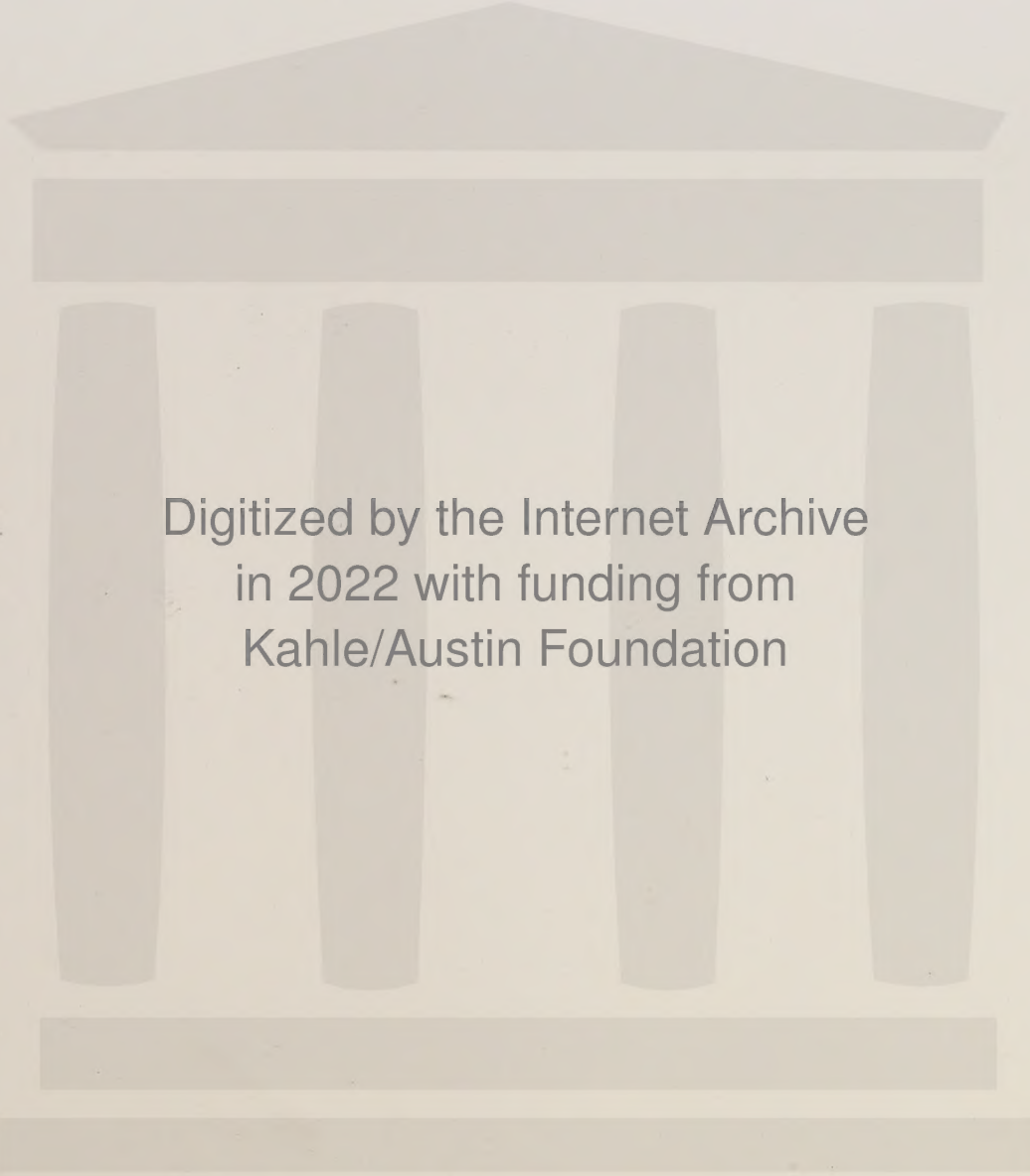


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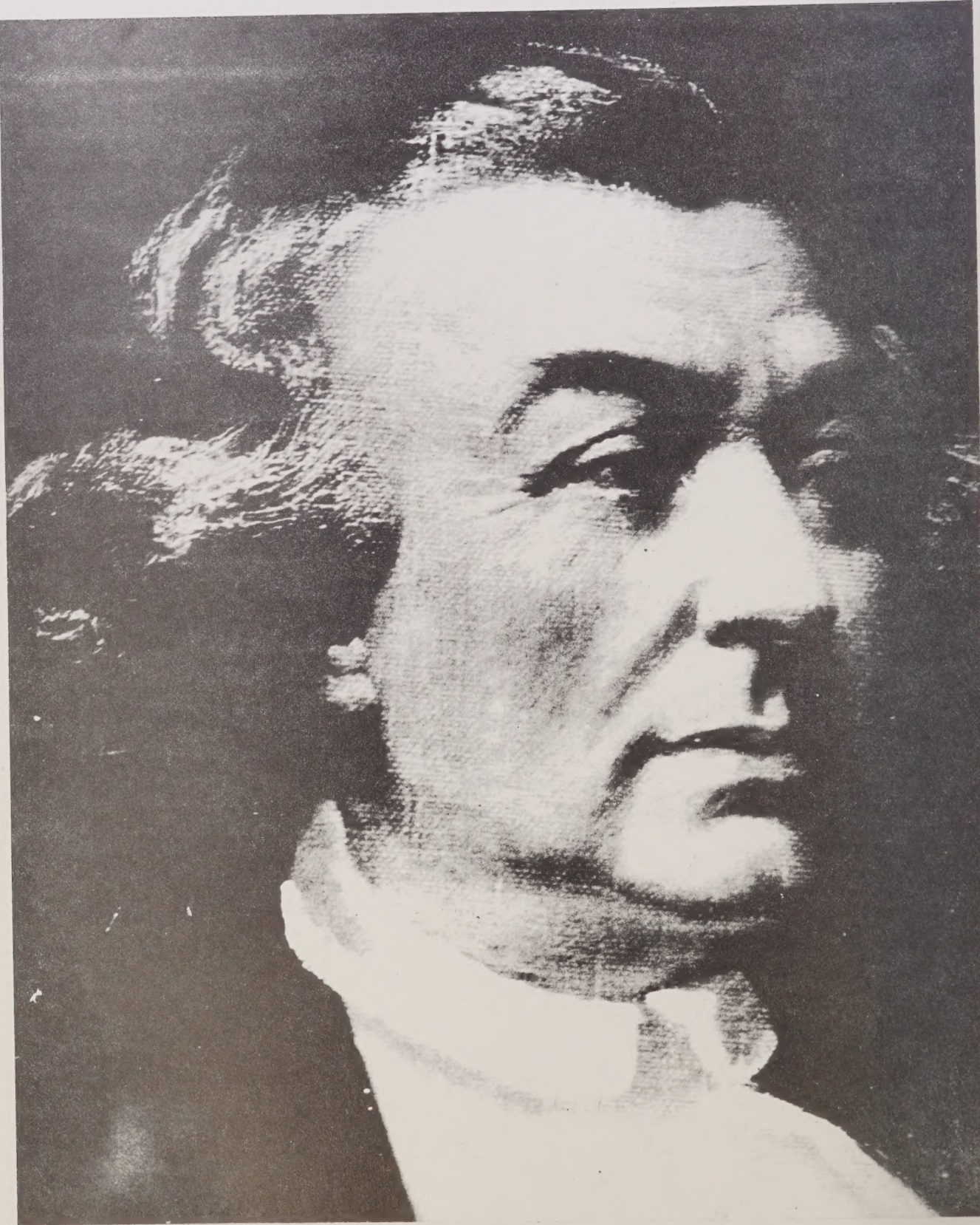


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RIGHT REVEREND SAMUEL SEABURY, D.D., LL.D.
First Bishop of the American Church.
Consecrated Bishop of Connecticut, Aberdeen, Scotland, Nov. 27, 1784.

THE ANGLICAN EPISCOPATE IN CONNECTICUT (1784 — 1899)

A SHEAF OF BIOGRAPHICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL
STUDIES FOR CHURCHMEN AND HISTORIANS
WITH EARLY
ECCLESIASTICAL DOCUMENTS

EDITED BY

KENNETH WALTER CAMERON



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WITH
GRATITUDE
TO

E. CLOWES CHORLEY

WALTER HERBERT STOWE

and

THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

EDITH BEACH

MARY BEACH

and

THE CHURCH MISSIONS PUBLISHING COMPANY

Each "builded better than he knew." —Emerson.



PREFACE

Although the Catholic Tradition established in New England by Samuel Seabury has since been maintained in Connecticut by a line of able and dedicated bishops, it has been continuously assisted and recorded by distinguished scholar-priests, who have faithfully guarded the records and utilized whatever means might be at their disposal for publishing their studies. The earliest historical writing in this Diocese appeared in The Churchman's Magazine (New Haven, 1804-1827), in the Episcopal Watchman (Hartford, 1827-1833), and later in The Evergreen. The first consolidation was, in its day, the monumental History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut by the first Diocesan Historiographer, Eben Edwards Beardsley. His successor, Samuel Hart, served the cause chiefly by gathering scattered manuscripts and occasionally composing, for The Churchman and other periodicals, accurate biographical sketches of distinguished contemporaries. Then William Agur Beardsley, nephew to the first, became the Historiographer, contributing a number of significant biographical and institutional studies to the Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, which, founded during the Depression years, nobly struggled to serve the Church with meager financial support and a small subscription list. Arthur Adams, Librarian of Trinity College, continued the work of his predecessors, chiefly by protecting the slowly accumulating Diocesan Archives. The work of all these men survives in the present volume.

The most colorful agency for the gathering and dissemination of Connecticut Church history developed in the late 1890's under the aegis of Miss Elizabeth Beach, of West Hartford. With the help of her sister, Miss Mary Beach, she ultimately established the Church Missions Publishing Company (C.M.P.C.), which sought on a small scale to duplicate the work in England of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.), publishing and circulating pamphlets, tracts, and small books. The C.M.P.C. continues active to this day, under the presidency of the Rt. Rev. Walter H. Gray, D.D., bishop emeritus of Connecticut, encouraging the study of Diocesan and Pan-Anglican traditions and generously underwriting studies like the present one. The wide range of resources employed herein, fully indicated in the terminal bibliography, will add further details to this brief sketch. Thanks are due the Rev. Dr. Lawrence L. Brown, current editor of the Historical Magazine, for graciously permitting me to reprint studies that might be under copyright and thus to consolidate the writing of Connecticut's official historiographers over nearly half a century.

The compiler hopes that the present volume will stimulate the writing of biographies of Connecticut's twentieth-century bishops and the outlining of more recently established Diocesan institutions.

Kenneth Walter Cameron
Archivist and Historiographer

Easter, 1970.



CONTENTS

PREFACE	2
THE SEABURY FAMILY Arthur Adams	5
SAMUEL SEABURY, PRESBYTER Charles Mampoteng	10
THE ELECTION AND CONSECRATION E. Clowes Chorley	17
THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE APOSTOLICAL COMMISSION John Skinner	40
THE EPISCOPATE OF BISHOP SEABURY William Agur Beardsley	48
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF BISHOP SEABURY Anonymous	56
<hr/>	
ABRAHAM JARVIS (1739-1813): SECOND BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT (1797-1813)	
William Agur Beardsley	60
MEMOIR OF BISHOP JARVIS Samuel Farmar Jarvis	67
HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES OF BISHOP JARVIS Samuel Fermor Jarvis	83
THE LIFE AND TIMES OF THE SECOND BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT Joseph Hooper	89
EPISCOPAL ACADEMY OF CONNECTICUT, 1794-1917 William Agur Beardsley	108
<hr/>	
THOMAS CHURCH BROWNELL—THIRD BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT William Agur Beardsley	119
BISHOP THOMAS C. BROWNELL'S JOURNAL OF HIS MISSIONARY TOURS, 1829 AND 1834	130
THE FOUNDING OF TRINITY COLLEGE [WASHINGTON COLLEGE, 1823-1845]	
Arthur Adams	140
BISHOP BROWNELL'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY	146
<hr/>	
JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT, 1865-1899 William Agur Beardsley	152
MEMORIES, HERE AND THERE, OF BISHOP JOHN WILLIAMS William Ford Nichols	172
CONNECTICUT HOME-CIRCLE DAYS WITH BISHOP WILLIAMS William Ford Nichols	185
BERKELEY DIVINITY SCHOOL Joseph Gayle Hurd Barry	190
SOME REMINISCENCES OF BISHOP WILLIAMS, FOURTH BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT	
Charles E. Jackson	197
JOHN WILLIAMS, PRESIDING BISHOP Anonymous	214
THE PRESIDING BISHOP William Croswell Doane	215
BISHOP WILLIAMS: HIS DIRECTNESS AND SIMPLICITY Henry Codman Potter	215
JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT Robert Clarkson Tongue	216
BISHOP WILLIAMS AS A SCHOLAR Samuel Hart	216
BISHOP WILLIAMS AND THE BERKELEY DIVINITY SCHOOL Anonymous	216

SKETCH OF BISHOP WILLIAMS'S LIFE	Samuel Hart	217
<hr/>		
A REGISTRY OF ORDINATIONS BY BISHOP SEABURY AND BISHOP JARVIS		224
LISTS OF ORDINATIONS AND OF CLERGYMEN DECEASED IN THE DIOCESE OF CONNECTICUT TO JULY 1, 1886		238
THE PRESENT ARCHIVIST'S NOTE TO READERS OF THIS VOLUME		249
<hr/>		
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE ARTICLES INCLUDED IN THIS VOLUME		250
COLOPHON		252



The Most Reverend and Right Hon-
orable Arthur Michael Ramsey, Arch-
bishop of Canterbury—"He looked
as if he had been born eighty years
old, just to adorn a Gothic façade."

THE SEABURY FAMILY

By Arthur Adams

THE history of the Seabury family in America begins with this record, found in Boston Town Records (Second Report of the Record Commission of the City of Boston. First Part, page 43): "Also this day (the 25th day of the 9th month, November, 1639), John Seaberry, a Seaman hath with leave bought our brother Walter Merrye's house, and half an Acre under it in the Mylne feild, and so is allowed for an Inhabitant." In the Boston "Book of Possessions (Ibid, Part 2, page 6), this property is thus described: "One house and garden, about half an acre, bounded with Isaac Grosse northwest: Walter Merry southeast and southwest: and the sea or bay northeast." The site of this first house and garden may today be readily located in Boston.

It was sold by one John Milom, apparently by a power of attorney, to Alexander Adams in 1645, and records resulting from this transaction give us useful information in regard to the children of our first John Seabury.

On Page 525 of Suffolk Deeds, Liber III, we find this: Memorandum that Samuel Seabery, sonne of ye late John Seabery of Boston (now living at Duxbury in Plimouth Pattent this 16 of April 1662 Came to me underwritt & desired me to enter his Claime to a Certaine house & parcell of land heretofore belonging to his father John Seabery now belonging to his Brother Jno. Seabery of Barbadoes & himself ye said house and land being in possession of one Nathaniell fryer & Jno sweete for him who deteines it from them under a pretenc of a purchase from Alexander Adams & he from Jno Milom the land being about halfe an acre more or lesse & bounded wth land formerly Isaac Grosse northwest walter merry on the South East & south west & the bay north east wth Claime of his ye said Samuel Seaberry in behalf of his brother & self he resolves in Due Course of lawe to prosecute for ye obtaining thereof. this Donne the day above said, in presenc of Robert marshall & Samuel Sendall.—Edw Rawson Record.

On page 257 of Vol. VII of Suffolk Deeds, we find the following: "Know all Men by these p'sents that I Samuel Seaberry one of the

Sons of the Late John Seaberry Late of Boston & by Agreement wth my Brothers & Sisters the right heir of the Said John Seaberry as to the ten pounds remayning part of the Estate of the Late Jno. Seaberry as to what was Left in New England for the Sale of the Said John Seaberrys howse in the hands of John Milam & afterwards Secured by Alexander Addams: by Order of the Generall Court October 1651 to be paid to the right heir of the Said John Seaberry on all demands as in ye Sd Order reference thereto being had more amply appears doe acknowLedge to have received of John Sweet of Boston by Order & on accompt of Nathaniell Fryer yt bought the Said house of Said Alexander Addams the Said some of tenn pounds in ready Money and doe therefore heereby absolutely acquit remise release & for Ever discharge the Said Nathaniell Fryer & Alexander Addams their or either of their heirs or Assignes of & concerning all claims titles & demands to the Said ten pounds by or from mee my heirs or Assignes or any other of the heirs of the Late John Seaberry my Late Father whatsoever as Witnes my hand & Seale this 17th Day of November 1664. Samuel Seabury & a seale.

Signed Sealed & delivered

in presence of Us

Thomas Thacher Senior

James Willet"

We gather from these records that John Seabury, a seaman, settled with his family in Boston in 1639; that he had at least two sons, John and Samuel, and daughters, their number and their names unknown; that he had died before 1651; and that in 1662 the son John was living in the Barbadoes and the son Samuel in Duxbury.

From the record of Boston Births, Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths, 1630-1699, published by the Boston Record Commission in 1883, we learn that Samuel, son of John and Grace Seaberry, was born 10th of the 10th month 1640, and that Samuel, their son, aged about one year and six months, was baptised the 22 day of 3 mo. 1642. "Grace Seaberry, ye wife of one John Seaberry, a planter," had been admitted to the church "the 15 day of ye 3rd month, 1642."

Nor do we know whether the son John and the daughters were older or younger than Samuel. Judging from the prevailing custom of naming the oldest son for the father, it seems not improbable that John was the elder son.

About 1645, John Seabury removed to the Barbadoes with his family, where he died about 1649. His widow, Grace, married March 2, 1650, Anthony Lane of St. Michaels Parish, Barbadoes. By this marriage she had a son, Ralph, and three daughters. Ralph

Colony, and doubtless this marriage was advantageous to the young Samuel Seabury. July 7, 1674, the Colony gave him a grant of land as son-in-law of William Kemp. He died August 5, 1681.

The will of Samuel Seabury, of Duxbury, is dated September 21, 1680, and was proved October 8, 1681. He mentions his eldest daughter Elizabeth, his second daughter Sarah, to whom he leaves a bequest "if she return into New England," his son Samuel, his daughter Hannah, his second son John, his son Joseph, his daughter Martha, and his wife Martha. He gives to Samuel his house and housing in Duxbury, to his son John land at the North River at a place called the "brick kills," to his son Joseph land which he had of his father William Peabody. He makes his trusty and well-beloved friends William Paybody and Ralph Thatcher of Duxbury overseers and his wife executor of his will.

In a codicil, he speaks of his former wife's gift of a negro to his daughter Elizabeth and confirms the gift. He provides that if a child is born after his death, his son Samuel shall give him a cow at full age. The inventory of the estate is dated October 27, 1681.

Mr. Rodolphus Thatcher was appointed Guardian of Hannah and John, children of Samuel Seabury, deceased, July 7, 1682.

From the will, we learn that Samuel Seabury had the following children. The dates of birth are from the Duxbury Vital Records.

I. Elizabeth, born September 16, 1661.

II. Sarah, born August 18, 1663.

III. Samuel, born April 20, 1666, married Mrs. Abigail Allen, Dec. 13, 1688.

IV. Hannah, born July 7, 1668.

V. John, born November 7, 1670, died March 18, 1671/2.

VI. Grace } twins, March 1, 1672/3 { died March 16, 1672/3.

VII. Patience } died March 7, 1672/3.

VIII. John, married Elizabeth Alden Dec. 9, 1697.

IX. Joseph, born June 8, 1678.

X. Martha, born September 23, 1679.

We shall speak only of John, spoken of in the will of his father as his second son.

March 26, 1695, he sold land on the North River in Duxbury, originally granted to William Kemp, to John Magoon, Jr., for £136.

October 22, 1695, Samuel Seabury of Duxbury and his wife Abigail sold to his brother, John Seabury, seventy acres of land at the "brick kills."

December 9, 1697, he married Elizabeth, daughter of David

Lane married in 1674 Rebecca Bushnell. They lived in the Barbadoes. When we get our next glimpse of the family in 1662, Samuel is of age and intent on securing for himself and for his brother and sisters the unpaid balance of £10 coming to them for the Boston house and lot owned by their parents. John is in the Barbadoes, and appears in the record only once again. He lived and died in Barbadoes.

In a "scrap book" of original papers in the Plymouth County Registry of Deeds in Plymouth is found an original paper signed by Samuel Seabury, of Duxbury, requesting that he be appointed as administrator of the estate of his brother John Seabury. This document is dated December 19, 1678. In two places the words "with-in this colony" have been written in, as additions, though in the same hand, indicating, it seems, that John Seabury did not live in the Plymouth Colony, and had an estate elsewhere to be administered by another person. John Seabury, son of John Seabury, the progenitor, does not elsewhere appear in Massachusetts records.

On the other hand, the son Samuel became one of the prominent citizens of Duxbury.

He was a member of trial juries in 1661, 1662, 1664, and 1674; of a grand jury in 1668; of coroners' juries in 1662, 1664, and 1673; Constable in 1665; Selectman in 1670, 1671, 1673, 1674, 1675, 1677, 1680, and 1681; and a Deputy to the General Court in 1676. He was made a Freeman of the Colony in 1670.

He was twice married, first, to Patience, daughter of William Kemp, at Weymouth, December 9 or 16, 1660. She died October 29, 1676. He married, secondly, April 4, 1677, Martha, daughter of William and Elizabeth (Alden) Peabody. William Peabody was a son of John Peabody, who appeared in Duxbury in 1638, with a wife Isabel. His will was proved June 27, 1666. Elizabeth Alden was the eldest child of John Alden and Priscilla Mullins, and was born about 1673. Martha Peabody was born in Duxbury February 24, 1650. She married, secondly, April 4, 1677, as his second wife, Lieutenant William Fobes. She died in Little Compton, Rhode Island, January 25, 1712, and he died there November 6, 1712.

William Kemp came over on the James in June, 1635. He married Elizabeth, a daughter of the Rev. Ralph Partridge, who came over in 1636. William Kemp died before September 23, 1641, the date of the inventory of his estate. His widow, Elizabeth, was appointed administrator, November 2, 1641. She married, secondly, May 11, 1643, the Rev. Thomas Thatcher. (See Vol. 35, page 101ff. of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Record for an account of the Kemp-Partridge-Seabury relationships.) The Partridges and the Thatchers were among the "best families" in the

About 1727, he married Abigail, born September 3, 1710, daughter of Thomas Mumford, of North Groton. Thomas Mumford was born April 1, 1687, and married June 3, 1705, Hannah Remington, born in 1687, and died March 6, 1781. She was a daughter of John Remington and Abigail Richmond, and a grand-daughter of John Remington of Jamestown, Rhode Island. She was born September 3, 1710.

Thomas Mumford was an Episcopalian, active in the Narragansett Church, and one of the first Wardens of St. James Church, New London, Connecticut. Dr. James MacSparran, Rector of the Narragansett Church, had married Hannah Gardiner, a daughter of William Gardiner and Abigail Remington, and so was a nephew by marriage of Thomas Mumford. The Mumfords and the Gardiners were wealthy and influential families, and were all active in the Church of England. His associations with the members of his wife's family circle are quite sufficient to account for his becoming interested in the claims of the Episcopal Church. So we need not be surprised to find him abandoning the Congregational Church and setting out to obtain Episcopal ordination in England.

He was ordained in London by the Rt. Rev. Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London in 1730, and returning to America, was made Missionary at New London. He was the first Rector of St. James Church, New London, of which his father-in-law, Thomas Mumford, was the first Warden. In 1742, he was transferred to St. George's Church, Hempstead, Long Island, which he served till his death June 15, 1764. He had a school, and also practiced medicine (from 1753 to 1759), as did his son the Bishop for some years (1750-1753).

His first wife Abigail Mumford died in 1731. He married, secondly, May 27, 1733, the Rev. James MacSparran officiating, Elizabeth, daughter of Adam Powell, of Newport, whose wife, married May 30, 1713, was Esther, daughter of Gabriel Bemon, a founder of Trinity Church, Newport. She died February 6, 1799.

The children of the Rev. Samuel Seabury, mentioned in his will, were:

(By the first wife):

- I. Caleb, born February 27, 1728.
- II. Samuel, born November 30, 1729.

(By the second wife):

- III. Adam.
- IV. Elizabeth.
- V. Abigail.
- VI. Nathaniel.
- VII. David.

Alden, of Middleborough, and grand-daughter of John and Priscilla. The wife of David Alden was Mary Southworth, daughter of Constant Southworth and of Elizabeth, daughter of William Collier, whom he married November 2, 1637. Constant Southworth was for many years a member of the General Court, an assistant, a Commissioner of the United Colonies of New England, Ensign, Lieutenant, and Commissary General during King Philip's War. He died March 11, 1679. Elizabeth (Alden) Seabury died in Stonington January 4, 1771, aged ninety-four years, and John Seabury died in Hempstead, Long Island, December 17, 1759.

Soon after his marriage John Seabury moved to Stonington, Connecticut, where his son, David, was born January 16, 1699. About 1704 he exchanged his farm in Stonington for one in Groton, where he lived the rest of his life. December 14, 1725, he sold land in Middleborough to Ebenezer Hathaway that had belonged to David Alden, of Duxbury, his wife Elizabeth joining in the sale. By trade he was a cooper. He and his wife were members of the Congregational Church in Groton, of which he was one of the Deacons. In 1718 he represented Groton in the Connecticut General Court.

John and Elizabeth (Alden) Seabury had the following children:

- I. David, born January 16, 1698/9.
- II. John, born, Nov. 25, 1700, died November 25, 1700.
- III. Patience, born May 5, 1702, m. Joseph Latham, November 28, 1722.
- IV. John, born May 22, 1704, m. Esther, dau. of James Rogers.
- V. Samuel, born July 8, 1706.
- VI. Mary, born November 11, 1708, m. Jonathan Starr, Jr., October 10, 1728.
- VII. Sarah, born March 16, 1710/11.
- VIII. Nathaniel, born July 31, 1720.

We can here concern ourselves only with the son Samuel, father of Bishop Seabury. He was born in Groton, July 8, 1706. It has been said that he was a student at Yale at the time when Rector Cutler, the Rev. Samuel Johnson, and others of the faculty became Episcopalian, but there is nothing in the records of either Yale or Harvard to support this tradition, though there is nothing intrinsically improbable in it. We do know, however, that he was graduated from Harvard in 1724.

He became in 1726 a licensed preacher in the "Second Ecclesiastical Society" in Groton, it being in the part of the town called North Groton. It does not appear, however, that he was ordained to the Congregational Ministry.

Rosewell Saltonstall, of New London. Rosewell Saltonstall was born August 29, 1741, and married March 4, 1766, Elizabeth Stewart, daughter of Matthew Stewart, of New London. He died January 12, 1804, and she in 1817. He is buried in Trinity Churchyard, New York.

Rosewell Saltonstall was a son of Gurdon Saltonstall by his second wife Elizabeth Rosewell. He was born December 22, 1708, in New London. He was graduated from Yale in the class of 1725. He was appointed a Colonel of the Connecticut militia in 1739, and served in the siege of Louisburg and in the Crown Point expedition. He was a Deputy from New London to the Connecticut General Court at eleven sessions between 1744 and 1748 and at six sessions between 1754 and 1757; in the intervening years he was an Assistant. From 1751 to his death, he was Judge of Probate for the New London District. In September, 1776, he was appointed Brigadier of the State Militia, and rendered valuable service. He died in Norwich September 19, 1785. He married March 15, 1732/33, Rebecca, daughter of John Winthrop of New London, and grand-daughter of Waitstill Winthrop. Rebecca Winthrop was baptised January 11, 1712/13, and died October 30, 1776. John Winthrop, father of Rebecca, married Ann, daughter of Governor Joseph Dudley and grand-daughter of Governor Thomas Dudley. Waitstill Winthrop was a son of John Winthrop, the younger, Governor of Connecticut, and a grandson of Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts.

Gurdon Saltonstall, father of Gurdon and grandfather of Rosewell, was born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, March 27, 1666, and died in New London, Connecticut, September 20, 1724. He was graduated from Harvard in the class of 1684. He was Minister of the Congregational Church in New London, and was elected Governor in 1708, serving till his death. He married as his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of William Rosewell, of Branford, whose wife was Catherine, daughter of Richard Russell, of Charlestown, Massachusetts. She died at New London, September 12, 1710.

Governor Gurdon Saltonstall was a son of Nathaniel Saltonstall of Haverhill, Massachusetts, a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1659. He was a member of the Governor's Council in Massachusetts from 1679 to 1686. Nathaniel Saltonstall was a son of Richard, matriculated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, and came over with his father, Sir Richard Saltonstall, in 1630.

To return to the Seaburys—Charles Seabury was ordained Deacon by his father June 5, 1793, and Priest July 17, 1796, by Bishop Samuel Provoost, of New York.

After serving for a short time at Jamaica, Long Island, on the

Samuel Seabury, future Bishop of Connecticut and Rhode Island, was born in Groton, Connecticut, November 30, 1729. He was baptised December 14, 1729, by the Rev. John Owen, Pastor of the Congregational Church in Groton. He was prepared for college by his father, and was graduated from Yale in 1748, at the age of nineteen. He planned to enter the ministry of the Church of England; but being too young for ordination, he was employed by the S. P. G. as a Catechist, with a salary of £10, at Huntington on Long Island, carrying on his theological studies under the direction of his father. In August, 1752, he went to England and studied medicine for a year at the University of Edinburgh. December 21, 1753, he was ordained Deacon and December 23, 1753, Priest. He was assigned to Christ Church, New Brunswick, New Jersey, by the S. P. G., and began his work there May 25, 1754.

Since his ministry both as Priest and Bishop are adequately dealt with by other hands in this number of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, it will be unnecessary to dwell on that aspect of his life here.

October 12, 1756, his father officiating, he married Mary, daughter of Edward Hicks, a merchant of Philadelphia, who was at the time of the marriage living in retirement on Staten Island. The mother of Mrs. Seabury was Violetta Ricketts, a daughter of William Ricketts and Mary Walton. The wife of the Bishop died October 12, 1780. After his consecration, he served as Rector of his father's old Church, St. James's, New London, at the same time carrying on his duties as Bishop. He died February 25, 1796, and was buried February 28, 1796.

Bishop Seabury had the following children:

- I. Violetta Ricketts, born October 9, 1758, married Charles Nicol Taylor, a Royalist, of whom there are living descendants. He died in September, 1792, in Norfolk, Virginia.
- II. Abigail Mumford, born February 12, 1760, married Colin Campbell.
- III. Mary, or Maria, born July 20, 1761, unmarried.
- IV. Samuel, born October 29, 1765. He married Frances Taber, but died young leaving no children. He was a physician.
- V. Edward, born October 5, 1767, married Lucretia Otis, but had no children.
- VI. Charles, born May 29, 1770.

The only son of the Bishop to leave descendants bearing the Seabury name was the youngest son Charles, born in Westchester, N. Y., May 29, 1770. June 13, 1799, he married Ann, daughter of

Amelia Jones, who died September 18, 1852; and thirdly, to Mary Anna, daughter of Samuel Jones and Catherine Schuyler, who survived him.

Children:

- I. Anna, born April 14, 1830, married May 13, 1852, the Rev. William Waldon, D. D., who died May 15, 1853.
- II. Lydia, born November 28, 1833, married April 18, 1855, Samuel P. Bell.
- III. William Jones, born January 25, 1837.
- IV. Kezia, born December 30, 1842, married April 22, 1862, James Weeks.
- V. Mary, born January 1, 1845, married the Rev. H. A. Parker.
- VI. Ella Amelia, born August 3, 1847, married the Rev. Charles W. Ward.

William Jones Seabury, son of the Rev. Samuel and Hannah Amelia (Jones) Seabury, was born in New York January 25, 1837. He was graduated from Columbia in 1856, and received the M. A. degree from that institution in 1859. In 1874 he received the D. D. degree from Hobart College. He was admitted to the New York Bar in 1858, but decided to enter the ministry of the Episcopal Church. He was graduated from the General Seminary in 1866. He was Rector of the Church of the Annunciation, New York, from 1868 to 1898. In 1873, he became Professor of Ecclesiastical Polity and Law in the General Seminary, serving till his death August 30, 1916.

Among his writings may be mentioned "Lectures on Apostolic Succession," 1893; "An Introduction to the Study of Ecclesiastical Polity," 1894; and "A Memoir of Bishop Seabury," 1908.

October 29, 1868, he married Alice Van Wyck, daughter of Thomas Marston and Mary Susan (Saltonstall) Beare.

Professor William Jones Seabury left two sons, both now eminent in legal and political affairs in the City of New York, Samuel and William Marston Seabury, and three daughters, Susan Saltonstall, Lydia, and Muriel Gurdon.

The elder, Judge Samuel Seabury, was Judge of the Supreme Court of New York from 1907 to 1914, when he became an Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals, resigning in 1916 to resume private practice. In 1916, he was the Democratic candidate for the Governorship of the State of New York. June 6, 1900, he married Miss Josephine Maud Richey, daughter of the Rev. Thomas and Emma (Bacot) Richey, D. D., who was for many years a professor in the General Theological Seminary in New York City.

death of his father, he was called to the Rectorate of St. James Church, New London. After serving there eighteen years, he became Rector of Caroline Church, Setauket, Long Island. He married, secondly, in 1821, the widow of the Rev. Henry Moscrop. Here he served till his death December 29, 1844.

Children:

- I. Samuel, born June 9, 1801.
- II. Charles Saltonstall, born December 10, 1802.
- III. William, born March 31, 1805, died February 20, 1833, unmarried.
- IV. Edward, born May 14, 1807, died unmarried.
- V. Richard Francis, born July 21, 1809, married June 18, 1836, Catherine Eliza Russell.

Charles Saltonstall Seabury lived on Long Island and left four sons, of whom two, Thomas and Samuel, left male issue.

Richard Francis, the youngest son, settled in Illinois, and left three sons, Charles, Richard, and Samuel.

Samuel Seabury, eldest son of the Rev. Charles and Ann (Saltonstall) Seabury, was born in New London, Connecticut, June 9, 1801. He grew up at Jamaica, and was for a time employed by his uncle Edward Seabury in New York. He was ordained Deacon by Bishop John Henry Hobart April 12, 1826, in All Saints' Church, New York, and was ordained Priest by Bishop Hobart July 7, 1828, in St. George's Church, Astoria, N. Y. He served churches in Jamaica and Huntington, later becoming Rector of St. George's Church, Astoria. He taught Classics for a number of years in the Flushing Institute. In 1833, he became Editor of *The Churchman*, and served for eighteen years in that capacity with conspicuous ability and success. He became Rector of the Church of the Annunciation in New York, serving from 1838 to 1868. He was Professor of Biblical Learning and the Interpretation of Scripture in the General Theological Seminary from 1862 to his death. He received, *honoris causa* from Columbia University, the M. A. degree in 1823 and the D. D. degree in 1837. He was a member of the Standing Committee of the Diocese of New York from 1848 to 1853. He died October 10, 1872, at the General Seminary in New York.

Among his writings may be mentioned "An Historical Sketch of Augustine, Bishop of Hippo" (1833), "The Continuity of the Church of England in the Sixteenth Century" (1853), and "The Supremacy and Obligation of Conscience" (1860).

He was thrice married, first, May 17, 1829, to Lydia Huntington Bill, who died April 16, 1834; secondly, November 17, 1835, to Hannah

The younger, William Marston Seabury, was born in New York, March 18, 1878. He was graduated from the New York Law School in 1898. He married Katharine Emerson Hovey, November 10, 1900. There are three children: Lisperard, married Edward Savage Crocker, 2nd; Etheldreda Winthrop, married Fergus Reid, Jr.; and Muriel Gurdon, married William White Howells.

He was admitted to the New York Bar in 1899, and practised in New York till 1910, when he was obliged to go to Phoenix, Arizona, for his health. In 1915, he returned to New York and resumed practice there.

So we see that for three hundred years, nine generations, the Seabury family has played its part in our history, made its contributions to our religious and political history, and that in this, our day, illustrious members of the family are carrying on the family tradition of high and fearless service to Church and State.

SAMUEL SEABURY, PRESBYTER

By Charles Mampoleng

NURTURED in the traditions of the Church of England, although baptized in the Congregational faith, Samuel Seabury, Jr., determined to pursue a career in the Church to which his father had been converted. At the time of Samuel's birth, on S. Andrew's Day, November 30th, 1729, his father, the Rev. Samuel Seabury, was a licensed preacher to the Second Ecclesiastical Society in North Groton, Connecticut, hence the baby's baptism on December 14th by the Rev. John Owen of Groton. His conversion to Anglicanism led to his obtaining Holy Orders in 1731, and on May 19th, 1732, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts commissioned him its missionary at New London at £60, retroactive to the Feast of S. John the Baptist 1730. Having demonstrated his abilities in New London, the elder Seabury was in 1742 transferred to the mission at Hempstead, Long Island. The early education of young Samuel was supervised by his parent, and by 1744 he was ready to enter Yale College, emerging four years later a Bachelor of Arts. A Master's degree was awarded in 1761 by King's College in New York, with Yale following suit. Seabury was, however, too young to obtain Holy Orders upon graduation from college, and the expense of two trips abroad was prohibitive, hence the proposal made by his father in a letter to the Secretary of the S. P. G. dated September 30th, 1748, that

"My son is not yet nineteen years of age, and as I believe he may be employed at Huntington in reading prayers and sermons, and in catechising to good purpose, before he will be of age for Holy Orders, I presume to hope the Society will employ him at Huntington with some small allowance."

In accord with this suggestion, Samuel was appointed catechist, with a salary of £10, to the town of Huntington, some eighteen miles distant from Hempstead. While pursuing his ecclesiastical duties, Samuel also spent considerable time studying theology and medicine*

*Onderdonk, "Annals of Hempstead," item of April 18th, 1753: "Rev. Samuel Seabury began his school. He as well as his son practiced medicine also."



College in New York. That a provincial college, to be supplied by public funds, should be dominated by Anglicans, was deeply resented by Presbyterians, and the writings often took on a sharp edge, though many amusing bits were included. Replies to practically every "Watch-Tower" article were written by Churchmen, and Seabury's pen was actively engaged against a "most renowned Club of Scribblers" led by William Livingston.

During the autumn of 1756, Seabury spent much time at Jamaica, prior to his induction to the parish, visiting New Brunswick to perform divine services. These journeys were made via Staten Island, and so he met the daughter of Edward Hicks, a retired merchant living in the locality. Despite opposition, Samuel Seabury and Mary Hicks were married on October 12th, 1756, in New York by the groom's father. One of the reasons for Hicks' opposition lay in financial obligations he was under to his daughter, and there ensued a long controversy between Seabury and Hicks over payment of a legacy due the young lady. A short two months following his marriage, Seabury terminated his connection with the church in New Brunswick.

An old law passed by the Province of New York, permitting a vestry of local freeholders to call a rector, with the avowed design of filling up parishes with dissenting teachers, was nullified by the practice of Royal Governors demanding that candidates produce certificates from the Bishop of London. The death of the incumbent at Grace Church in Jamaica, Long Island, in December, 1755, gave the legal "mixed" vestry occasion to choose a Presbyterian, one Simon Horton, as minister. Obviously the Bishop's certificate was not forthcoming, and the Governor refused to countenance the choice. Having waited more than six months for another applicant, Sir Charles Hardy on January 12th, 1757, by mandate, "collated, instituted and established" Seabury as minister of Grace Church at Jamaica, in Queens County on Long Island. The following day, the Rev. Henry Barclay of Trinity Church New York, inducted him, and on January 23rd, Seabury formally "read in," assenting to the Articles of Religion, the use of the Prayer Book, etc. Most upsetting to Seabury was the "present languid sense of religion" in his new mission, and especially was he concerned with the situation in Flushing, "the seat of Infidelity," where Quakerism was strong.*

*Seabury to S. P. G., Oct. 10th, 1759 (*Hawks Transcripts in New York Historical Society*). Concerning the Quakers in his parish, Seabury wrote (to S. P. G. March 29th, 1764, *Hawks*) that "they trusting only to their light within and neglecting to give their children any religious Education, expose them unguarded to the Allurements of Vice & sensual pleasure & they of course embrace the Principles that lay them under the least restraint; hence it comes to pass that in those villages where the Quakers were formerly most numerous, there is now the least appearance of any Religion at all."

under his father's guidance, the latter believing that some medical training was necessary for a good missionary. Arrangements having been made with the Bishop of London, Samuel gave up his position as catechist in July, 1752, and sailed the following month to study physics and anatomy at the University of Edinburgh for a year's time. Subsequently he came to London, and on December 21st, 1753, was ordained a Deacon by John, Bishop of Lincoln, and two days later was ordained a Priest by Richard, Bishop of Carlisle, both bishops acting for the aged and infirm Bishop of London. On the recommendation of the Rev. James Wetmore, missionary at Rye, New York, the Society assigned Seabury to Christ Church New Brunswick, in New Jersey, to which province he was licensed by the Bishop of London.

Arriving at his post on May 25th the following year, Seabury found a partly completed stone church building, designed to accommodate six hundred people, with the congregation falling far short of that number, and only fifteen communicants. His first report to the Society, dated October 10th, 1754, mentioned the warm welcome he had received, and as no dissenting teacher of any denomination was then on the spot, Seabury was hopeful of converting a number of these people. For further instruction in the faith, Seabury asked for a folio Bible and Common Prayer Book, together with a library for the parish, a request which was granted, and a parochial library worth £10, sent for the use of the missionary. After a year's interval, Seabury reported on October 9th that his congregation was slowly growing, and during the summer he had constantly attended at South River, varying his ministrations by several journeys into neighboring localities, particularly Cranbury and Reading-Town, the latter place being some twenty-five miles distant from his mission. At South River, the building of a church was temporarily halted by the French and Indian War, but in 1756 the wooden frame was erected.

Seabury's stay in New Brunswick was enlivened by his efforts to confute certain essays published in a New York periodical

"tending to corrupt the principles of the people with regard to Government and to weaken their attachment to the Constitution of this country both in Church and State."*

A series of communications appeared in the New York Mercury from November 25th, 1754, to November 17th, 1755, under the title of "Watch-Tower" in a controversy over the establishing of King's

*Seabury Memorial, Oct. 20th, 1783 (*Public Record Office, Audit Office 18187—transcript in the New York Public Library*).

were obliged to go abroad for ordination troubled all Churchmen, and the periodic demands for an American Episcopate were renewed in 1766, when two more missionaries were lost. Not only was it becoming increasingly necessary for a Bishop to ordain in America, but as Seabury wrote on April 17th, 1766, a Bishop was wanted to keep the Church pure in faith and combat the skepticism and violent sectarianism threatening to undo all efforts of the Anglican missionaries. The clergy of the province of New York, together with several others, met in voluntary convention on May 21st, 1766, at Dr. Auchmuty's house in New York, to serve the interests of the Church and use

"their joint Influence and Endeavours to obtain the Happiness of Bishops, to support the Church against the unreasonable Opposition given to it in the Colonies, and cultivate and improve a good Understanding and Union with each other."*

The group chose Seabury as secretary, a position he held till May 21st, 1767, when at the convention's request he wrote to the Society of the great need for more missionaries. An outgrowth of the group's episcopal propaganda was the "American Whig" controversy waged in the *New York Gazette*. The convention had been accused of sending some seven petitions to important English personages, reflecting upon Dissenters as "seditious incendiaries and affected to King and Government." Such reflections were publicly denied by Seabury in the March 28th, 1768, number of the paper. This statement precipitated an extended newspaper battle with the literary opposition led by Dr. Charles Chauncey of Boston, who had a letter published, signed "B. W.," purporting to be by a member of the S. P. G. in Boston attacking Seabury. A denial of authorship was received from former Governor Benning Wentworth, and Seabury proceeded to show in the December 19th and 26th numbers that Chauncey had used the initials. An agreement was made between the Rev. Messrs. Seabury, Chandler, Cooper and Inglis to

"watch all publications either in newspapers or pamphlets & to obviate the evil influence of such as appeared to have a bad tendency by the speediest answers."

These gentlemen bore the brunt of the controversy with the "American Whig," writing as "A Whip for the American Whig," with a retaliatory piece being written as "A Kick for the Whipper."

The death of his father on June 15th, 1764, from a nervous disorder. *Minutes of the Convention—those present were the Rev. Drs. Auchmuty, Chandler and Johnson, the Rev. Messrs. Avery, Charlton, Cooke, Cooper, Cutting, Inglis, Jarvis, McKean, Munro, Ogilvie and Seabury.

municants were few, but in his report on October 6th, 1760, he was able to note an improvement at Flushing and Newtown.

Seabury apparently never was able to fit harmoniously into affairs in his Jamaica Mission, and the venerable Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, Connecticut, and King's College, New York, as the highly respected correspondent of the S. P. G., tried to remedy the situation. Finding that the people in Westchester County approved of Seabury, he urged the appointment in 1761, but the Society saw fit to assign the Rev. John Milner to the post.* Disappointed in that attempt, Johnson, remembering the post at New Haven, thought

"Young Seabury would do very well for N. H. but they cannot make it worth his while."†

The intrusion of the Rev. Daniel Treadwell into Seabury's mission, and the resultant controversy with John Aspinwall, a prominent layman at Flushing, did not make for parochial harmony. Treadwell, licensed in 1762 to Trenton, New Jersey, visited Newtown and Flushing in 1763 and officiated in the churches without informing Seabury. His just indignation brought Seabury into conflict with Aspinwall, "of low birth and strong passions,"‡ and when Aspinwall abused Seabury in New York, the latter began a series of public demands for satisfaction, notices running in the *New York Gazette* from September 20th to October 25th, 1764. In the midst of these bickerings, the famous George Whitefield visited New York, preaching to great audiences and causing conservative clerical hearts to flutter. Seabury valiantly and successfully attempted to hold the loyalty of his flock, writing to the S. P. G. on October 6th, 1764, of Whitefield:

"I am sorry to say he has done a great deal of mischief; his tenets and method of preaching have been adopted by many of the dissenting teachers, and this town in particular, has a continual, I had almost said a daily, succession of strolling preachers and exhorters; and the poor Church of England is on every occasion misrepresented as popish, and as teaching her members to expect salvation on account of their own works and deservings."

The constant loss of life among candidates for Holy Orders who

*S. P. G. Abstract of Proceedings 1761.

†Johnson to William S. Johnson Jan. 3rd, 1763 (Johnson MSS. Columbia University).

‡Seabury to S. P. G., March 26th, 1763 (Hawks). Writing that Treadwell ought to have called on him first, Seabury noted his willingness to give up Flushing and Newtown to Treadwell, but his need for the money as well as lack of authority, made him refuse to give in to Aspinwall.

but that the members of the better-reformed Protestant Churches would in general have proved excellent Christians; and would have abounded in all the works of righteousness, unto the praise and glory of God. Whereas I question whether they at present exceed the Romans the least title in real virtue and goodness, notwithstanding all our boasts of reformation and a more pure religion."

Writing to the Society on October 8th and November 8th, 1766, Sir William Johnson proposed the establishment of a new mission at Johnson Hall, to care for the Mohawk Indians, as well as the Germans and Englishmen settled in the vicinity. Offering to pay most of the salary in addition to providing a house and glebe, Johnson was seeking an exemplary missionary, affable, zealous and with a moderate family. The Society determined to seek out such a man, and Dr. Cooper urged Seabury to consider it, and during the summer of 1769 he took the two-hundred-mile journey up to Johnstown. Unable to see Johnson, who was away, and believing the salary inadequate, the journey too long, and the moving expenses too high, Seabury declined the post. In his own mission the rumblings of "violent party heats" claimed his attention, as he strove to set forth the teachings of the Church in contrast to the licentiousness of those who treated religion

"as a thing unworthy of their attention, except on some particular occasions, when they are otherwise disengaged."

The quiet routine of parochial ministrations was soon shattered by the series of events that led to widespread colonial defiance of Parliamentary authority, and as a faithful servant of the Crown, Seabury undertook to instruct his people in loyalty. The conservative New York Assembly refused to consider the acts of the First Continental Congress, and shortly after its adjournment a pamphlet was published by "A Farmer," addressed to New York farmers, dated November 16th, 1774, entitled,

"Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress Held at Philadelphia Sept. 5th, 1774: Wherein their Errors are exhibited, their Reasonings confuted, and the fatal Tendency of their Non-Importation, Non-Exportation and Non-Consumption Measures are laid open to the plainest Understanding, etc."

This pamphlet, the first of four written by Seabury,* attempted to show farmers and landowners the effect of the aforementioned measures on them. The bluntness and logic of the arguments expressed with

*The four "A. W. F." pamphlets edited by C. H. Vance were published in the *Publications of the Westchester County Historical Society* (v. 8) 1930.

order broke a strong tie binding Seabury to Long Island, and so when the wardens and vestry of S. Peter's Church in Westchester County, through the efforts of the Rev. Dr. Myles Cooper of King's College, invited him to become their rector, he requested the Society to transfer him there. By a mandate dated December 3rd, 1766, Sir Henry Moore, Governor of New York, "collated, instituted and established" Seabury as rector of the parish church at Westchester, with charge over Eastchester, Yonkers and the Manor of Pelham, and Dr. Cooper formally inducted him on March 1st, 1767. Soon after taking charge, Seabury made a report on his new mission, where he found attendance unsteady, there being usually two hundred in the Westchester congregation with but twenty-two communicants, while at Eastchester a somewhat larger attendance was noted. Both localities boasted only small wooden churches, but in the latter place a large stone building was being erected.

At Westchester he was bothered with a considerable Quaker group, and the lower classes seemed to have no religion at all, hence the catechising on Sunday afternoons, with sermons preached at funerals in rural sections, in order to bring instructions to the isolated farmers. In recounting the financial aspect of the mission, Seabury noted that his salary was £50 currency by virtue of an Act of Assembly, and that there were no burial fees, though sometimes a linen scarf was given for services. As to marriages, the fee was from one to four Spanish dollars, though very many couples

"go to an Independent teacher in the parish of Rye, because his ceremony is short, and they have nothing to say."*

Sometime during his ministry at Westchester, Seabury wrote a discourse of some seventy-eight pages, the first eight of which are missing, which for want of a better title, has been dubbed "Bishop Seabury's Anti-Calvinism."† With little sympathy for the predestination theory, Seabury wrote:

"I have ever thought it a vain attempt, to endeavour to convince a rigid Predestinarian. A person must have a very bad heart or a very weak head, to fall into so monstrous a belief. . . . Had it not been for Predestination; the notion of an imaginary, imputative righteousness; of an empty, dead faith; of the irresistibility of Divine grace; and the slavish opinion of the invincibility of sin; I cannot see

*Seabury to S. P. G. June 25th, 1767 (Hawks).

†Manuscript published in *American Church Monthly*, May and June, 1858, pp. 321-33, 401-14; the manuscript, a bit the worse for wear, with eight pages missing was handed down from the Rev. Dr. Isaac Wilkins, conservative member of the Provincial Assembly and later rector at Westchester, who noted that it was a Seabury Ms.

friends of "law and order" met at the house of Captain Abraham Hatfield prior to joining the Whig group at the Court House. Refusing to cast any ballots at an unlawful meeting, the Tory group contented itself with denouncing the proceedings and drafting a protest, and then returned to Hatfield's singing "God save great George our King." The formal declaration, printed in the *Gazeteer* on April 20th, was signed by more than three hundred loyalists headed by Colonel Frederick Phillips, Isaac Wilkins, the Rev. Samuel Seabury, the Rev. Luke Babcock and Judge Jonathan Fowler, and read:

"We the subscribers, freeholders and inhabitants of the County of Westchester, having assembled at the White Plains in consequence of certain advertisements, do now declare that we met here to declare our honest abhorrence of all unlawful Congresses and Committees, and that we are determined, at the hazard of our lives and properties, to support the King and Constitution; and that we acknowledge no Representatives but the General Assembly, to whose wisdom and integrity we submit the guardianship of our rights, liberties and privileges."

The militia stationed at Rye, encouraged by the Lexington skirmish, set out to arrest loyalist sympathizers, particularly Seabury and Isaac Wilkins, member of the Provincial Assembly, but a warning was given by friends, and both gentlemen managed to escape. Wilkins fled the country on May 3rd, while Seabury, Dr. Myles Cooper and Dr. Thomas B. Chandler hid in the Wilkins mansion at Castle Hill Neck till it became safe to appear. The two latter embarked for London, but Seabury continued about his mission. In fact, he had personal interviews with about a third of the Assembly members prior to their meeting, at which the Assembly refused to choose delegates to the second Congress.

In an effort to cripple the avowedly loyalist press of James Rivington in New York City, a large group of armed horsemen descended upon that establishment led by Captain Isaac Sears, broke in, demolished the press and carried off the types. A smaller group under Captain Lothrop riding through Westchester, seized the Rev. Mr. Seabury on November 22nd, 1775, at his grammar school,* had his horse saddled, and set off with him towards Kingsbridge. Joining the Sears party, Seabury's captors rode on to Eastchester, seized Mayor Nathaniel Underhill and Judge Jonathan Fowler, proceeding to Greenwich. The three prisoners arrived in New Haven on November 24th.

*Seabury Memorial to Loyalist Comm. Oct. 20th, 1783 (AO 1967). In order to satisfy certain debts, Seabury opened a school in 1774 and made it profitable, estimating its value as £150 York currency. The raiders had first visited his home and abused his family, his daughter's cap and neckerchief being pierced by a bayonet.

homely practical illustrations were in keeping with the character Seabury advanced, that of an intelligent farmer, rather than the refined language of a discreet clergymen. On November 28th another piece was addressed to the merchants of New York, under the title of

"Congress Canvassed, or an Examination into the Conduct of the Delegates at their Grand Convention held in Philadelphia Sept. 1st, 1774."

A reply to the first pamphlet had been written by a young collegian, Alexander Hamilton, dated December 15th, as a "Full Vindication of the Measures of the Continental Congress," was a general refutation of the "Farmer's" arguments.

Having seen Hamilton's reply, Seabury inserted a postscript to the advertisement of his own pamphlet in the *New York Gazetteer*, which was answered by "A Card" on December 22nd, with a "Card in Reply" by Drs. Inglis and Cooper the following week. In the role of an enraged farmer, Seabury next wrote a pamphlet dated December 24th in reply to Hamilton, entitled,

"A View of the Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies including A Mode of Determining their present Disputes, etc."

This pamphlet was received with such bitterness by the Sons of Liberty that it was publicly burnt, according to Rivington's note of January 12th, 1775. In some parts of Connecticut it was tared, feathered, and nailed to the whipping post. After a short interval there appeared an "Alarm to the Legislature of the Province of New York," in which Seabury averred that acceptance of Congressional proceedings would be tantamount to setting up a new sovereign power and inciting to rebellion and civil war. A reply to Hamilton's masterly "Farmer Refuted" was advertised to appear on April 27th, entitled,

"The Republican Dissected, or the Anatomy of an American Whig, in answer to the Farmer Refuted."

News of the events at Lexington halted plans for the publication of this last of Seabury's political productions, and it never appeared in print.

On April 11th, 1775, the freeholders and inhabitants of Westchester met at White Plains to decide upon choosing a committee to meet other committees in New York City, so that delegates to the next Continental Congress from New York might be chosen. The

American forces en route to New York an opportunity to tarry at his house, eat and drink his supplies, and then abuse him, asking for the "Farmer." Often afraid to go to bed, staying in his room with door locked, or secretly flitting about to neighbors, Seabury survived, gaining some rest after a month's hazardous existence. Then the Declaration of Independence was signed and the New York Assembly had to fall in line, passing a decree forbidding contributions to the support and comfort of the King's forces under penalty of death. Some fifty armed men were sent into the neighborhood, and Seabury was convinced the best plan was to stop all church worship until such time that he might use the full, prescribed liturgy, and pray for the King.

With the arrival of the British forces on Staten Island, the Americans grew more alert, apprehending loyalists and guarding the coast, breastworks being thrown up only two miles from Seabury's house. Keeping out of sight as much as possible, Seabury was heartened by the British victory at Brooklyn on August 27th, 1776, and on September 1st he took refuge within the British lines on Long Island.* He was able to provide the army with intelligence and guides for a drive through Westchester. During the eight weeks he was away, some twenty American dragoons were quartered in his house in Westchester, the hay and corn on his glebe was destroyed, twelve cattle and six swine being driven off, a total loss of some £50. In November the British withdrew, and Seabury moved his family to New York, being forced to live on credit, his medical knowledge and a contribution from the fund raised for the suffering clergy in America.† Sir William Howe took pity on him, and in June, 1777, appointed him chaplain to the Provincial Hospital in New York, and on February 14th, 1778, he was commissioned by Sir Henry Clinton the chaplain to the King's American Regiment, commanded by Colonel Edmund Fanning. Both these commissions held good till June 7th, 1783, when Seabury left New York. Seabury conscientiously exercised his ministry while in New York, and a number of his sermons of the period were printed. On May 11th, 1777, he preached a discourse on II Timothy iii. 16, in S. Paul's and S. George's Chapel‡ and on the Feast of S. John the Baptist, he preached at S. Paul's Chapel before

*Memorial (AO 13[67]). Resolution of N. Y. Comm. of Safety Sept. 11th, 1776, that "Colo. Joseph Drake be directed forthwith to remove the said Samuel Seabury from Westchester to the house of Colo. John Brinckerhoff, at this place."

†Letter of Dr. T. B. Chandler to Seabury April 8th, 1776, told of Chandler's procuring a ship chaplaincy for Seabury; further that the public subscription plan was really his, the total of £4,000 being raised, Chandler arranging a grant of £50 to Seabury with hopes of another £50 being added later.

‡As some criticism had been made of the sermon (copy in General Theol. Seminary) by those who heard it preached, Seabury had it printed, inserting an explanatory note in the New York Gazette July 7th, 1777.

ber 27th, were paraded in triumph and confined, with Seabury being forbidden use of pen, ink and paper except for writing to his family, forbidden to visit friends or perform any divine service in the church, although invited by the Rev. Bela Hubbard, the local incumbent. Some time later Seabury was examined on four charges laid against him, namely, that he had with several others plotted to seize Sears while he was traveling through Westchester and have him confined on a warship; that he signed the White Plains Protest; that he neglected to open his church on a Continental Fast Day; that he wrote pamphlets against the liberties of Americans. The Provincial Congress in New York drafted a letter dated December 12th to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, sharply rebuking the unauthorized ardor of the Sears raiding party, and regarding Seabury, "we must entreat your friendly interposition for his immediate discharge." Seabury himself penned a long memorial to the General Assembly and Governor of Connecticut on December 20th, setting forth the facts in his case and questioning the propriety of being judged by the laws of a colony to which he owed no obedience. Released on December 23rd, Seabury managed to get back to Westchester on January 2nd, 1776, and determined

"to stay as long as I am permitted to discharge the duties of my mission whatever personal inconvenience it may subject me to."*

The underlying reason for these hostile demonstrations was the belief that Seabury was responsible for the "*A Westchester Farmer*" pamphlets, and his denials made in the interests of his own safety† were later used against him, others claiming the credit. Though Seabury expressly notes his authorship in his memorial, corroborative certificates by Drs. Cooper and Chandler‡ were necessary. Popular opinion in the matter was voiced by a writer in the *New York Gazetteer* who attributed the pamphlets to Seabury and proceeded to say that he

"did, in the day of British power and insolence, often boast of that performance as a very meritorious one and as a feather in his cap which justly entitled him to the sinicure which he enjoyed at Richmond."

Following his return home, Seabury passed some time in comparative safety, until the British evacuated Boston in March. This gave

*Seabury to S. P. G. Jan. 13th, 1776 (Hawks).

†Seabury to S. P. G. Dec. 29th, 1776 (Hawks).

‡A letter written by the Rev. Jeremiah Leaming (June 19th, 1787, *Jarris Ms*) relates that someone else claimed credit for the pamphlets, while the Rev. Jonathan Boucher accused Dr. Cooper of claiming authorship, when actually Cooper was Seabury's friend.

the Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons of Zion Lodge, a discourse on Brotherly Love,* asserting that

"We in particular who are assembled here this day, know that no government can bind, no laws can hold, and no principles can restrain men who, having suppressed the humane tempers and emotions of the heart, have given themselves up to the influence of the selfish, malignant and vindictive passions, the indulgence of which is both a disgrace to our nature, and a curse to our species."

The preacher on Sunday, September 28th, 1777, in the encampment at Kingsbridge was Chaplain Seabury, who took as his text S. Peter's exhortation (I Peter ii. 17) to "fear God and honour the King."

Daily meetings with parishioners become refugees deprived of even the common necessities of life, depressed Seabury, and in his letter to the Society of March 29th, 1777, he described the harsh treatment accorded them, but "to pity and pray for them is all I can do." In October, curious to see how matters stood in Westchester, and perhaps hoping to collect a year's arrears in salary from his parish, Seabury visited his mission but found it too dangerous to stay. As a result he requested the Society on November 12th to permit his removal to Staten Island, a plea quickly granted, his salary of £50 to be continued. The Rev. Richard Charlton, missionary at S. Andrew's Church in Richmond County, having died, Seabury preached in December, 1777, to about three hundred people. Though assigned to the parish, Seabury was exceedingly timid in taking active charge, especially as groups of "New Jersey banditti" were wont to raid Staten Island. Having received the degree of Doctor of Divinity on December 15th, 1777, from Oxford, Seabury allowed two other priests to officiate for him on Staten Island, the Rev. James Barker serving from July 1st, 1778, till March 28th, 1780, and then the Rev. Thomas Field, a regimental chaplain, took charge from May 14th, 1780, till 1782. Seabury preferred to reside in New York† and practice medicine, being physician to the City Almshouse.‡ There was little enough to report to the Society, as Seabury was busy with military and charitable concerns, he could but note in 1778 that the Duxbury (Staten Island) glebe, upon which soldiers were camped, had no

*Discourse on Psalm CXXXIII 1, preached June 24th, 1777, later published with a dedication to the lodge, dated July 4th, 1777 (copy in N. Y. H. S.).

†Seabury to S. P. G. Nov. 22nd, 1778 (Hawks)—"I am obliged still to continue at New York, it being impracticable for me to return to Westchester or to reside with safety on Staten Island."

‡Memorial of George Diffendorf May 14th, 1781 (Amer. MSS in Royal Institution 29[212-3]) a refugee from Philadelphia, with medical certificate by Seabury May 17th that as physician to the Almshouse, he found Diffendorf's throat cut when brought in.

fences, the timber was cut off and a large apple orchard was nearly destroyed.

In August, 1782, Sir Guy Carleton informed General Washington that peace negotiations were in progress at Paris, and active warfare was halted, though both forces were quite wary until November 30th, when actual peace was proclaimed. The cessation of activities deeply affected loyalists and Churchmen, both groups fearing the future policy of the United States. A solemn declaration* was addressed to Sir Guy on December 18th, 1782, by the American Loyalists, petitioning the King not to withdraw his royal protection from them. The signers of this affirmation of loyalty to the Crown were headed by Drs. Charles Inglis and Samuel Seabury, both future bishops. The latter had, on S. John the Evangelists' Day preached before the Grand Lodge of New York Masons† at S. Paul's Chapel, from the text "Let Brotherly Love Continue." Seabury's commission as chaplain, continued in effect till his embarkation for England as a result of the Woodbury Convention, Sir Guy Carleton noting on August 14th that Seabury among other chaplains had been superseded. The half-pay to which his commission then entitled him was continued throughout the remainder of his life by the British Government. From his London lodgings at 393 Oxford Street Seabury soon drew up a memorial to the Loyalist Commissioners, dated October 20th, 1783, reciting his loyalty and assistance to the cause of Government. Not before September 18th, 1784, was he called on to give testimony.§ on his losses, and having claimed a £50 loss, the Commission awarded £30 on the claim.

*Amer. MSS in Royal Institution 44[179-181].

†Discourse on Hebrews XIII-1, published 1783 with a dedication by Seabury dated Jan. 15th, 1783—(copy in N. Y. H. S.).

‡Concerning his income, which was augmented by a little medical practice, Seabury listed his Westchester living at £120, the glebe as £50 with perquisites £20, his S. P. G. stipend as £50, with the school bringing in about £150 N. Y. Currency. The S. P. G. continued to pay Seabury in 1784, though listing him as "now in England."



Samuel Seabury

Writing to the notorious Dr. Samuel Peters, then a refugee in London, Leaming says,

"You ask me why I was not Bishop of Connecticut. I was bishop elect, by vote of the clergy here; but fearing the Church might suffer under my poor abilities, caused me to answer *Nolo Episcopare*. Had I known that Dr. Seabury had so many personal enemies, I should not have given the answer I did. This is under the rose; and you force me to say that, which I wish not to be repeated."^{*}

Again, on November 9, 1787, he writes to Peters,

"Everything ought to be easy, when it is so easy to be made a Bishop, and so easy to conduct the business when they are made. Had I known this before, I should not have been so diffident as I have been."[†]

But for that diffidence Jeremiah Leaming might have been the first American bishop instead of Samuel Seabury.

But Seabury it was. He sailed from New York in the flag-ship of Admiral Digby and arrived in London on July 7, 1783. He carried with him a letter to the Archbishop of York, signed by the Rev. Abraham Jarvis, secretary; a Testimonial signed by the Rev. Dr. Inglis, rector of Trinity Church, New York; Benjamin Moore, Assistant minister of the parish, and the Rev. John Odell, missionary at Burlington, New Jersey. The plan was that after his consecration he should return to New London as the S. P. G. missionary in the hope that the Governor of Connecticut would allow him to exercise his spiritual office. If this were denied he was to go to Nova Scotia. The Rev. Daniel Fogg states that "The clergy have even gone so far as to instruct Dr. Seabury, if none of the regular Bishops of the Church of England will ordain him, to go down to Scotland and receive ordination from a nonjuring Bishop."[‡]

The following Letters recite his experiences in London from July, 1783, to September, 1784. They are followed by the correspondence which resulted in his journey to Scotland, and a few letters written to old friends after his consecration. They were months of weary waiting and financial anxiety, for it must be remembered that he bore all the expense and he was by no means a rich man.

Dr. Seabury journeyed across the broad Atlantic for a very definite purpose, a purpose which stands out very clearly in these letters. It was to secure what he called a "free and valid episcopate" for the American Church. His interest was not primarily personal.

^{*}*Historical Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 131.

[†]*Historical Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 134.

[‡]Seabury. *Memoir of Bishop Seabury*, p. 190.

THE ELECTION AND CONSECRATION*

By E. Clowes Chorley

IN the year of our Lord, seventeen hundred and eighty three, ten of the clergy of Connecticut met in secret in the Glebe House at Woodbury for the purpose of selecting someone to proceed to England and apply for consecration as Bishop of Connecticut.

One reason for the secrecy was the fear that the State authorities, dominated as they were by the Congregationalists, might intervene and thwart the plan. But there was another and a more powerful reason. The clergy of Connecticut were disturbed over certain developments in the Church to the "Southward" which included all the country outside New England. Their apprehensions were quickened by the publication of a pamphlet by the Reverend Doctor William White, minister of the united churches of Philadelphia, under the title of *The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered*. It was first published anonymously in 1782. At that time there was no bishop here and apparently no prospect of obtaining one. In the meantime the church in these colonies was threatened with extinction for lack of any union and jurisdiction. To meet this situation the author, among other things, suggested as a provisional substitute for a bishop a presiding presbyter with powers of ordination. It should be carefully noted that the moment peace was signed between Great Britain and the United States, this pamphlet was withdrawn as being no longer necessary.

Meanwhile, the principle enunciated met with strong opposition on the part of the Connecticut clergy. It was voiced in a memorable letter written by Jarvis to White and also occupied a large place in the official communication sent to the Archbishop of York to whom Jarvis wrote saying of the plan, "we think it our duty to reject such a spurious substitute for Episcopacy, and, as far as may be in our power, to prevent its taking effect." The Connecticut plan to guard against such an imminent danger was to secure the valid episcopate at the hands of the English Church.

The clergy present "selected two persons, Jeremiah Leaming and Samuel Seabury, as suitable, either of them, to go to England, and obtain if possible, Episcopal consecration."[†] Leaming declined.

^{*}Copyright.

[†]Beardsley. *Life of Bishop Seabury*, p. 78.

some competent and permanent fund for its support." Pending a reply to this communication he pursued a policy of patient waiting for some definite word from the Archbishop who had undertaken to consult the Crown lawyer and the whole bench of Bishops. But as early as October 20th, 1783, he wrote, "I think the determination will be against us."

Assembled in Convocation at Wallingford the Connecticut clergy voted that Mr. Leaming, Mr. Hubbard and Mr. Jarvis be a committee to collect the opinions of the leading members of the Assembly concerning an application by the clergy of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut for the legal protection of a bishop for said Church, when they shall be able to secure one agreeable to the common rights of Christians, as these rights are now claimed and understood by all denominations of Christians in the State."* Prior to this step the State of Connecticut had removed the disabilities under which religious bodies, other than Congregationalists, had suffered.

They reported to Dr. Seabury that they had conferred with the leading members of the House of Assembly; had been cordially received and advised that there was no necessity to seek permission for a bishop to reside in the State. "Let," they said, "a bishop come; and he will stand upon the same ground that the rest of the clergy do." This they thought "must be enough to satisfy the bishops and all concerned in the affair in England." The committee further reported to Dr. Seabury that the Legislature, so far from taking umbrage, "the more liberal part, will consider the bishops in this transaction as maintaining entire consistency of principle and character, and by so doing merit their commendation." On the matter of support the letter concludes with these significant words: "A bishop in Connecticut must in some degree, be of the primitive style. With patience and a share of primitive zeal, he must rest for support on the Church which he serves, as head in her ministrations, unornamented with the temporal dignity and without props of secular power. An episcopate of this plain and simple character, amid the doubts and uncertainty which at present in a measure pervade everything, we hope may pass unenvied and its sacred functions be performed unobstructed . . . yet if you cannot find yourself disposed to come to us under these circumstances, painful necessity must compel us to wait patiently until divine providence shall open a door propitious to our wants. But, in the mean time, with the help of God, we will not remit our endeavors to preserve, and as far as in us lies, cherish this remnant of the Church."

Dr. Seabury hastened to inform the ecclesiastical authorities of the attitude of the State of Connecticut. The Bishop of London

**Beardsley. Life and Correspondence of Samuel Seabury, p. 112.*

He stood ready to subordinate any personal claims to the good of the Church. "Should there be anything personal with regard to me," he wrote one month after his arrival in London, "let it not retard the matter. I will most readily give up my pretensions to any person who shall be more agreeable to you, and less exceptionable to the State." When he thought it possible that the State Assembly of Connecticut might accept a resident bishop other than himself, he wrote, "Should that be the case, I beg that no clergyman in Connecticut will hesitate on my account. The point is to get the Episcopal authority into that country; and he shall have every assistance in my power." This attitude is emphasized again and again in the correspondence.

He had embarked at the bidding of his brethren upon a difficult and, as it proved, an impossible task, for he had to secure the approval alike of the Church and of the State. One could not act without the other. The temper of the times enhanced the difficulty of the task. The English Church was hopelessly Erastian, and the secular government was timid. Especially so in any matter relating to the American colonies the independence of which was so recent and recognized not from choice, but from necessity.

Dr. Seabury's first approach was to the English ecclesiastical authorities represented by John Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury, William Markham, Archbishop of York, and Robert Lowth, Bishop of London, and later to the Bishop of Oxford. Lowth was "cordial," but non-committal. He "approved of the scheme; wished it success," but was not disposed "to take the lead in the matter." Archbishop Moore likewise approved of the plan, but "foresaw great difficulties, though he hoped they might be surmounted." The English bishops felt that they had no right to send a bishop to Connecticut without the consent of the State and of the laity; that he would not be received and that there would be no adequate support for him. Beside all that, they did not see how the oaths in the Consecration Office could be dispensed with without the consent of the King's Council; and that the Council "would not give their concurrence without the permission of the State of Connecticut to the bishop's residing among them."

In the most painstaking fashion Seabury tried to explain the relation of the State of Connecticut to the matter, but without evident success. He therefore wrote to Abraham Jarvis asking the clergy to apply to the State Assembly "for permission to have a Bishop reside there," and in the same letter he mentioned the problem of the support of the bishop, as, he added, "The bishops here seem apprehensive that the Character will sink into contempt unless there be

vinced the Ld Chancellor of the Justice, Humanity & propriety of the measure, & of the necessity of carrying it into immediate execution." He was to see Mr. Pitt and assured Seabury "that he persuaded himself, nay, *confidently hoped* that it would end to my entire satisfaction." With this assurance Seabury was willing to wait until the end of the session of Parliament. But, he writes, "If nothing be done, I shall give up the matter here as unattainable, and apply to the North, unless I should receive contrary directions from the clergy of Connecticut."

After inexcusable delays the ecclesiastical authorities had at last determined to apply for the necessary authority to consecrate from Parliament. From that moment the plan was doomed. The Church was lukewarm, but the State was adamant. Had Lord North and William Fox continued in power there was hope for the bill, but Pitt would have nothing to do with it. Fourteen days later the Archbishop informed Seabury that the ministry had refused to comply with the request, "and had declared peremptorily that they would not suffer a bill authorizing the consecration of a Bishop for any of the States of America to pass the House of Commons." The reasons advanced for this attitude were the lack of the consent of Congress and of the State of Connecticut; the lack of any application from the laity of Connecticut; the fact that there were no dioceses in America and no provision for the support of Bishops, and—apparently most important of all—"That having never sent a Bishop into America while the 13 States were subject to G. Britain, it would have a very suspicious appearance to do it now, & would probably create or augment ill in that country against this." Asked by the Archbishop if he could get over these objections, Seabury tartly answered, that they "shewed such a total ignorance of the State & temper of the Americans in general, & of the Episcopalians in particular, & of the Articles of Confederation of the 13 States; & manifested such an inattention to the interest, harmony & mutual intercourse & political connection of the two countries; that I must think they were intended to perplex & finally to defeat the measure entirely—that I thought it would be lost labour, & lost time to attempt it. That the die was cast, & the ministry had refused to meet the Americans even on the friendly ground of a religious connection. That the Amⁿ Episcopalians must now look to some other country for a valid & clear Episcopate, & I hoped they would find, in some corner of the world, that attention to the common interests of Christianity which they had here sought in vain." "This," writes Seabury, "was the sum of my answers—I was an hour & a half with his Grace, & I fear some times in danger of losing my temper, as he thrice called on me to explain some hard

thought it satisfactory, and left the only requisite to the consecration an Act of Parliament to dispense with the Oaths, and he imagined that could be easily obtained. The Bishop of Oxford, whom Seabury describes as "much of a gentleman, and a man of learning and of business," hardly thought it sufficient ground to proceed upon. The Archbishop of Canterbury, "polite, though cool and restrained," was more cautious. He pointed out that it was still the application of the clergy only, and that the permission was only the permission of individuals, and not of the Legislature, and he was still of the opinion that an Act of Parliament would be necessary.

It was at this point that Dr. Seabury wrote to Connecticut asking "whether it would be agreeable to the clergy in Connecticut that I should apply to the Non-Juring Bishops in Scotland"? In June, 1784, after a long conversation with the two Archbishops he wrote home, "I apprehend there are some difficulties here that may not easily be got over." He adds that he has consulted "some very respectable clergymen who expressed the 'opinion that it was his duty to obtain Episcopal consecration wherever it can be had,' and adds, 'the Scotch succession was named. It was said to be equal to any succession in the world.'" Evidently he had had some assurance that there would be no difficulty in that quarter, for he says, "There I know consecration can be had," and again he asks instructions on this point from the Connecticut clergy.

It is quite clear from the correspondence that some time during this year Seabury visited Scotland and some negotiations were carried on with the Non-Juring Bishops. It is further evident from a subsequent letter written by Bishop Kilgour that the Scottish bishops had agreed to the consecration and were inclined to be hurt that Dr. Seabury did not take advantage of the opportunity at that time. The reason, however, was obvious. His instructions were to obtain consecration in England if at all possible. The clergy of Connecticut were missionaries of the S. P. G., as was Seabury himself, and there was a natural desire to obtain the English succession for America. Moreover, in the middle of 1784 there was distinct hope of success in London. In accord with his instructions any application to Scotland must be made only in case of complete failure in England. Meanwhile, Seabury threw an anchor to the windward.

When Seabury received the copy of the act of the Legislature of Connecticut establishing religious freedom in that State, he took it to the Archbishop, who declared himself fully satisfied and "that the Connecticut Episcopate should have his fullest support." A Bill, which would enable the English bishops to consecrate, was to be introduced in Parliament and the Archbishop "believed he had con-

hours notice. He felt at liberty to pursue a course which would insure to Connecticut "a valid episcopacy," and such he took "the Scotch Episcopacy to be in every sense of the word," and such he knew "the clergy of Connecticut to consider it." Dr. Cooper immediately forwarded this letter to Bishop Kilgour in Scotland through the medium of the Reverend John Allan, one of two brothers in the ministry of the Scottish Church. The reply of the bishop will be found in this printed correspondence. On behalf of the Non-juring Bishops he expressed their willingness "to clothe him with the Episcopal character, and thereby convey to the western world the blessing of a free, valid and purely ecclesiastical Episcopacy, not doubting that he will so agree with us in doctrine and discipline, as that he and the Church under his charge in Connecticut will hold communion with us and the Church here on catholic and primitive principles; and so that the members of both may with freedom communicate together in all the offices of Religion." Dr. Seabury promptly intimated his intention to proceed to Aberdeen.

The idea of the Non-juring Bishops conferring the Episcopate on the American Church was broached even before the selection of Dr. Seabury as Bishop of Connecticut. In October, 1782, before the independence of the colonies was recognized by Great Britain, the Reverend Doctor George Berkley, son of the famous Bishop of Cloyne, addressed a letter to the Reverend John Skinner expressing the hope "that a most important good might ere long be derived to the suffering and nearly neglected sons of Protestant Episcopacy on the other side of the Atlantic, from the suffering Church of Scotland. I would humbly submit it to the bishops of the Church in Scotland (as we style her in Oxford), whether this be not a time peculiarly favourable to the introduction of the Protestant Episcopate on the footing of universal toleration, and before any anti-episcopal establishment shall have taken place. God direct the hearts of your prelates in this matter."* Writing again after Dr. Skinner had become a bishop Berkeley said, "From the Churches of England and Ireland, America will not now receive the Episcopate: if she might, I am persuaded that many of her sons would joyfully receive bishops from Scotland. The question, then, shortly, is, Can any proper persons be found who, with the spirit of confessors, would convey the great blessing of the Protestant Episcopate from the persecuted Church of Scotland to the struggling, persecuted Protestant Episcopalian worshippers in America? If so, is it not the duty of all and every bishop of the Church in Scotland to contribute towards sending into the New World

*Beardsley. *History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, Vol. I., p. 361-2.

expressions that fell from me." It is extraordinary that at parting the Archbishop "requested that I would use my influence to prevent the Con'g Clergy from applying elsewhere; but this I could not do unless on an absolute promise of succeeding here."

There are very clear indications that the attitude of the British government was partly due to what Jeremiah Leaming bluntly calls "Presbyterian machinations." This is apparent from both the Seabury and Leaming letters. On his first arrival in London Seabury was apprehensive that the Congregational influence in Connecticut would be exerted on friends in London to prevent the consecration. In a letter to Dr. Peters, Jeremiah Leaming stated that "Ezra (Ezra Stiles, President of Yale) wrote to Dr. Price, and desired him to engage Billy Whig (Pitt), to oppose every movement for our having our petition granted."* That Seabury was of the same opinion is evident from his letter to Abraham Jarvis when he wrote, "I could not help suspecting that Presbyterian influence had prevailed on Mr. Pitt to act so directly contrary to the views of the Archbishop"; later in the same letter he writes, "The present premier is so entirely under the influence, or in the interest, of the Presbyterian party, that I am confident Dr. Price† has more weight with him, than the whole bench of Bishops." Nor, according to Jeremiah Leaming, did the Doctor cease his efforts when Seabury was actually consecrated. On January 22, 1787, Leaming wrote Dr. Peters saying, "When Price found that S was consecrated in Scotland; he then engaged Billy Whig to send his mandate to the second man in the kingdom, and ordered him to dismiss all the missionaries in these stations; and give large salaries to the clergy that would go to Nova Scotia—and that means put end to the Church here, which was the view of Ezra."‡

Dr. Seabury's later letters of 1784 make it clear that he gradually abandoned any hope of obtaining consecration in England. A short time before Pitt's refusal was communicated to him he addressed a letter to the Reverend Doctor Myles Cooper, former President of King's College, New York, and then holding a cure in Edinburgh intimating his willingness to "set off for the North at twenty-four

**Historical Magazine*, Vol. I., p. 137.

†The Rev. Richard Price, born in Wales, February 23, 1722, was a well known authority on philosophy and mathematics. His writings on the national debt influenced William Pitt to create a sinking fund for its extinction. He was strongly opposed to the war with the American colonies and in 1776 published a pamphlet entitled, "Observations on Civil Liberty and the Justice and Policy of the War with America." Among its critics were the Archbishop of York, John Wesley and Edmund Burke. By means of this and other writings Dr. Price became identified in the public mind with the cause of American independence, and was invited by Congress to come to America and assist in the administration of the finances. He appears to have carried on a correspondence with Ezra Stiles, President of Yale, and to have been the medium through which the Puritans of Connecticut voiced their opposition to the settling of a Bishop in New England.

‡*Historical Magazine*, Vol. I., p. 138.

1784. Nov. 14. Dr. Samuel Seabury, Presbyter, from the State of Connecticut, in America, was consecrated Bishop, at Aberdeen, by Bishop Kilgour, Primus, Bishop Petrie and Bishop Skinner. The deed of consecration is as follows:

IN DEI NOMINE. AMEN

Omnibus ubique Catholicis per presentes patent,
Nos, Robertum Kilgour, miseratione divina Episcopum
Aberdonien, Arthurum Petrie, Episcopum Rossen et
Moravien et Joannem Skinner, Episcopum Coadjutorem,
Mysteria Sacra Domini nostri Jesu Christi in Oratorio supra-
dicti Joannis Skinner apud Aberdoniam celebrantes, Divini
Numinis Præsidio fretos (presentibus tam e Clero quam e
Populo testibus idoneis) Samuelem Seabury, Doctorem
Divinitatis, sacro Presbyteratus ordine jam decoratum ac
nobis præ Vitæ integritate, Morum probitate et Orthodoxia
commendatum, et ad docendum et regendum aptum et
idoneum, ad sacrum et sublimem Episcopatus Ordinem pro-
movisse, et rite ac canonicè, secundum Morem et Ritus
Ecclesiæ Scotianæ, consecrasse, Die Novembris decimo
quarto, Anno Aeræ Christianæ Millesimo Septingentesimo
Octagesimo Quarto. In cujus Rei Testimonium, Instru-
mento huic (chirographis nostris prius munito) Sigilla nostra
aponni mandavimus.

Robertus Kilgour, Episcopos, et Primus. (L. S.)
Arthurus Petrie, Episcopos. (L. S.)
Joannes Skinner, Episcopos. (L. S.)

The day following the consecrating bishops addressed a letter "To the Episcopal Clergy in Connecticut, in North America," enclosing a copy of the Concordat.*

Ten days after his consecration Bishop Seabury wrote a cordial letter to "the Rev^d Mr. Samuel Peters," charging him to "carefully measure up all that is said and done." From Edinburgh, under date of December 3rd, he wrote a long letter to the Reverend Jonathan Boucher reviewing the whole situation. One month later he addressed a letter to Leaming, Jarvis and Hubbard in Connecticut informing

*The Concordat was an agreement entered into between the Scotch bishops and Bishop Seabury. They agreed to receive the whole doctrine of the Gospel; that the Church is the mystical Body of Christ, the chief ministers thereof being Bishops; that the Church in Connecticut was to be in full communion with the Church of Scotland and that there might be as nearly as possible "conformity of worship and doctrine between the two Churches." The vital section of the Concordat concerned the "Celebration of the holy Eucharist." In effect, Bishop Seabury pledged himself to endeavor consistent with "peace and prudence" to restore the Office as set forth in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. Of this particular phase of the Concordat Bishop Seabury writes in an important letter to the Reverend Jonathan Boucher thus: "The Bishops expect the clergy of Connecticut will form their own Liturgy and Offices; yet they hope the English Liturgy, which is the one they use, will be retained, except the Communion Office, and that they wish should give place to the one in Edward the Sixth's Prayer Book. This matter I have engaged to lay before the clergy of Connecticut, and they will be left to their own judgment which to prefer." (Letter of December 3rd, 1784.)

Protestant bishops, before general assemblies can be held and covenants taken for their perpetual exclusion? *Liberavi animam meam.*"* Bishop Skinner was perforce cautious in his reply. He said "Nothing can be done in the affair, with safety on our side, till the independence of America be fully and irrevocably recognized by the Government of Great Britain; and even then the enemies of our Church might make a handle of our correspondence with the colonies, as a proof that we always wished to fish in troubled waters; and we have little need to give any ground for an imputation of that kind."†

The situation, however, changed with the recognition of the independence of the American colonies by Great Britain; still more so by the selection of Dr. Seabury as Bishop of Connecticut, his arrival in England and his inability to obtain consecration there. A Mr. Elphinstone, son of a Scotch clergyman, put this question to the Scotch Primus: "Can consecration be obtained in Scotland for an already dignified and well-vouched American clergyman, now at London, for the purpose of perpetuating the episcopal reformed Church in America, particularly in Connecticut?" At this juncture Dr. Berkeley again wrote, "I have this day heard, I need not add, with the sincerest pleasure, that a respectable presbyter, well recommended from America, has arrived in London, seeking what, it seems, in the present state of affairs, he cannot expect to receive in our Church. Surely, dear sir, the Scotch prelates, who are not shackled by any *Erastian connexion*, will not send this suppliant empty away."‡

They did not. On the 14th day of November, 1784, in an upper room used as a chapel, Samuel Seabury was consecrated a Bishop in the Church of God. The consecrators were Robert Kilgour, Primus, Bishop of Aberdeen, § Arthur Petrie, the Bishop of Ross and Caithness, and John Skinner, coadjutor Bishop of Aberdeen.** It is on record that the service was conducted "in the presence of a considerable number of respectable clergymen and a great number of the laity." In the afternoon of that day Bishop Seabury preached in the chapel. The official record of the Consecration runs thus:

*Beardsley. *History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, Vol. I., p. 361-2.
†Beardsley. *History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, Vol. I., p. 362.
‡Wilberforce. *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America*, p. 199ff.
§Robert Kilgour, "Presbyter at Peterhead," was consecrated Bishop of Aberdeen at Cupar in Fife, on September 21st, 1768, by Bishop Falconar Primus, Bishop Rait and Bishop Forbes. He died in 1790 in his seventy-sixth year. (Cf. Shea. *Memoir of the Seabury Commemoration*, 1884, p. 97.)
¶Arthur Petrie, "Presbyter at Melkelfolla," was consecrated bishop-coadjutor at Dundee on June 27, 1776, by Bishop Falconar Primus, Bishop Kilgour and Bishop Rose. He was appointed Bishop of Ross and Caithness July 8, 1777.
**John Skinner, "Presbyter in Aberdeen," was consecrated bishop-coadjutor at Lulhermuir, in the diocese of Brechin, on September 25, 1782. The consecrating bishops were Robert Kilgour Primus, Charles Rose, Bishop of Dunblane, and Arthur Petrie. In 1788 he succeeded Kilgour as Primus and died July 13, 1816, in his seventy-second year.

Seabury writes in a later letter of going to take leave of the two Archbishops and adds, "They received me with the greatest politeness, and parted with me in the most friendly and affectionate manner. So that I hope I shall be able to keep up a proper intercourse with them."*

On the 27th of February, 1785, before leaving for America, Bishop Seabury addressed a dignified letter to the Reverend Doctor Morice, secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, of which Society Seabury had been a missionary for more than thirty years. In it he recites the steps leading up to his selection in Connecticut; his failure to secure consecration in England, and the reasons for applying to the Scotch bishops. He trusts that no obstacle will arise or hinder a union between the Church of England and the Episcopal Church of America, and adds, "How far the venerable Society may think themselves justifiable in continuing me their Missionary, they only can determine. Should they do so, I shall esteem it as a favor. Should they do otherwise I can have no cause to complain. I beg them to believe that I shall ever retain a grateful sense of their favors to me during thirty-one years that I have been their Missionary; and that I shall remember with the utmost respect the kind attention which they have so long paid to the Church in that country for which I am now to embark."† No answer was made till April 25, when the Secretary wrote thus: "I am directed by the Society to express their approbation of your services as their Missionary, and to acquaint you that they cannot consistently with their Charter employ any Missionaries except in the plantations, colonies, and factories belonging to the kingdom of Great Britain; your case is of course comprehended under that general rule."‡ There can be no criticism of the technical attitude of the Society, bound as it was by its Charter. But it would have been a gracious thing to have expressed to the new Bishop the goodwill of the Society and its prayers for the success of his labors in the new world.

On June 20th, 1785, the Bishop landed on American soil. The event was recorded in the *Journal of John Bours Esqr., of Newport, Rhode Island*, reading as follows:

"June 20, 1785. Arrived in town, via Halifax, from England, Doctor Samuel Seabury, lately consecrated in Scotland, Bishop of the State of Connecticut. The Sunday following, did the duties of the Church (Trinity Parish) and preached A. M. and P. M. to a crowded audience from Heb. XII, 1st and 2nd verses. Monday proceeded to New London by water, where he is to reside."**

*Seabury. *Memoir of Bishop Seabury*, p. 255-56.

†Beardsley. *Life and Correspondence of Samuel Seabury*, p. 171-5.

‡*Ibid.*, p. 176.

***Gospel Messenger*, New York, December 21st, 1849.

them "that my business here is perfectly completed, in the best way I have been able to transact it." He speaks of his kind reception at the hands of the Scottish Bishops and of his consecration he says, "It was the most solemn day I ever passed; God grant I may never forget it," and he closes by saying, "Will you then accept your Bishop's blessing, and hearty prayers for your happiness in this world and the next? May God bless also, and keep, all the good clergy of Connecticut." * * *

In his letter to Boucher Bishop Seabury frankly discusses his relation to the Church of England in view of his Scotch consecration. "Upon the whole," he writes, "I know nothing, and am conscious that I have done nothing that ought to interrupt my connection with the Church of England. The Church in Connecticut has only done her duty in endeavoring to obtain an Episcopacy for herself, and I have only done my duty in carrying her endeavors into execution. Political reasons prevented her application from being complied with in England. It was natural in the next instance to apply to Scotland, whose Episcopacy, though now under a cloud, is the very same, in every ecclesiastical sense, with the English." The authorities of the Church of England, however, did not so view the transaction. They resented it. Bishop Seabury notes that "His Grace of Canterbury apprehended that my obtaining consecration in Scotland would create jealousies and schisms in the Church." He likewise feared that the Moravian bishops in America would be induced to ordain clergymen. On January 5th, 1785, he writes Jarvis, Hubbard and Leaming saying, "Since my return from Scotland, I have seen none of the bishops, but I have been informed that the step I have taken has displeased the two Archbishops."

In the manuscript *Journal of the Rev. Charles Inglis*, former rector of Trinity Church and later first Bishop of Nova Scotia, he records the receipt of a letter from the Rev. Doctor Thomas Bradbury Chandler "mentioning the political and ecclesiastical state of affairs in America." He shewed the letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury for, he writes, "His Grace had shewed much dissatisfaction at Bp. Seabury's going to Scotland for Consecration, in former conversations." And under date of October 21, 1785, he adds, "Had some conversation with Mr. Granville Sharpe, who mentioned his scruples about Bishop Seabury's consecration—told me he had written to Mr. Manning of Rhode Island and others in America, to prevent their joining with Bishop Seabury."*

The English bishops, however, seem to have repented, for Bishop *A copy of this "*Journal of Occurrences*" is in the *Library of the General Theological Seminary*.

A Boston newspaper, chronicling the great event, wrote:

"Two wonders of the world, a Stamp Act in Boston and a Bishop in Connecticut!"*

LETTERS RELATING TO THE CONSECRATION

The following are the letters relating to the effort to secure the consecration of Doctor Seabury. Most of them were written by him and they are here transcribed from the originals as found in the *Jarvis Papers* now in the possession of Professor Howard Chandler Robbins. Some of them are now published for the first time and shed valuable light on the situation in 1783 and 1784. The spelling is as in the original letters.

TO THE CLERGY OF CONNECTICUT

London, July 15, 1783.

GENTLEMEN,

In prosecution of the Business committed to me by you, I arrived in this City on the 7th Instant. Unfortunately the Abp of York† had left this City a fortnight before, so that I was deprived of his advice & Patronage. I waited on the Bp. of London‡ & met with a cordial Reception from him. He heartily approved of the Scheme, & wished Success to it, & declared his Readiness to concur with the two Abps in carrying it into Execution; but I soon found that he was not disposed to take the Lead in the matter. He mentioned the State Oaths in the Ordination Offices,§ as Impediments, but supposed that the King's Dispensation would be a sufficient Warrant for the Abps. to proceed upon. But on conferring with His Grace of Canterbury** I found his

**Boston Gazette*, May 30, 1785.

†*Most Rev. William Markham.*

‡*The Rt. Rev. Robert Louth.*

§*The Rubric in the English Prayer Book for the consecration of Bishops runs, in part, as follows: "Then shall the Archbishop demand the King's Mandate for the Consecration, and cause it to be read. And the Oath touching the acknowledgement of the King's Supremacy, shall be ministered to the persons elected, as it is set down in the Form for the ordering of Deacons."* The form there set forth reads:

"I, A. B., do Swear, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure as heretical, that damnable Doctrine and Position, that the Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any Authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their Subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Pre-eminence, or Authority Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within this Realm.
So help me God."

***The Most Rev. John Moore. Archbishop Moore consecrated William White, Bishop of Pennsylvania, and Samuel Provoost, Bishop of New York, on February 4th, 1787; also, James Madison, as Bishop of Virginia, on September 10, 1790.*

opinion rather different from the Bp. of London. He received me politely, approved of the Measure, saw the necessity of it, and would do all he could to carry it into Execution. But he must proceed openly & with Candor. His Majesty's Dispensation he feared would not be sufficient to justify the Omission of Oaths imposed by Act of Parliament. He would consult the other Bishops. He would advise with those Persons on whose Judgement he thought he could depend. He was glad to hear the opinion of the Bp. of London, & wished to know the Sentiments of the Abp. of York. He foresaw great Difficulties but hoped none of them were insurmountable.—I purpose to set out for York in a few days to consult the Abp. and will do everything in my Power to carry this Matter into a happy Issue. But it will require a great deal of time & Patience & Attention.—I endeavored to remove those Difficulties that the Abp. of Cant. mentioned. And I am not without Hopes that they will all be got over. My greatest fear arises from the Matter becoming public, as it now must, & that the Dissenters here will prevail on your Government to apply against it, this I think would effectually crush it, at least as far as it is related to Connecticut. You will therefore do well to attend to this Circumstance yourselves, and get such of your Friends as you can trust to find out, should any such Intelligence come from hence. In that case, I think it would be best to avow your Design, & try what strength you can muster in the Assembly to support it. But in this Matter your own Judgements will be a much better Guide to you than any opinion of mine.

I will again write to you on my return from York and shall then be able to tell you more precisely what is like to be the Success of this Business.

I am Reverend Gentlemen with the Greatest Respect & Esteem,

your most obliged Hum Serv^d
SAMUEL SEABURY.

LETTER TO THE CLERGY OF CONNECTICUT

The Rev^d Mr Ab^m Jarvis Middletown Connecticut

London Aug. 10, 1783

Reverend Gentlemen,

In the Letter I wrote to you after my Interview with the Abp of Canterbury, I informed you of the Objections made, and difficulties mentioned by him with Regard to the Business on which I came to England. I also informed you of my Intention to take a Journey to York, that I might have the full Benefit of his Grace of Yorks Advice and Influence. This Journey I have accomplished, and I fear to very little Purpose. His Grace is now carrying on a Cor-

respondence with the Abp. of Canterbury on the Subject, What the issue will be is not certain; but, I think, unless Matters can be put on a different Footing, the Business will not succeed. Both the Abps. are convinced of the necessity of supplying the States of America with Bishops if it be intended to preserve the Episcopal Church there; & they even seem sensible of the Justice of the present Application, but they are exceedingly embarrassed by the following Difficulties.

1. That it would be sending a Bishop to Connecticut, which they have no Right to do without the consent of the State.
2. That the Bishop would not be received in Connecticut.
3. That there would be no adequate Support for him.
4. That the Oaths in the Ordination Office cannot be got over; because the King's Dispensation would not be sufficient to justify the omission of those Oaths. At least there must be the Concurrence of the Kings Council to the omission; & that the Council would not give their concurrence without the Permission of the State of Connecticut to the Bishop's residing among them.

All that I could say had no Effect, and I had a fair opportunity of saying all that I wished to say. It now remains to be considered what method shall be taken to obtain the wished for Episcopate.

The Matter here will become public. Had you not Gentlemen, better make immediate application to the State for Permission to have a Bishop reside there. Should you not succeed you lose nothing, as I am pretty confident you will not succeed here without such Consent. Should there be anything Personal with Regard to me, let it not retard the Matter. I will most readily give up my Pretensions to any Person who shall be agreeable to you, & less exceptionable to the State.

You can make this attempt with all the strength you can muster among the Laity—and at the same time I would advise that some Persons be sent to try the State of Vermont on this Subject. In the mean time I will try to prepare & get things in a proper train here. I think I shall be able to get at the Duke of Portland & Lord North on the occasion. And should you succeed in either Instance, I think all difficulty would be at an End.

I am worthy Gentlemen, with the greatest Respect and Esteem, your much obliged & very hum^l Brother & Serv^t

SAM SEABURY.

LETTER TO THE REV. JEREMIAH LEAMING, D. D.

To the Rev^d Mr. Leaming
No 2 Fair Street,
New York.

By the Packet. London Sep^r 3. 1783

My dear Sir,

Though I have so lately written to you as well as to the Clergy of Connecticut, explaining the Situation of the Business on which I came to England, yet I must more fully open my Mind to you; and you are to be the judge, whether any and how much of this Letter is to be shewed to anyone else.

With regard to my Success, I not only think it doubtful, but that the Probability is against it. Nobody here will risk anything for the sake of the Church, or for the Sake of continuing Episcopal Ordination in America. Unless therefore it can be made a ministerial Affair none of the Bishops will proceed in it for Fear of Clamour. And indeed the Ground on which they at present stand seems to me so uncertain that, I believe, they are obliged to take great Care with regard to any Step they take out of the common Road. They are apprehensive that my Consecration would be looked on in the Light of *Sending* a Bishop to Connecticut, & that the State of Connecticut would resent it, & that they should be considered as medlers in Matters that did not concern them. This is the great reason why I wish that the State of Connecticut should be applied to for their Consent—without it, I think, nothing will be done. If they refuse the whole Matter is at an End. If they consent that a Bishop should reside among them, the grand Obstacle will be removed. You see the necessity of making the attempt, & of making it with Vigor. One Reason, indeed, why I wished the Attempt to be made in Connecticut relates to myself. I cannot continue here long. Necessity will compel me to leave it in March or April at furthest.* If this Business fails, I must try to get some Provision made for myself. And, indeed the State of Connecticut may consent that a Bishop should reside among them, though they might not consent, that I should be the Man. In that case the sooner I shall know it the better. And should that be the Case, I beg that no Clergyman in Connecticut will hesitate on my account. The point is to get the Episcopal Authority into that Country; & he shall have every assistance in my Power. Something should also be said about the Means of Support for a Bishop in that Country. The Bishops here seem apprehensive that the Character will sink into Contempt unless there be some competent and permanent Fund for its Support.—Please let your Opinion of what ought to be said

*Seabury went to England at his own cost, sacrificing the small property he possessed.

on that Subject be communicated by the first Opportunity, i. e. provided you think anything can be done in Connecticut.

Dr. Chandler's* appointment to Nova Scotia will I believe succeed. And possibly he may go thither this Autumn, or at least early in the Spring. But his Success will do no Good in the States of America. His Hands will be as much tied as the Hands of the Bishops in England; & I think he will run no risks to communicate the Episcopal Power. There is therefore everything depending on the success of the Application to the State of Connecticut. It must be made quickly lest the Dissenters here should interpose & prevent it; and it should be made with the united Efforts of Clergy and Laity, that the Weight may be the greater; and its Issue you must make me acquainted with as soon as you can. Please to send me one or two more Testimonials from the Copy which Dr. Inglis† has. Dr. Moore‡ & Mr. Odell will assist in Copying and getting them signed, & I may want them.

Your Letter has not yet been delivered to Dr. Morice.§ He has been out of Town, but is now returned. As soon as Dr. Chandler is at Leisure I will attend him, & will do all that you can wish me to do.

On the 27th of August I had the Pleasure of receiving a letter from you dated July 14th. The affair of the Library you mention I will endeavor to have brought before the Society (S. P. G.) at their next Meeting. But I wish first to speak to one or two of the Standing Committee, that the Bishops may find some Support when it comes to be Considered.

I write to nobody but to you & my Family. Be kind enough then to remember me with Affection to Dr. Inglis, Messrs Odell, Brown, Moore, &c &c that is the Clergy—to Mrs. Leaming & all under your roof. Tell my good friend Rivington** that I have received his kind letter of July 22 with its enclosure, & that I will write to him by Capt. Coupar who will return this Autumn to New York. By Capt. Coupar I expect to be able to acquaint you with the Result of the Interview of the two Archbishops on my Business. In the mean time may God direct & prosper all the Endeavors of his faithful Servants to the Establishment of his true Religion in the Western World. Adieu, Friend of my Heart! May I see thee again in Peace! May I again enjoy the Pleasure of thy Converse & with thee be instrumental in promoting the Welfare of Christ's Kingdom—Adieu!

I am thy ever affect^d

S. SEABURY.

*Rev. Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler.

†Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis, rector of Trinity Church, New York.

‡Rev. Dr. Benjamin Moore, Assistant minister of Trinity parish.

§The Rev. Dr. Morice was the clerical secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

**John Rivington, known as the "tory" bookseller in the city of New York.

Over

Let application be made also to the State of Vermont, lest that to Connecticut should fail.

LETTER TO THE REV. JEREMIAH LEAMING

No 393 Oxford Street London
Octo^r 20th, 1783.

My very dear Friend,

Notwithstanding I have written several letters to you, & to my worthy Brethren the Clergy of Connecticut, informing them of the difficulties & objections respecting the business upon which I came to London, yet I think it my duty again to state them to you, lest my former Letters may, some how or other, have failed of reaching your hands. They are made by Abbps. are

1. The Impropriety of sending a Bishop to Connecticut, now it is a sovereign, independent State, over which they have no control without the desire or at least the permission of that State.
2. The Impropriety of sending a Bishop where there is no Diocese established, nor any provision made for his decent support.
3. The Obligations they are under by Law, & by their oath, to consecrate no Bishop without the King's Mandamus, which they suppose cannot be granted in this case, because the oaths in the ordination office are enjoyned, not by Regal, but Parliamentary authority, which the King, they say, cannot dispense with.
4. The Impossibility which, they conceive, there is, of obtaining a dispensing act of Parliament without the desire or consent of the State of Connecticut.

To these objections I have made the best reply I could and the Abp of Cant. has answered me that he will consult the Crown Lawyer, & the Bench of Bishops when they come to town in November: So that I suppose I shall know the final determination about Christmas. This determination I think will be against me. Indeed I have been so persuaded that I should not proceed in the way proposed, ever since my return from Scotland, that had I not thought it my duty to examine & see whether there was no other possible chance of obtaining that Episcopate which is so absolutely necessary for the existence of our Church, in the States of America, I should certainly have returned to you with Capt. Coupar.—On this ground I thought that it would be right to try whether the State of Connecticut would consent to the measure; If they should, the other difficulties, I believe, may be removed; though even of this, I am far from being positive.

If the State should refuse their consent, the matter will be, I think at an end for the present. And indeed it will be necessary for me that it should be determined, one way or the other, as far as I am concerned, in the course of this winter; because I cannot possibly support the expence of living here longer than till March or April.—If therefore the Clergy think it best to apply to the State for their Consent, they must let me know the issue as soon as possible.—If they think that an improvident plan, they must let me know whether they can give me positive assurances of a decent support from the Churches there, & what that support would certainly amount to—because should the Non-Jurors or any foreign bishop be applied to, I could expect no support from the Society,* or any other way from hence.—Should the State of Connecticut make any objection to me, let me be no bar, I beseech you. Let another be chosen, against whom they have no objections; I will resign my pretensions most willingly, I will assist him most readily, & with all my power.—But the business, as far, at least as I am concerned will not admit of delay. You know that, at present, I am utterly unprovided for. I must, this winter, procure some establishment for myself. It is a duty which, you are sensible, I owe to my children. If, therefore, you cannot do otherwise to your Satisfaction, send this letter to Mr. Jarvis or who else you please, by a particular messenger, I write yourself that no time may be lost. You may depend on it, that I will do everything I can; & if I succeed not, I will endeavor to remove obstructions out of the way of any one that may come after me.

We have a report here, which seems to stand on good ground, that the Clergy of Maryland are about to send home a Mr. Keen† upon the same business under the auspices of the State, at least of the lower house. If he be a good man I shall rejoice to see him here before I leave the country. Possibly he can get through the business, & then my dis-appointment will be of less consequence.

I write to nobody but to you; you will therefore show

*Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

†Rev. Samuel Keene was born May 11, 1734; ordained deacon in London Sept. 21, 1760, and priest on the 29th. On March 23, 1762, he was inducted minister of St. Ann's parish, Maryland, and in 1767 became rector of St. Luke's parish, Queen Anne County. He attended the first convention of Maryland held November 9, 1780, and his name is appended to the Declaration of the Fundamental Rights and Liberties of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland, dated August 13, 1783. Writing to the Rev. Doctor William White of Philadelphia, under date of October 22, 1783, the Rev. Doctor Charles Inglis, former rector of Trinity parish, New York City, says: "The News Papers, some time since, announced that the Clergy of Maryland had chosen Mr. Keene to be sent for consecration to England; but I find the account was premature. Mr. Keene was a very worthy man when I knew him, and I doubt not he is so still." (History of the American Episcopal Church, Perry, Vol. II., p. 15n.) It is to be noted that the Rev. Doctor William Smith, president of Washington College, was selected to be consecrated as bishop by the clergy of Maryland on August 13, 1783, and that the name of Samuel Keene is attached to the testimonial. Mr. Keene died May 8, 1810, at the age of seventy-six.

this letter to those whose advice you would wish to take. Dr. C.* wants to write to you, relating to some matters with the Society, but waits for some private hand whom he can confide in. You must proceed, my dear Sir, in the best way you can. I know not how I shall write to you again time enough to do any Service.—I wish anxiously to hear from you. I want to know how you are—what your prospects are &c. The Society I think will admit no new missionaries. They will however, I hope, continue their salaries to the old ones. They are to have a quarterly meeting in November, when, I suppose, these points will be determined.—God bless my worthy friend, the friend of my heart, prays your affect^{ed} S.

In response to the urgent request of Dr. Seabury that the legislature of the State of Connecticut be asked to give its consent to the residence of a bishop within the State, the clergy of Connecticut assembled in convention at Wallingford on January 13, 1784. The Seabury letters were read, and the following day it was "voted that Mr. Leaming, Mr. Hubbard, and Mr. Jarvis be a committee to collect the opinions of the leading members of the Assembly concerning an application by the clergy of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut for the legal protection of a bishop for said Church, when they shall be able to procure one agreeable to the common rights of Christians, as those rights are now claimed and understood by all denominations of Christians in the State." (Beardsley. *Life and Correspondence of Samuel Seabury*, p. 112.)

This committee found that, in the opinion of those whom they consulted, not only was special permission unnecessary, but any application for it undesirable as tending to stir up opposition. The State had already passed a general act protecting the rights of all religious bodies. This sentiment was conveyed to Dr. Seabury in the following letter:—

LETTER FROM THE CLERGY OF CONNECT TO DR. SEABURY

Middletown, Feb. 5, 1784.

R & Dear Sir,

Since the receipt of your letters, addressed to the clergy in Connecticut, we have by your letters to the Revd Mr. Leaming a more explicit information of the difficulties suggested by the Bishops in England, & which appear to operate upon their minds, against complying with our petition, & to their giving you episcopal consecration.

The clergy were immediately made acquainted with what you had written, & shortly after met at Wallingford. In convention it was voted,—that the leading members of

*Rev. Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler.

both houses of Assembly, which was then sitting at New Haven, should be conferred with, so far as the proposed difficulties had reference to the civil government. We the subscribers were appointed a committee of convention for the above purpose, and, as a conventional answer to your letters, communicate to you the result of that conference, together with our opinion, & what we could do, to obviate the objections made by the Bishops. Mr. Leaming and Mr. Hubbard conversed freely & fully with a number of principal Members of both houses of Assembly, & collected their Sentiments on the subject. They met with a degree of attention and candour beyond our expectations, & in respect of the need, the propriety, or the prudence of our application to government for the admission of a Bishop into the State, their opinions appeared fully to coincide with our own. Your right, they said is unquestionable. You have therefore our full concurrence for your enjoyment of what you judge essential to your Church. Was an act of assembly expedient to your complete enjoyment of your own ecclesiastical constitution, we would freely give our vote for such an act. We have passed a law which embraces your church, wherein are comprehended all the legal rights & powers, intended by our constitution to be given to any denomination of christians. In that act is included all you want. Let a Bishop come; by that act, he will stand upon the same ground that the rest of the clergy do, or the church at large. It was remarked, that there were some, who would oppose & would labor to excite opposition among the people, who if unalarmed by any jealousies, will probably remain quiet. For which reason it would be impolicy both in us, & them, for the assembly to meddle at all with their Business. The introduction of a Bishop, on the present footing, without anything more, in their opinion would be the easiest & surest way in which it could be done, & we might be sure of his protection. This they thought must be enough to satisfy the Bishops, & all concerned in the affair in England. We are further authorized to say, that the legislature of the State would be so far from taking umbrage, that the more liberal part, will consider the Bishops in this transaction as maintaining entire consistency of principle & character, & by so doing merit their commendation.

The act above alluded to, you will receive enclosed in a letter from Mr. Leaming, attested by the Clerk of the lower house of assembly. It is not yet published. The clerk was so obliging as to copy it from the Journals of the house. You were mentioned as the gentleman we had pitched upon; the Secretary of the State, from personal knowledge, & others said things honorable & benevolent towards you. Now, if the opinion of the Governor & other members of the council explicitly given, in agreement with the most respectable Members among the representatives, who must be

admitted to be competent Judges of their own civil polity, is reasonably sufficient to remove all scruples about the concurrence of the legislature, we cannot imagine that objection, will any longer have a place in the minds of the archbishops. We here understand, as we suppose, the part which the government established among us, means to take in respect of religion in general, & the protection it will afford to the different denominations of christians under which the subjects of it are classed; and the lowest construction, which is all we expect, must amount to a permission that the episcopal church enjoy all the requisites of her polity, and have a Bishop to reside among them. We feel ourselves at some loss for a reply to the objection which relates to the limits & establishment of a diocese, because the government here is not episcopal, and because we do not conceive a civil or legal limitation & establishment of a diocese, essentially attached to the doctrine of episcopacy, or the existence of a Bishop in the church. The Presbyters who elect the Bishop, & the congregations to which they minister, may naturally direct his active superintendence, and prescribe the acknowledged boundaries of his diocese. Under existing circumstances, and it is utterly impossible to judge, with any certainty what in the course of divine providence may be the future condition of the church in this country, we can contemplate no other support for a Bishop than what is to be deprived from voluntary contracts & subscriptions & contributions directed by the good will & Zeal of the members of a Church who are taught, & do believe that a Bishop is the chief Minister in the kingdom of Christ on earth. Other engagements it is not in our power to enter into, than our best endeavors to obtain what our people can do, and we trust will continue to do, in proportion to the increase of their Ability, of which we flatter ourselves with some favorable prospect.

A Bishop in connecticut must in some degree, be of the primitive style. With patience & a share of primitive zeal, he must rest for support on the church which he serves, as head in her ministrations unornamented with the temporal Dignity, & without props of secular power. An episcopate of this plain and simple character, amidst the doubts & uncertainty which at present in a measure pervade everything, we hope may pass unenvied & its sacred functions be performed unobstructed. Should what we have now written be thought sufficient to do away the objections which have been advanced as a bar to your consecration: yet if you cannot find yourself disposed to come to us under these circumstances, painful necessity must compel us to wait patiently until divine providence shall open a door propitious to our wants. But, in the mean time, with the help of God, we will not remit in our endeavors to preserve, & as far as in us lies, cherish this remnant of the church.

We herewith transmit to you, two copies of our Letter,

move to New London, if you & my friends at New London think well of it. How my children may fare I know not, but hope they will not suffer. Any attention that can be paid them will be gratefully acknowledged by me.)

This is a very hasty letter. I have had only 20 minutes to write it. My best wishes attend the Clergy of Connecticut. Nova Scotia affairs, civil & ecclesiastical, go on heavily. The Parliament is to meet May 18th. Mr. Leaming will forgive my not answering his letter now, because it is impossible. All the Clergy here are well.

Accept, my good, my dear friend, the most affectionate regards of your most obliged Hum^l Serv^t

Rev^d Mestrs Leaming, Hubbard & Jarvis, Connecticut.
S. SEABURY.

LETTER TO REVEREND ABRAHAM JARVIS

No. 393 Oxford Street London
May 3rd, 1784.

My dear Sir,

I embrace an opportunity by the way of Rhode Island to address you as Secretary of the Convention, & to inform you that I have received a letter of the 5th of Feby signed by yourself & my very good Brethren Leaming & Hubbard, for which you all have my most hearty thanks. I am also to inform you that I wrote to you & them as a committee on the 30th of April, under cover to Mr. Ellison, by a vessel bound to New York (The Ship Buccleugh) acknowledging the receipt of the Letter above mentioned. Mine was a very hasty letter, but in it I acquainted you that I had shewn your letter to the Apb. of York. We were broken in upon by company, & he gave me no opinion on the letter; but desired that I would communicate it to the Apb. of Cant. & to the Bp. of London as soon as I conveniently could. I called in my way on the Bp. of Oxford, who has been very attentive to me, speaks his mind without reserve & is communicative, & hears me with patience & with candor, is much of a Gentleman, & a man of learning & business. He read the letter with attention—said he hardly thought it sufficient ground to proceed upon. I endeavored to explain the arguments you had used & to confirm them from the particular circumstances of the Church in Connecticut. He read the letter again, commended it, spoke handsomely of the gentlemen who wrote it, & of the Clergy of Connecticut who so anxiously strove to perpetuate the Episcopal Church—said it would be a great pity that so much piety and zeal in so good a cause should not obtain the wished-for object—that the letter certainly gave an opportunity for reconsidering the matter, & merited attentive deliberation, & that possibly he should yet come into the opinion of its writers—I am sorry that he leaves

& two of the general Testimonial Misled (attested) by the Secretary. Continuing fervently desirous of your success; & with our best wishes for your personal health & prosperity; we are in behalf of Convention,

JEREMIAH LEAMING,
ABRAHAM JARVIS,
BELA HUBBARD.

LETTER TO REV. JEREMIAH LEAMING OR REV. MR. HUBBARD

Oxford Street London No. 393
April 30/84

Gentlemen,

Your letter dated at Middletown Feb. 5 with the papers that accompanied it came duly to me by the Packet. I also received a Letter from Mr. Leaming, but no copy of the act of the Legislature to which in your letter you refer. I hope it is on the way.

I have communicated your Letter to the Abp. of York, & the Bp^s of London & Oxford. The last did not seem to think it quite satisfactory, but said the letter was a good one & gave him an advantageous opinion of the Gentlemen who wrote it, & of the Clergy of Connecticut in general—and that it was worthy of serious consideration. The Bp. of London thought it removed all the difficulties on your side of the Water, & that nothing was now wanting but an act of Parliament to dispence with the State Oaths, & he imagined that would be easily obtained. The Abp. of York gave no opinion but wished that I would loose no time in showing it to the Abp. of Cant. This happened yesterday. This morning I went to Lambeth, but his Grace was gone out 10 minutes before I got there. I shall go again tomorrow; but if I stay till I hear from him I shall loose this opportunity of writing, which I am not willing to do.

Upon the whole, your letter will do good. It attacks the objections in the right place, & answers them fairly; & will enable me to take up the business upon firmer ground. I have determined with myself, that if the Bps. hang back, to bring the matter before Parliament by petition & if that should fail, the scheme will be at an end here, I fear forever. Capt. Cougar will sail from hence in three weeks, & by him I hope to be able to give you some satisfactory accounts of my procedure.

You will, Gentlemen, inform my friends at New London how matters are situated. I hope to be with them in the course of this Summer, & shall not hesitate to trust my future prospects to God's Good Providence, & the kind endeavors of my Brethren to render my life comfortable, nay happy.
(I have desired my daughter Maria at New York, to re-

he was adverse to conferring orders upon them; but that the supposition was groundless, he being willing & ready to do it when it could be consistently done. The young gentlemen had met with every encouragement to, tempt them to a voyage to Denmark.

Upon the whole, you will perceive that your letter has done great service of itself; & it has enabled me to open a new battery, which I will mount with the heaviest cannon & mortars I can muster, & will play them as vigorously as possible.

I anxiously expect the next arrival from New York, in hopes I shall receive the Act you refer to respecting the Church in Connecticut, & which His Grace thinks will be necessary to enable him to proceed.

I hope, my dear friends, that I shall be with you in the course of this Summer, & be happy with you in the full enjoyment of our holy religion. Make my most affectionate regards to the Clergy as you have opportunity. No one esteems them more, or loves them more than I do—*They* are the *Salt* which must now preserve our Church from all decay & in perfect health & soundness.

I shall wait on his Grace on wednesday—this is Monday—and if I am fortunate enough to see him, shall put a note for you into the mail which will close on Wednesday night for New York.

Believe me to be your ever affectionate friend & very hum^l Servant,

Rev. Abraham Jarvis.
S. SEABURY.

LETTER TO REV. ABRAHAM JARVIS

No. 393 Oxford Street, London.
May 24, 1784.

My dear Sir,

By the last Packet I wrote to you as Secretary of the Episcopal Convention, under cover to Mr. Ellison at New York, & a day or two after by a Vessel to Rhode Island under cover to Mr. Jon^a Shaw of New London. Both which letters, I flatter myself, will get safe to you. Since those letters I have had two interviews with his Grace of Canterbury; the last this morning. He declares himself ready to do everything in his power to promote the business I am engaged in; but still thinks that an Act of Parliament will be necessary to enable him to proceed; & also that the Act of the Legislature of your State, which you mentioned would be sent to me by Mr. Leaming, is absolutely necessary on which to found an application to Parliament. I pleased myself with the prospect of receiving the copy of that act by the last packet, the Letters of which arrived here the 15th in-

town next week, as I shall thereby loose the benefit of his advice & assistance.

From him I went to the Bp. of London, who is an amiable man but very infirm & I think his memory & other faculties are declining; he avoids business as much as possible. Having read the Letter he asked many questions, & when he had fully apprehended the matter, he said he thought that every objection was removed on the part of the Connecticut Clergy, & that an act of Parliament, which he thought might be easily obtained, would remove the impediment of the State oaths, and he hoped that the Abp. of Cant. would see the matter in the same light as he did.

This morning I went to Lambeth but missed of seeing his Grace. On the first of May I went again. His Graces behaviour though polite, I thought, was cool & restrained. When he had read the letter he observed that it was still the application only of the Clergy, & that the permission was only the permission of individuals & not of the Legislature. I observed that the reason why the Legislature had not been applied to were specified in the letter, & that they appeared to me to be founded in reason & good sense. That had his Grace demanded the concurrence of the laity of the Church last autumn it might easily have been procured—That it was the first wish both of the Episcopal Clergy & Laity of Connecticut to have an Episcopate through the clear & uninterrupted channel of the Church of England, & my first wish that his grace and the Abp. of York & the Bp. of London might be the instruments of its conveyance, but that if such difficulties & objections lay in the way as it was impossible to remove, it was but lost time for me to pursue it further, but I hoped that his Grace would converse with the Abp. of York & the Bp. of London on the Subject. He said he certainly would as soon as he was able, but that he was then very unwell. I thought it was no good time to press the matter while the body & mind were not in perfect unison & rose to withdraw, offering to leave the letter, as it might be wanted. I will not, said he, take the original from you, lest it fare as the letter you brought from the Clergy of Connecticut has fared; I left it with Ld. North when he was in office & have never been able to recover it; but if you will favor me with copies of both letters, I shall be obliged to you. I promised compliance & took my leave.

Dr. Chandler has been with him today on the subject of the N. Scotia Episcopacy which I believe will be effected. His Grace introduced the subject of Connecticut; declared his readiness to do everything in his power, complimented the Clergy of Connecticut & your hum^l Serv^t, talked of an act of Parliament & mentioned that some young Gentlemen from the southern States, who were here soliciting orders, had applied to the danish Bps. through the medium of the danish Ambassador at the Hague, upon a supposition that

religion fully which they cannot do in Connecticut without a Bishop.

I beg my most respectful regards may be made to the Clergy of Connecticut, & that they will believe me to be anxiously engaged in the fulfilment of their wishes in the business of the Episcopate proposed.

Believe me to be, dear Sir, your hearty well wisher & very hum^l Serv^t,

S. SEABURY.

LETTER TO REV. ABRAHAM JARVIS

London, June 26, 1784.

My dear Sir,

I have now to inform you that I received on the 17th inst. Mr. Leaming's letter, inclosing the act of the legislature of Connecticut, respecting liberty of conscience in that State. Upon the whole, I think it a liberal one; and, if it be fairly interpreted and abided by, fully adequate to all good purposes. I have had a long conversation with the Abp. of Canterbury, and another with the Abp. of York, on the act. They seem to think the principal objections are removed as far as you or I are concerned. They spoke handsomely of the Clergy of Connecticut, and declared themselves satisfied with your humble servant, whom the clergy were pleased to recommend to them. But I apprehend there are some difficulties here that may not easily be got over. These arise from the restrictions the Bishops are under about consecrating without the King's leave, and the doubt seems to be about the King's leave to consecrate a Bishop who is not to reside in his dominions; and about the validity of his dispensing with the oath, in case he has power to grant leave of consecration. I have declared my opinion, which is, that as there is no law relative to a Bishop who is to reside in a foreign state, the Archbishops are left to the general laws of the Christian Church, and have no need either of the King's leave or dispensation. But the opinion of so little a man cannot have much weight. The Archbishop of Canterbury supposes that an act of Parliament will be necessary; yet he wishes to get through the business, if possible, without it, and acknowledged that the opinion of the majority of the Bishops differed from his. The questions are referred to the attorney and solicitor-general, and their opinion, should they agree, will, I presume, determine the point. This opinion, I hope, will be obtained in a short time, as the Archbishop of Canterbury has promised to consult them. Should I know the result time enough, I will give it to you by the next Packet, which will sail in a fortnight.

I have had opportunities of consulting some very respectable clergymen in this matter, and their invariable

stant; but great was my mortification that no letters came to me from my good & ever dear friends. What I shall do I know not, as the business is at a dead stand without it; & the Parliament is now sitting. If the next arrival does not bring it, I shall be at my wits end. Send it therefore, by all means even after the Receipt of this Letter; or if you have sent it, send a duplicate.

His Grace says he sees no reason to despair; but yet that matters are in such a state of uncertainty that he knows not how to promise anything. He complains of the people in power—that there is no getting them to attend to anything in which their own party is not concerned. This is certainly the worst country in the world to do business in. I wonder how they get along at any rate. But if I had the Act of your State which you refer to in your letter, I should be able to bring the matter to a crisis, & it would be determined one way or the other. And as it is attended with uncertainty whether I shall succeed here, I have in two or three letters to Mr. Leaming, requested to know, whether in case of failure here, it would be agreeable to the Clergy in Connecticut that I should apply to the Nonjuring Bps. in Scotland, who have been sounded & declare their readiness to carry the business into Execution. I hope to receive Instructions on this head by the next arrival, & in the mean time must watch actions as they rise.

Believe me, there is nothing that is not base that I would not do, nor any risk that I would not run, nor any inconvenience to myself, that I would not encounter, to carry this business into effect. And I assure you, if I do not succeed, it shall not be my Fault.

There is one piece of intelligence we have heard from Nova Scotia that gives me some uneasiness, viz: that Messrs Andrews, * Hubbard† and Scovill‡ are expected in N. Scotia this Summer, with a large proportion of their Congregations. This intelligence operates against us. For if these Gentlemen cannot, or if they & their Congregations do not choose to stay in Connecticut, why should a Bishop go there? I answer one reason of their going is the hopes of enjoying their

**Rev. Samuel Andrews (Yale), born at Meriden, Ct., was ordained in England and appointed S. P. G. missionary at Wallingford, with Cheshire and North Haven. In 1767 he made a missionary journey to "different towns and governments to the northward," reaching as far as Alington, New Hampshire. During the War of the Revolution he was placed under heavy bonds and not allowed to visit a parishioner without the special leave of the Selectmen of the town. (Beardsley, Hty. of the Church in Connecticut, Vol. I., p. 317.) About 1786 he removed to New Brunswick and was missionary of St. Andrews, Charlotte Co. He died September 26, 1818. (Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G., Vol. II., pp. 852, 865.)*

†*Rev. Bela Hubbard.*

‡*Rev. James Scovill, born at Waterbury, Ct.; graduated from Yale 1757 and took his M. A. degree at King's College, New York, in 1761. Ordained in England, he was appointed S. P. G. missionary at Waterbury, his native town. Deprived of his grant from the S. P. G., he reluctantly accepted the offer of the Society to move to New Brunswick, and had charge of South Kingston from 1786 to 1808. (He died December 19, 1808. (Cf. Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G., Vol. II., p. 867.)*

too long to communicate by letter; but I hope to spend the next winter in Connecticut, and then you shall know all, at least all that I shall remember.

My best regards attend the Clergy and all my friends and the friends of the Church. I hope yet to spend some happy years with them. Accept, my good brethren, the best wishes of your affectionate humble servant,

SAMUEL SEABURY.

LETTER TO REV. ABRAHAM JARVIS*

London Sep^r 7th, 1784.

My dear Sir,

My latter letters to you, and to my other friends in America, have been rather of the sanguine complexion, and have represented my affair here as being in a way that promised success. The representation was a true & just one, and all our friends here supposed the matter would, in this time, have been completed. I am now, however, to inform you that it has absolutely & intirely failed, & I believe forever—certainly it will not take place under the present administration, & whether future administrations may be more favorable is very uncertain. The present premier is so intirely under the influence, or in the interest, of the presbyterian party, that I am confident Dr. Price has more weight with him, than the whole bench of Bishops. Had Ld. North & Wm. Fox continued in power matters would, I believe, have succeeded. They considered the abp. as an honest & sensible man; fully capable of managing all ecclesiastical affairs, & worthy of being absolutely confided in. They therefore immediately consented to the establishment of a Bishop in Nova Scotia, & I have every reason to believe would have readily consented to my Consecration had it come before them. But now the Nova Scotia business is dormant, & I suspect will not be resumed by the present ministry & to my consecration they have positively refused to consent.

After I received the copy of the Act of the Legislature of Connecticut, the abp. declared himself fully satisfied, & that the Connecticut Episcopate should have his fullest support. In some subsequent conversations, he said he should have some difficulty with some of the Members of the House of Commons, but believed he should obviate all objections by the manner & wording of the Bill, or sur-

**The Churchman's Magazine, Vol. III., 1806, p. 276, which had previously published some of the Seabury letters, states that there was a letter from the clergy of Connecticut instructing Seabury to proceed to Scotland for consecration, and also one from Seabury to the clergy reporting the failure of his efforts in England, and adds, "all attempts to recover from them have been unsuccessful." The letter from Connecticut has not yet been discovered, but this letter from Seabury reporting his failure is clearly the one referred to.*

opinion is, that should I be disappointed here, where the business had been so fairly, candidly, and honorably pursued, it would become my duty to obtain Episcopal consecration wherever it can be had, and that no exception could be taken here at my doing so. The Scotch succession was named. It was said to be equal to any succession in the world, &c. There I know consecration may be had. But with regard to this matter, I hope to hear from you in answer to a letter I wrote to Mr. Leaming, I think in April. Should I receive any instructions from the clergy of Connecticut, I shall attend to them; if not, I shall act according to the best advice I can get, and my own judgment.

Believe me, there is nothing I have so much at heart as the accomplishment of the business you have intrusted to my management; and I am ready to make every sacrifice of worldly consideration that may stand in the way of its completion. I am, reverend Sir, with the greatest esteem, your and the Clergy's most obedient servant,

SAMUEL SEABURY.

LETTER TO CLERGY OF COMMITTEE

London, July 26, 1784.

Gentlemen,

I take the opportunity by Mr. Townsend to write to you, although I have little more to say than I have already said in my late letters.

On the 21st Inst. I had an interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury. I was with him an hour. He entered fully & warmly into my business; declared himself fully sensible of the expediency, justice, and necessity of the measure; and also of the necessity of its being carried immediately into execution. An act of Parliament, however, will be requisite to enable the Bishops to proceed without incurring a *Praemunire*. A bill for this purpose I am encouraged to expect will be brought in as soon as the proper steps are taken to insure it an easy passage through the two Houses. The previous measures are now concerting, and I am flattered with every prospect of success. But everything here is attended with uncertainty till it is actually done. Men or measures, or both, may be changed to-morrow, and then all will be to go through again. However, I shall patiently wait the issue of the present session of Parliament, which, it is the common opinion, will continue a month longer. If nothing be done, I shall give up the matter here as unattainable, and apply to the North, unless I should receive contrary directions from the Clergy of Connecticut.

The various difficulties I have had to struggle with, and the various steps I have taken to get through them, are

general, & of the Episcopalians in particular, & of the Articles of Confederation of the 13 States; & manifested such an inattention to the interest, harmony & mutual intercourse & political connection of the two countries; that I must think they were intended to perplex, & confound & finally to defeat the measure entirely—that I thought it would be lost labor, & lost time to attempt it. That the dye was cast, & the ministry had refused to meet the Americans even on the friendly ground of a religious connection. That the Am^a Episcopalians must now look to some other country for a valid & clear Episcopate, & I hoped they would find, in some corner of the world, that attention to the common interests of Christianity which they had here sought in vain.

1. With regard to N. Scotia, they had it in their power to complete that business whenever they pleased, this week as well as next year.

2. That the Congress, by the Articles of Confederation, were incompetent to the business; & that no application could be made to them without infringing the Sovereignty of the State of Connecticut.

3. That the State of Connecticut had, by the Act, given to his Grace, implied an acquiescence equal to the most explicit declaration.

4. That the Clergy of Connecticut were the proper persons to make the application, as they & not the Laity were to be under the control of the Bishop.

5. That as far as Connecticut was concerned the Laity were not averse to having Bishops resident among them—that how it was with the Laity to the Southward I knew not, nor was concerned to know.

6. That the Episcopal Congregations in Connecticut would naturally be the Bps. diocese—that their number intitled them to consideration, & that in the knowledge of their religion & in attachment to it they were not exceeded by the people in any part of England, not even excepting the diocese of Canterbury. That if we waited till the Country should be divided into regular dioceses, we might wait on, for that was not likely to happen—that with regard to maintenance, the consideration might indeed affect me, but it could affect nobody besides—that his Grace had the remedy in his own hands, in a great measure, as President of the Society,* & might appropriate a reasonable part of the annual income of the Legacies left to an Am^a Episcopate, to the State of Connecticut.

7. That having neglected a necessary duty for almost a Century was a very bad reason for continuing the neglect—that as the Bishop would have none but purely ecclesiastical powers, the State of Connecticut were too liberal in their sentiments to give any opposition.

**Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.*

mount them in the conduct of it. That he believed he had convinced the Ld. Chancellor (Thurlow) of the Justice, Humanity & propriety of the measure, & of the necessity of carrying it into immediate execution. That he should in a few days, have an interview with Mr. Pitt on the subject, & would take opportunity to converse with those persons from whom he expected an opposition, & would explain the business to them; & that he persuaded himself, nay, *confidently hoped* that it would end to my entire satisfaction, & that when he was prepared for another conversation with me he would inform me by note. About fourteen days after I received a note from his Grace desiring my attendance at Lambeth the next morning. The coolness & shortness of the note made me suspect that the matter had ended unfavorably; nor was I disappointed. His Grace began with expressing his sorrow at the ill success of his endeavors,—assured me that he had done everything that he could do—that he had made use of weapons & arguments which he thought were good ones, & ought to have carried conviction with them. The ministry had however refused to comply, & had declared peremptorily that they would not suffer a Bill authorizing the consecration of a Bishop for any of the States of America to pass the House of Commons. I asked what the reasons were on which the refusal was founded, and they were, as nearly as I could recollect them when I got home, as follows, viz:

1. That they could not consent to such a measure on any terms till the Nova Scotia Episcopacy was settled.

2. That they could not consent unless the Congress requested, or at least formally acquiesced in such a measure.

3. That Connecticut was only one State, & even their consent not Explicitly declared.

4. That the application was only from the Clergy, & not from the Laity of Connecticut.

5. That the Laity of the Episcopal communion in America were adverse to the having of Bps. resident among them.

6. That the Country was not divided into Dioceses, nor any provision made for Bishops.

7. That having never sent a Bishop into America while the 13 States were subject to G. Britain, it would have a very suspicious appearance to do it now, & would probably create or augment ill will in that country against this.

I was asked whether I thought I could get over these objections? I answered, that the objections shewed such a total ignorance of the State & temper of the American in

This is the sum of my answers—I was an hour & a half with his Grace, & I fear some times in danger of losing my temper, as he thrice called on me to explain some hard expressions that fell from me. At parting he requested that I would use my influence to prevent the Con^t Clergy from applying elsewhere; but this I could not do unless on an absolute promise of succeeding here. He then desired I would call on him again, especially if I got any new intelligence—this I promised, but have not yet been with him. Nor indeed do I now want to see him, lest he should draw from me explanations which I do not choose to make, at least to him. It is needless for me to make any reflections on the above mentioned. But my duty requires that I should inform you of what I have since done.

After my ideas had got again into regular train, I could not help suspecting that presbyterian influence had prevailed on Mr Pitt to act so directly contrary to the views of the abp. And I was apprehensive that this influence might be exerted in Connecticut, to stir up opposition there. And as all chance of succeeding here was at an end, I thought myself justifiable in endeavoring to introduce into Connecticut, a valid & clear Episcopacy from another quarter. I therefore wrote to Scotland, to try to renew a treaty which had proceeded pretty far when I received the Act you sent me. But as this Act made so great an impression on the Abp. & he appeared so confident of carrying the point, I thought it my duty to abide the issue, & so the Scotch treaty was suspended. This I find has given some umbrage there, but I hope to get over it, & expect to hear from them in a short time. On this subject I wrote several times, last winter & spring, to you & Mr Leaming, & hoped to have received some directions before this time, but have been disappointed. I have therefore acted on my own judgement, & on such advice as I could get here. I have consulted several American & English clergymen, & two lay members of the Society. They all without an exception concurred in my sentiments, & urged me to pursue the scheme. The event will depend on my next letters from Edinburgh. One embarrassment, even should they consent to renew the treaty, I fear. I have no approbation of such a step from the Con^t Clergy, nor any assurance that they will receive such a Bp. But this I must try to get over should it be made an objection.

I have had here, my dear Sir, a very difficult and disagreeable part to act. I can give you no good account of it by letter. Unconnected, unsupported, unbefriended—nothing to rely on but the goodness of my cause & my own resolution, I have failed; but I have no reason to blame myself. The change in the ministry has been, to my views, unfortunate; But I cannot help it, & repining is useless—

God I hope will open a door of relief to the spiritual wants of the suffering, neglected & deprived Am^a Church.

This letter is intended for Mr. Leaming & Mr. Hubbard as well as yourself; & through their and your means, as a Committee, for the whole Con^t Clergy, & Laity too, if you think it proper; though for my own part, I should suppose that it would be best not to make any disappointment here, & the subsequent steps I have taken, made more public than necessary, lest opposition should be the consequence. But of this you will be able better to judge than I can.

You will also please to give such information to the Church at New London as your State think best. My best regards attend the Clergy & all friends. I am, dear Sir, with the greatest esteem, your very affectionate

hum^l Serv^t

S. SEABURY.

By this time Dr. Seabury had abandoned all hope of securing consecration at the hands of the English Bishops, and, as the following letters show, he definitely turned his face towards Scotland.

LETTER TO THE REVEREND DOCTOR MYLES COOPER*

London, August 31st, 1784.

My dear Sir,

I hope this letter will find you safe at Edinboro' in good health and spirits. Here everything, in which I have any concern, continues in the same state as when I saw you at your castle. I have been for some time past, and yet am, in daily expectation of hearing from Connecticut, but (there) have been no late arrivals, nor shall I wait for any provided I hear any favorable account from you, but shall hold myself in readiness to set off for the North at twenty-four hours' notice. With regard to myself, it is not my fault that I have not done it before, but I thought it my duty to pursue the plan marked out for me by the clergy of Connecticut, as long as there was any probable chance of succeeding. That probably is now at an end, and I think myself at liberty to pursue such other scheme as shall insure to them a valid Episcopacy, and such I take the Scotch Episcopacy to be in every sense of the word; and such I know the clergy of Connecticut consider it, and have always done so; but the con-

*Myles Cooper was educated at Queen's College, Oxford, taking the degree of Master of Arts in 1760. Two years later he was recommended by the Archbishop of Canterbury as well qualified to assist in the management of King's College, New York, of which Dr. Johnson was then President. He arrived in the autumn of 1762 and was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy. Dr. Johnson resigned in 1763 and Myles Cooper succeeded him as President of the College. When the War of the Revolution broke out Dr. Cooper sympathized with Great Britain and resigned the presidency of the College and returned to England. On his death in 1785 he was the senior minister of the Episcopal Chapel in Cowgate, in the city of Edinburgh. (Lawson. History of the Scottish Episcopal Church, p. 315.)

spect to my own salary, if the Society choose to withdraw it, I am ready to part with it.

It is a matter of some consequence to me that this affair be determined as soon as possible. I am anxious to return to America this autumn, and the winter is fast approaching, when the voyage will be attended with double inconvenience and danger, and the expense of continuing here another winter is greater than will suit my purse. I know you will give me the earliest intelligence in your power, and I shall wait patiently till I hear from you. My most respectful regards attend the Right Reverend Gentlemen under whose consideration this business will come, and as there are none but the most open and candid intentions on my part, so I doubt not of the most candid and free construction of my conduct on their part. Accept, my dear sir, of the best wishes of your ever affectionate, &c,

S. S.

The foregoing letter sent by Dr. Seabury to Dr. Myles Cooper was sent forward to Bishop Kilgour, *Primus* of the Church of Scotland, through the medium of the Reverend John Allan, one of two brothers in the ministry of the Scottish Church and who resided at Edinburgh. The letter was forwarded on September 14th. Under date of October 2nd, 1784, Bishop Kilgour addressed the Rev. John Allan as follows:

Rev. and Dear Sir,

I acknowledge by the first opportunity the receipt of yours of the 14th ult., inclosing Dr. Seabury's letter to Dr. Cooper, which I doubt not you have received in course.

Dr. Seabury's long silence, after it had been signified to him that the Bishops of this Church would comply with his proposals, made them all think that the affair was dropped, and that he did not choose to be connected with them; but his letter, and the manner in which he accounts for his conduct, give such satisfaction, that I have the pleasure to inform you that we are still willing to comply with his proposal; to clothe him with the Episcopal character, and thereby convey to the Western world the blessing of a free, valid, and purely ecclesiastical Episcopacy; not doubting that he will so agree with us in doctrine and discipline, as that he and the Church under his charge in Connecticut will hold communion with us and the Church here on catholic and primitive principles; and so that the members of both may with freedom communicate together in all the offices of religion.

We are concerned that he should have been so long in determining himself to make this application, and wish that in an affair of so much importance he had corresponded with one of our number. However, as he appears open

nection that has always subsisted between them and the Church of England, and the generous support they have hitherto received from that Church, naturally led them, though no longer a part of the British dominions, to apply to that Church in the first instance for relief in their spiritual necessity. Unhappily the connection of this Church with the State is so intimate that the Bishops can do little without the consent of the Ministry, and the Ministry have refused to permit a Bishop to be consecrated for Connecticut, or for any other of the thirteen States, without the formal request, or at least consent, of Congress, which there is no chance of obtaining, and which the clergy would not apply for were the chance ever so good. They are content with having the Episcopal Church in Connecticut put upon the same footing with any other religious denomination. A copy of the law of the State of Connecticut, which enables the Episcopal congregations to transact their ecclesiastical affairs on their own principles, to tax their members for the maintenance of their clergy; for the support of their worship; for the building and repairing of churches, and which exempts them from all penalties, and from all other taxes on a religious account, I have in my possession. The Legislature of Connecticut know that a Bishop is applied for; they know the person in whose favor the application is made, and they give no opposition to either. Indeed, were they disposed to object, they have more prudence than to attempt to object to it. They know that there are in that State more than forty Episcopal congregations, many of them large, some of them making the majority of the inhabitants of large towns, and, with those that are scattered through the State, composing a body of near, or quite, forty thousand; a body too large to be needlessly affronted in an elective government.

On this ground it is that I apply to the good bishops of Scotland, and I hope I shall not apply in vain. If they consent to impart the Episcopal succession to the Church of Connecticut, they will, I think, do a good work, and the blessing of thousands will attend them. And perhaps for this cause, among others, God's providence had supported them, and continued their succession under various and great difficulties; that a free, valid, and purely ecclesiastical Episcopate may pass from them into the Western world.

As to anything I receive here, it has no influence on me and never has had any. I indeed think it my duty to conduct the matter in such a manner as shall risk the salaries which the missionaries in Connecticut receive from the Society* here as little as possible, and I persuade myself it may be done so as to make that risk next to nothing. With re-

*The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts had appointed the clergy in Connecticut to their respective stations and paid them a stipend which was supplemented, more or less, by the local parishes. These grants were withdrawn after the Independence of the United States.

wait the convening of the Bishops who have so humanely taken this matter under their management. My best and most respectful regards attend them.

Commending myself to your prayers and good offices, I remain, Right Rev^d Sir, with the greatest respect and esteem, your most obedient and humble servant,

SAMUEL SEABURY.

In the *Jarvis Papers* are the following Letters written by Bishop Seabury after the consecration:

To the Rev^d Mr. Samuel Peters, No. 1 Charlotte Street, Pimlico, Westminster.

Dundee, (Scotland)
Nov. 24, 1784.

My dear Sir,

I promised, when I took my leave of you, to write to you as soon as my business, at Aberdeen, was completed. And now it is more than a week since the event took place—viz Sunday Nov^r 14—& this is the first letter I have written to you. Indeed I have scarce had an hour that I could command, & now write intirely in the helter skelter way, to convince you that I do not forget you, & to desire that, if an opportunity presents before I get to London, you would write to our friends in Connecticut, remember me to them, & inform them of the successful issue of my northern negotiation, & that the first good ship will carry me to America, where I hope to find them all well and happy.

In the course of a fortnight I expect to be with you, in the mean time present my Comp^t to Miss Peters, Mm. Vardill (Nardill) & Mr. Elphinstone, and accept the best wishes of your very affectionate hum^l Serv^t

S. SEABURY.

I hope you carefully Measure up all that is said or done, that I may (have) the pleasure of your narrative & observations when I have the happiness of seeing you.

LETTER TO THE REVEREND JONATHAN BOUCHER*

Edinburgh, December 3, 1784.

My very Dear Sir,

I promised to write you as soon as a certain event took place, and I have not till now made good my promise. In truth, I have not had opportunity to collect my thoughts on

*Jonathan Boucher was born in England, March 12, 1738, and came to the American colonies at the age of sixteen. In 1761 he was nominated to the parish of Hanover, Virginia, and was ordained in London, March 26, 1762. After officiating in Hanover he removed to the parish of St. Mary's, Caroline County, Va. In 1768 he was appointed by Sir Robert Eden, royal governor of Maryland, as rector of St. Anne's, Annapolis. When the Revolution broke out he refused to omit the prayers for the King, saying in his farewell sermon, "As long as I live, yes, whilst I have my being, will I, with Zadok the Priest, with Nathan the Prophet, proclaim—'God save the King.'"

and candid on his part, he may believe the bishops will be no less so on their part, and will be glad how soon he can set out for the North.

As I cannot undertake a journey to Edinburgh, and it also would be too hard on Bishop Petrie in his very infirm state, the only proper place that remains for us to meet in is Aberdeen.

How soon Dr. Seabury fixes on the time for his setting out, or at least how soon he comes into Scotland, I hope he will address me; as the Bishops will settle their time of meeting for his consecration as soon thereafter as their circumstances and distance will permit. With a return of the Bishops' most respectful regards to Dr. Seabury, please advise him of all this. May God grant us a happy meeting and direct all to the honor and glory of His name and to the good of the Church. To His benediction I ever heartily commend you, and am, Rev. and dear sir, your affectionate brother and humble servant,

ROBERT KILGOUR.

Peterhead, 2nd October, 1784.

Twelve days later Seabury addressed the following reply to Bishop Kilgour:

Right Revd. Sir,

London, October 14th, 1784.

Three days ago I was made happy by the receipt of a letter from my friend in Edinburgh, inclosing one from you to the Rev^d Mr. John Allan, signifying the consent of the Bishops in Scotland to convey, through me, the blessing of a free, valid, and purely ecclesiastical Episcopacy to the Western world. My most hearty thanks are due to you, and to the other Bishops for the kind and Christian attention which they show to the suffering Church in North America in general, and that of Connecticut in particular, and for that ready and willing mind which they have manifested in this important affair. May God accept and reward them freely; and grant that the whole business may terminate in the glory of His name and the prosperity of His church. As far as I am concerned, or my influence shall extend, nothing shall be omitted to establish the most liberal intercourse and union between the Episcopal Church in Scotland and in Connecticut, so that the members of both may freely communicate together in all the offices of religion, on catholic and primitive principles.

Whatever appearances there may have been of inattention on my part, they will, I trust, when I shall have the happiness of a personal conference, be fully, and to a mind so candid and liberal as yours, satisfactorily explained. I propose, through the favor of God's good providence, to be at Aberdeen by the 10th of November, and shall there

every apprehension of this kind must, I think, vanish and be no more. My own inclination is to cultivate as close a connection and union with the Church of England, as that Church and the political state of the two countries shall permit. I have grown up and lived hitherto under the influence of the veneration for and attachment to the Church of England, and in the service of the Society, and my hope is to promote the interest of that Church with greater effect than ever, and to establish it in the full enjoyment of its whole government and discipline.

And I think it highly probable that I may be of real service to this country, by promoting a connection with that country in religious matters without any breach of duty to the State in which I shall live. I cannot help considering it as an instance of bad policy, that my application for consecration was rejected in England; and I intend no offense when I say, that I think the policy would be still worse should the Society on this occasion discharge me from their service, which his Grace of York, in my last interview with him, said would certainly be the case. That indeed would make a schism between the two Churches, and put it out of my power to preserve that friendly intercourse and communion which I earnestly wish. It might also bring on explanations which would be disagreeable to me, and, I imagine, to the Society also. However should the Society itself be obliged to take such a step, though I shall be sorry for it, and hurt by it, I shall not be dejected. If my father and my mother forsake me, if the Governors of the Church and the Society discard me, I shall still be that humble pensioner of Divine Providence which I have been through my whole life. God, I trust, will take me up, continue his goodness to me, and bless my endeavors to serve the cause of his infant Church in Connecticut. I trust, sir, that it is not the loss of £50 per annum that I dread,—though that is an object of some importance to a man who has nothing,—but the consequences that must ensue, the total alienation of regard and affection.

You can make such use of this letter as you think proper. If I can command so much time, I will write to Dr. Morice* on the subject. If not, I will see him as soon as I return to London, which will be in ten days.†

Please present my regards to Mr. Stevens and all friends, and believe me to be, with the greatest esteem, your affectionate, humble servant,

S. S.

*Dr. Morice was the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

†Under date of April 25, 1785, the Society notified Bishop Seabury that he was no longer in its employ.

the subject on which I wished to write you; and even now, I expect every minute to be called upon, and probably this letter will go unfinished to you.

Dr. Chandler, I suppose, has informed you that my consecration took place on the 14th of November at Aberdeen. I found great candor, piety, and good sense among the Scotch Bishops and also among the clergy with whom I have conversed. The Bishops expect the clergy of Connecticut will form their own Liturgy and Offices; yet they hope the English Liturgy, which is the one they use, will be retained, except the Communion Office, and that they wish should give place to the one in Edward the Sixth's Prayer Book. This matter I have engaged to lay before the clergy of Connecticut, and they will be left to their own judgement which to prefer. Some of the congregations in Scotland use one and some the other Office; but they communicate with each other on every occasion that offers. On political subjects not a word was said. Indeed, their attachment to a particular family is wearing off, and I am persuaded a little good policy in England would have great effect here.

Upon the whole, I know nothing, and am conscious that I have done nothing that ought to interrupt my connection with the Church of England. The Church in Connecticut has only done her duty in endeavoring to obtain an Episcopacy for herself, and I have only done my duty in carrying her endeavors into execution. Political reasons prevented her application from being complied with in England. It was natural in the next instance to apply to Scotland, whose Episcopacy, though now under a cloud, is the very same, in every ecclesiastical sense, with the English.

His Grace of Canterbury apprehended that my obtaining consecration in Scotland would create jealousies and schisms in the Church, that the Moravian Bishops in America would be hereby induced to ordain clergymen, and that the Philadelphian clergy would be encouraged to carry into effect their plan of constituting a nominal Episcopacy by the joint suffrages of clergymen and laymen.

But when it is considered that the Moravian Bishops cannot ordain clergymen of our Church, unless requested so to do, and that when there shall be a Bishop in America, there will be no ground on which to make such a request; and that the Philadelphian plan was only proposed on the supposition of real and absolute necessity; which necessity cannot exist when there is a Bishop resident in America,

*Returning to England he became vicar of Epsom, Surrey. In 1797 he published "A View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution, in Thirteen Discourses Preached in North America, between the years 1763 and 1775." This work he dedicated to General George Washington. The later years of his life were devoted to the preparation of a supplement to Johnson's Dictionary which he proposed to publish under the title: "Linguae Anglicanae Veteris Thesaurus." A small section was issued after his death. He died at Carlisle, England, on the 27th of April, 1804, in his sixty-seventh year. (Cf. Sprague. *Annals of the American Pulpit*, Vol. V., pp. 211-214.)*

No. 38 Norton Street London Dec. 27, 1784.

Right Reverend & my very dear Sir

Since my arrival in London I have been so taken up with matters of business which could not be delayed, and with the kind attentions of friends who ought not to be neglected, that though I have daily thought of you, & my obligations to write to you, yet till now I have not had it fairly in my power to do so. I was willing also to wait a little, and see whether any matter worth communicating to you might arise. But nothing of this kind has happened. The business of the Society's Missionaries in Connecticut did not come on at their meeting the 17th as I expected and wished, & whether it will be brought forward at their next meeting which will be on the 3rd Friday in January, I can get at present no information. Some think it will not come at all as a good many of the Clergy, & some dignified ones, commend the step that has been taken, as a necessary and proper measure. A friend told me that in a conversation with the Bishop of Lincoln, his Lordship justified the matter without reserve, & said he saw no good reason, either civil or ecclesiastical, why my application here was rejected. I believe I shall take my passage for New York on the ship *Triumph*, Cap^t—Stout—both the names will I hope prove happily ominous,—who will sail at the latest the 1st of March. The Master is of my particular acquaintance, a friendly obliging man & a good Churchman & very anxious to have the *honor of carrying over the Bishop of all America*. I pray God he may have a good voyage, not only for his own, but also for the Bishop's sake, for whom you will suppose I have a great regard. I must again express my hope that your Sermon is printed, & that I shall not be disappointed in my expectation of taking out 100 copies with me to America. Please to draw upon me for the expense, and also for the expense of the Tracts, & any other publications you shall think proper to send me. I shall also be glad to have a variety in kind, if not a great number, of every publication; think nothing that relates to the cause of Episcopacy too insignificant, or that can assist in forming & establishing an infant Church, too trifling to send to me. Everything in that way will be of use to me, and will save me trouble. And I shall have enough to do with all the helps I can get. Besides to have the same instructions given in a different way, or the same Doctrines inculcated in a different mode, will not lay the foundation of, nor probably produce that intimate connection between the Scotch and Connecticut Churches, which I earnestly wish. Catachetical Instructions particularly I should be glad to receive. For tho' these are too commonly looked upon as matters level to ordinary capacities to compile, yet I'm convinced they re-

quire, if not great capacity, yet great attention & judgment & a thorough knowledge of the principles, doctrine & discipline of the primitive Catholic Church. When you have opportunity, you will oblige me much by presenting my most affectionate regards to Bp. Kilgour & Bp. Petrie. While I live, I shall remember & love them. May our gracious God long preserve them & continue their lives so eminently useful to his poor persecuted Church! I regret that I did not make a point of seeing Bp. Prose (Rose), & waving all ceremony make myself acquainted with him. Will you, when you can, make a tender of my Regards to him & endeavor to convince him of the Sincerity & Uprightness of my Intentions! The good clergy who were with us also have a claim upon my affections & esteem. May they live long, useful to the Church, and happy in themselves. Dr. Murray did not keep his own secret, but the day after he had written his Letter, mentioned the matter to Dr. Smith's brother, & so the affair got vent. Some of my friends heard of it & were vexed. One of them, the Rev. Mr. Vardell, a native of New York, spoke to Dr. Murray about it. The Dr. owned the fact, blamed me for precipitance, & for not taking his advice, & making use of his influence. I was informed of this the very morning after I arrived here. He knows not that I know anything of the matter, nor shall he from me; tho' I have mentioned the matter to two gentlemen because it was really necessary they should know about it. How the Dr. came to act so out of Character I know not. Possibly an over anxious friendship for Dr. Smith has hurried him beyond his usual temper. He has however sunk himself in the estimation of some who used to think well of him & who can scarce be restrained from shewing their resentment, tho' they know not the particulars of the Drs. Letter. There has been a Convention at New York for ecclesiastical purposes, consisting of Clerical & Lay members. Dr. Smith was their president. After giving the names of those who were present he adds,—The Body now recommends to the Clergy and Congregations of their Communion in the States represented as above & propose to those of the other states not represented, that as soon as they shall have organized or associated themselves in the States to which they respectively belong, agreeable to such rules as they shall think proper & they unite in a general Ecclesiastical Constitution, on the following fundamental principles. I. That there shall be a General Convention of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America. II. That the Episcopal Church in each State send Deputies to the Convention consisting of Clergy & Laity. III. That associated congregations in two or more States may send Deputies jointly. IV. That the sd. Church shall maintain the Doctrines of the Gospel as now held by the Ch. of England & shall adhere to the Liturgy of the sd. Church as far as shall be consistent

out regard to any human policy, to impart a pure, valid and free Episcopacy to the western world; and that they trusted that God, who had begun so good a work, would water the infant Church in Connecticut with his heavenly grace, and protect it by his good providence, and make it the glory and pattern of the pure Episcopal Church in the world; and that as it was freed from all incumbrance arising from connection with civil establishments and human policy, the future splendor of its primitive simplicity and Christian piety would appear to be eminently and entirely the work of God and not of man. On the 14th of Nov. my consecration took place, at Aberdeen (520 miles from hence). It was the most solemn day I ever passed; God grant I may never forget it!

I now only wait for a good ship in which to return. None will sail before the last of February or first of March. The ship *Triumph*, Capt. Stout, will be among the first. With this same Stout, commander, and in the *Triumph*, I expect to embark, and hope to be in New York some time in April; your prayers and good wishes will, I know, attend me.

A new scene will now, my dear Gentlemen, in all probability, open in America. Much do I depend on you and the other good clergymen in Connecticut, for advice and support, in an office which will otherwise prove too heavy for me. Their support, I assure myself I shall have; and I flatter myself that they will not doubt of my hearty desire, and earnest endeavor, to do everything in my power for the welfare of the Church, and promotion of religion and piety. You will be pleased to consider whether New London be the proper place for me to reside at; or whether some other place would do better. At New London, however, I suppose they make some dependence on me. This ought to be taken into the consideration. If I settle at New London, I must have an assistant. Look out, then, for some good clever young gentleman who will immediately go into deacon's orders, and who would be willing to be with me in that capacity. And indeed I must think it a matter of propriety, that as many worthy candidates be in readiness for orders as can be procured. Make the way, I beseech you, as plain and easy for me as you can.

Since my return from Scotland, I have seen none of the Bishops, but I have been informed that the step I have taken has displeased the two Archbishops, and it is now a matter of doubt whether I shall be continued on the Society's list. The day before I set out on my northern journey, I had an interview with each of the Archbishops, when my design was avowed; so that the measure was known, though it has made no noise.

My own poverty is one of the greatest discouragements I have. Two years' absence from my family, and expensive residence here, has more than expended all I had. But in so good a cause, and of such magnitude, something must be

with the American Revolution & the Constitutions of the respective States. V. That in every state where there shall be a Bishop duly consecrated & settled, he shall be considered a member of the Convention ex officio. VI. That the Clergy & Laity assembled in Convention shall deliberate in one body, but shall vote separately & the concurrence of both shall be necessary to give validity to every measure. VII. That the first meeting of the Convention shall be at *Philadelphia*, the Tuesday before the feast of St. Michael, to which it is hoped and earnestly desired, that the Episcopal Churches in the respective States will send their Clerical & Lay Deputies duly instructed & authorized to proceed on the necessary business herein proposed for their deliberation. Signed by order of the Convention.

WM. SMITH, D. D.

The above is an exact copy, but I fear so crowded that you will scarcely find it legible. I cannot but consider this as a very lame, if not a mischievous business. It will bring the Clergy into abject bondage to the Laity & a Bp. it seems is to have no more power in the Convention than a Lay member. Doctrines, Disciplines, Liturgies, are all to be under lay control. I always feared Dr. Smith's meddling restless Disposition, & the lax principles of the Southern Clergy. Connecticut & Massachusetts have sent no lay brother, but a Clergyman from each, I presume only to see what was going on. I now more than ever lament the year I lost, negotiating in Eng. to no purpose. I might otherwise have been out last Spring & possibly have prevented mischief. But my paper is gone, & I can only beg Mrs. S. & your good family to accept my best wishes, etc.

SAML. SEABURY.

LETTER TO REVS. JEREMIAH LEAMING, ABRAHAM JARVIS
AND BELA HUBBARD

London, January 5, 1785.

My Very Dear and Worthy Friends,

It is with great pleasure that I now inform you, that my business here is perfectly completed, in the best way that I have been able to transact it. Your letter, and also a letter from Mr. Leaming, which accompanied the act of your Legislature, certified by Mr. Secretary Wyllys, overtook me at Edinburgh, in my journey to the north, and not only gave me great satisfaction, but were of great service to me.

I met with a very kind reception from the Scotch Bishops, who having read and considered such papers as I laid before them, consisting of the copies of my original letters and testimonial, and of your subsequent letters, declared themselves perfectly satisfied, and said they conceived themselves called upon, in the course of God's Providence, with-

risked by somebody. To my lot it has fallen; I have done it cheerfully, and despair not of a happy issue.

This, I believe, is the last time I shall write to you from this country. Will you then accept your Bishop's blessing, and hearty prayers for your happiness in this world and the next? May God bless also, and keep, all the good clergy of Connecticut!

I am, reverend and dear brethren, your affectionate brother, and very humble servant,

Rev. Messrs. Leaming, Jarvis, and Hubbard.
SAMUEL SEABURY.

Connecticut's reaction to the consecration is expressed in a letter written by the Rev. Dr. Abraham Jarvis, under date of April, 1785, and addressed to the Rev. Doctor Benjamin Moore of New York:

Middletown April 1785

Dear Sir

Last week I received a letter from Dr. Seabury dated London Jan^y 5th, in which he informs us, that he had completed the Business he went on. In the Letters I am to suppose, you frequently receive from England, it may be likely that you already have been informed of all, or more than I can say to you on the affair, you will accept however what is friendly intended, should it be superfluous.

British Ministers of State, it appears, would not suffer english Ministers in Church to do, what, We know, and every Mortal besides, that has any conscience and Candour, must be convinced was their duty.

Mr. Pitt had the Grace to declare to his Grace of Canterbury, that an Act should never pass the House of Commons to license the Bishops to consecrate a Bishop for any of the american States. As a christian Bishop and the Head of the english Curch in Spirituals, what must have been his Feelings on that Occasion!

The die being cast, as to the Bishops in England, our persevering Doct^r had then to turn and look to Scotland. The scotch Bishops received him cordially, and, satisfied with his credentials, they spoke like Men of God and the Church; considered it as a call of God in the course of his providence upon them to transmit a pure, valid and free Episcopate to the western World; and seemed to predict a sample of pure primitive Antiquity to the connecticut Church. God grant that it may so prove, at least in its platform: Dr. Seabury's Consecration took place at Aberdeen on the 14th of November; and, with the leave of providence, you may expect his arrival at N. York in the course of this Month.

Probably the clergy of Connecticut will meet him in Convention very soon after his arrival among us. You will converse with him on the general and interesting concerns

of the Church: let him bring your resolve to be with us, and it shall be my part to inform you when and where we will convene. We shall then be formed to act upon the Affairs and * * * of the Church; and as there have been some things published as agreed upon to the Basis of future proceedings in setting not only the external policy & Government of the Church, but even the more vital part; her Worship and Devotions: for by that plan Laymen are to be compilers of Liturgy, ascertain what the Clergy shall preach; form and enact Canons, to bind the clergy, not only in regard to the Laity, but also in regard to themselves, what powers the Bishop shall have, and how he shall exercise an oversight and Government over the clergy; or rather that he shall do neither in this Situation, is it not at some hazard whether we shall have a pure episcopal Church? The earliest care in this matter will probably be the most effectual. What-ever is the of the priesthood in the Church of Christ, is it not the Duty of the same to watch over it, with a godly Jealousy, to keep that which is committed to their Trust? It is unnecessary to enlarge on the Subject, to you, but as we expect now, soon to have our Church in Connecticut complete in her Members, permit me to request you, and all who are like-minded, to be with us, as one in our common concern. If Brother Beach* is at New York please to give him my compliments and desire him to remember whence he is, that he is Bone of our Bone & Flesh of our Flesh, and to show himself such, by attending at the time and place of our assembling together.

Such is the story of the election and consecration of the first Bishop of the American Church.

*The Rev. Dr. Abraham Beach of New Brunswick, N. J., who entered the ministry from Connecticut.

Samuel Connell.

THE

NATURE AND EXTENT
OF THE
APOSTOLICAL COMMISSION.

A

S E R M O N,

Preached at the

C O N S E C R A T I O N

Of the Right Reverend

D R S A M U E L S E A B U R Y,

B I S H O P

O F T H E

E P I S C O P A L C H U R C H

In C O N N E C T I C U T.

B Y A

BISHOP OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH

I N

S C O T L A N D.

[John Skinner]

A B E R D E E N :

Printed by J. CHALMERS & Co.

M,DCC,LXXXV.

S. MATTH. XXVIII. 18, 19, 20.

AND JESUS CAME AND SPAKE UNTO THEM, SAYING, ALL POWER IS GIVEN UNTO ME IN HEAVEN AND IN EARTH: GO YE THEREFORE AND TEACH ALL NATIONS, BAPTIZING THEM IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, AND OF THE SON, AND OF THE HOLY GHOST: TEACHING THEM TO OBSERVE ALL THINGS WHATSOEVER I HAVE COMMANDED YOU; AND LO, I AM WITH YOU ALWAYS, EVEN UNTO THE END OF THE WORLD.

WHEN the blessed Author of these words, the beloved Son of God, appeared in the world, to take away the sin of it, and reconcile it to his offended Father, we are assured, to our unspeakable comfort and satisfaction, that by the sacrifice of himself once offered, he purchased pardon, grace, and eternal salvation, for all mankind in general. But as the application of these inestimable benefits, required a humble and obedient disposition in those who were to be partakers of them, it pleased the divine Administrator, to appoint certain means for the conveyance of them, to the diligent and conscientious use of which, he has, for a trial of our faith and humility, annexed the blessings of our redemption. The dispensation of these means is committed to certain authorized members of that spiritual society, of which he is the glorious HEAD, and which he established on earth for that purpose, and the scripture signifies with the title of the Church of God, and which he hath purchased with *his own blood*.^a It was with a view to this glorious purchase, that the redeeming God vouchsafed to clothe himself with our nature, and condescended to dwell among men. It was to make peace between heaven and earth, and to publish the glad tidings of salvation to a wretched world.

But though this was the sole design of his miraculous incarnation, yet he does not seem to have entered formally upon it, till he was solemnly called and commissioned thereto, by an audible voice from heaven. So says S. Paul, "Christ glorified not himself to become an high-priest, but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son, to-day have I begotten thee".^b In which words, the apostle plainly alludes to what happened at the baptism of Jesus, when the heavens were opened upon him, and "the spirit of God, descending like a dove, lighted upon him, and lo, a voice from heaven saying, This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased."^c This was a solemn inauguration to his office, and, for the satisfaction of his followers, exhibited in an outward

NOTE.—We have omitted a number of notes, mostly exegetical, appended to the sermon when printed, which were not a part of it as delivered.—EDITOR.

^a Acts xx. 28.

^b Heb. v. 5.

^c S. Matth. iii. 17.

in heaven and in the earth"; and then he adds, in consequence of this universal sovereignty, with which as mediator he was now invested, "Go ye therefore and teach, or *make disciples to me of all nations*, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."

From this account of the powerful and extensive commission, given in these words, we may justly look upon it as the fundamental charter of the christian church, and therefore I have made choice of it as a subject very suitable to the present solemn and happy occasion: in honour of which, we cannot be better employed, than in considering the nature of those powers and privileges which were originally conferred by the commission in my text, and which from the gracious promise there made, we have ground to hope will be continued in the church, even unto the end of the world.

Such is the interesting subject presented to our notice in the passage of scripture before us: and That I may be able to do as much justice to it, as the limits of a short discourse will allow, I must endeavour to confine myself to that divine account of pure ecclesiastical authority, which is here so narrated. According to this rule, I shall be obliged to consider the christian church in the same simple light, in which we at present view that part of it, whereof we are members, as a society entirely distinct by itself, without being incorporated into, or any way defended by the state; but as it stood for the first three hundred years after Christ, unprotected, and therefore uncorrupted, by any legal establishment. Upon that spiritual and independent footing we shall behold it in its native purity, before it meddled with "the things of Cæsar," or gave Cæsar a sort of right to meddle with "the things of God." Both these are equally dangerous deviations from the primitive plan of this holy society, and both have been too often adopted, to the manifest prejudice of its real interests. For while some have pretended to exempt all ecclesiastics from every form of civil jurisdiction, attempting to raise the governors of the church to a supremacy even in temporal matters over civil magistrates; yea, and have taken upon them, on some occasions, by virtue of their spiritual powers, to absolve subjects from their allegiance to their lawful princes; others again have run into a quite contrary error, and by making the exercise of all spiritual authority, to depend entirely on the will and pleasure of temporal governors, have opened a door to endless schisms and divisions, and laid the office of the priesthood open to every invader, who chuses to comply with the terms imposed by encroaching statesmen.

Such are the unhappy consequences of giving way to the mistaken opinions of mankind, with regard to the important commission now under our consideration. Because we are assured, in the words of my text, that *all* power in heaven and in earth was given to Christ as our mediator, and are told in another place, that as the Father sent him, so he sent his apostles, therefore some of their aspiring successors, full of a vain and worldly ambition, have fondly imagined, that they ought to be exempted from the jurisdiction, and superior

and visible manner. In consequence of which, as we are immediately after informed, he began to lay the foundation of his church, according to the plan of the New Testament, by preaching the gospel, and inviting all the Jews to become followers of him, and members of that blessed society he was now about to establish. And when the number of his followers began to increase, and the blessed work to grow upon his hands, he thought proper to ordain twelve, as the evangelist tells us, that they should be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach, and to perform such miraculous cures in his name, as would tend to establish the truth of his doctrine. These he distinguished by the peculiar title of *Apostles*, as being the first persons he had sent with power to act in his name, and to carry on the good work he had so happily begun. Afterwards, when the harvest became too great for so few labourers as these twelve, our Lord was pleased to appoint seventy more, who though of an order inferior to the apostles, were yet empowered to preach the gospel, and to work miracles for the confirmation of their doctrine.

Thus early do we observe a subordination among the ministers of Christ, and a striking resemblance between the Jewish church and the Christian, with respect to their foundation, and the form of government established in them. It is true, that all this time, while Christ was gathering and collecting his church in his own person, it seems to have been wholly confined to the Jewish nation. He plainly declared that he was not sent, "but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Upon this account, he is called by S. Paul, "a minister of the circumcision," and in many places of the gospel, he is stiled, "the King of the Jews." But as at his death, the distinction between Jew and Gentile was taken away, so by his resurrection, the bounds of his church, or kingdom, were most amply and gloriously enlarged. On this occasion, therefore, we find him enlarging the powers of his apostles, and granting them a full and extensive commission, in these comprehensive words, "As my Father has sent me, even so send I you."a Therefore by assuring them, that as the Father had empowered him to collect a church, and ordain ministers in it, so he devolved this power upon them. And as before they had been only his personal attendants, waiting his orders from his own mouth, they were now to stand in his stead; to be, as it were, officers in trust, and to govern his church in his absence, as himself had done, whilst he lived among them. During his personal abode with them, they were sent out now and then to baptize and preach the gospel; but by this last and most important mission, when they were to supply the place of their absent master, they were empowered to do as he had done; that is, to communicate to others that Episcopal authority, which themselves had received from the chief Bishop; that so there might be a continual uninterrupted succession of ecclesiastical governors to the end of time. Accordingly at the granting of this commission, as another evangelist records it, their Master gave them a solemn promise of his special blessing, protection, and assistance, for the due discharge and execution of it to all ages. For so we read in the words of my text, that "Jesus came and spake unto them saying, All power is given unto me

for they held religious assemblies, governed their clergy and people, and executed all other parts of their sacred function, not only without leave from the state, but very often in direct opposition to it.

To lessen the force of this argument, I know, it is objected, that during the first three centuries, the princes of this world were all unconverted heathens, and so had no right to expect any compliances from the christians: whereas their coming over to the faith altered the case, and gave them a better title to interfere in the concerns of the church. Yet I can see no good reason for this inference, nor any just ground for supposing, that the civil powers, by receiving baptism, which is a gift *from* the church, should acquire any new branch of government, or controul *over* it, which they had not before. By being admitted to the privileges of communion in the church, it might be thought they were obliged in gratitude to protect and cherish it; but surely no argument can be fairly drawn from this, to justify any interference of its spiritual powers, or any interference with the quiet and peaceable exercise of them. From what has been already said on the nature of those powers which Christ left with his church, I think it is sufficiently evident that there is a manifest distinction established by our holy religion, between the spiritual kingdom of our Redeemer, and the temporal sovereignties of this world: a distinction which will appear in a still clearer light, if we consider, that the rewards and punishments, whereby the church of Christ enforces its laws, are of a spiritual nature, and have respect chiefly to a future and eternal state: they are such as in this life can only influence men by means of their faith: whereas those rewards and punishments which proceed from the civil power, if they do not affect us in this life, they cannot affect us at all. Nay, the very rights and privileges to which we are entitled as members of these different societies, are altogether distinct from one another. Our civil rights and liberties vary, according to our various situations in life: but the privileges of christians are alike in all ranks and conditions. So says S. Paul, "By one spirit we are all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free."^f All are one and the same in Christ Jesus. For certain wise reasons of providence, the church was, for a while, confined to Judæa, and the chosen people of that land were thereby separated and distinguished from all other nations. But in the fulness of time, this wall of partition was broken down: the glad tidings of salvation were preached to all people, and the church, or society of the faithful, was thereby enlarged and made capable of receiving all that would come into it. God had promised his Son "the heathen for his inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for his possession."^g Accordingly our blessed Saviour gave a large and unlimited commission to his apostles, "*to preach the gospel to every creature*," as S. Mark has it, or as S. Matthew expresses it in the text, "*to teach all nations*, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost"; which part of the apostolical commission, is the next thing that falls under our consideration.

I have already observed, that the proper meaning of this passage

^f *1 Cor. xii. 13.*

^g *Psal. ii. 8.*

to the controul of all earthly powers; forgetting, it seems, that their great Lord and Master, though he was the supreme head and sovereign of the church, yet never denied the authority of the state in all temporal matters, but lived in constant subjection to the civil powers, and gave tribute to whom tribute was due, custom to whom custom, and honour to whom honour. The Jews, indeed, thought proper, in the height of their malice, to accuse him of making himself a king, and thereby setting himself up as an enemy to Cæsar. But Christ himself, who best understood the nature of his own kingdom, would by no means admit the truth of this accusation; and to shew the injustice of it, referred to those frequent directions he had given his followers, not to rise up against their governors, but to pay them all due deference and obedience. We do not read that he ever himself exercised one single act of civil jurisdiction. When one desired justice of him against his brother, his answer was, "Who made me a judge or divider among you?" And when Pilate questioned him strictly, whether he was really the King of the Jews or not, he openly declared himself to be a king indeed, but one very different from what his enemies thought he pretended to be. "My kingdom," says he, "is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight for me, that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now is my kingdom not from hence." His kingdom came from heaven at first, and was to be established and completed in heaven at last. Therefore the power and authority conveyed by him to his apostles, was of quite a different nature from those powers which belong to and are claimed by earthly governors. And were this difference duly attended to, there would not be the least clashing or interference between the respective rights of church and state. For as the church would pretend no claim to those emoluments and temporal dignities, which have been foolishly lavished upon it; much less set up its governors as a sort of petty sovereigns, to interfere with and dictate to the sovereigns of this world: So neither would the state encroach upon the privileges of the church, nor assume the right to take away or restrain the exercise of those spiritual powers, which Christ its divine head so evidently and amply bestowed upon it. For surely the commission he gave his apostles is as plain and full as words can make it: and they seem perfectly to have understood the divine virtue and efficacy of it, and the obligations they were under to act up to it, in spite of all opposition: for when two of them were severely threatened by the Jewish Sanhedrim, and strictly commanded not "to speak at all, nor teach in the name of Jesus," their answer was sensible and spirited, and plainly implied that they had a commission from God to preach the gospel, which must be executed at the utmost peril of their souls and which no human power could possibly set aside; for so they tell their judges, "Whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto you, more than unto God, judge ye."^e Hence it is evident that the church as constituted by Christ, must be allowed to be independent on the state or these apostles must be considered as guilty of disobedience and sedition. And the succeeding bishops, for the first three hundred years after Christ, must lie under the same charge:

^e *Acts iv. 19.*

accept our imperfect services. That this is a just representation of the value of repentance, and of the condition in which we stand with respect to God, is evident, among many other proofs of it, that might be mentioned, from the direction given by S. Peter, to those who were so strangely moved by his powerful sermon.ⁱ For when they asked of the apostles, *Men and brethren, what shall we do?* His answer was, "repent and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins." The apostle knew that repentance alone was not sufficient to procure this necessary remission, or reconcile sinful man to an offended Deity. He knew that repentance, in itself, can never be either a meritorious or an efficient cause of pardon and acceptance with God. In no sense, indeed, can it be said to be a cause, but as it concurs in removing sin, which is always an impediment in the way of the divine mercy: But then the merit, the virtue and efficiency, is all *in the name of Jesus of Nazareth*. And as all our virtue, all our praise is from him, so there are particular institutions appointed for the conveyance of his grace and goodness to us. Among these, the words of my text, as well as the apostolic direction just now mentioned, point out the sacrament of baptism as the first; and which must be duly received, in order to prepare us for the other ordinances of the gospel. "*Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins,*"^j the command of Ananias to repenting Saul plainly shews, that the christian baptism is a cleansing rite, and conveys some necessary purification to the receiver. And those who are not pleased with so easy a way of acquiring this benefit, and on that account despise our Saviour's institution, would do well to attend to what the sacred history relates of the Syrian leper, who came to the prophet of Israel, expecting to be cured in a pompous, or in what some people would call, a rational manner, but received only this simple message from the prophet's servant, "*Go and wash in Jordan seven times, and thou shalt be clean*." This was a blessing, which, it seems, the *great man* was not to expect in his own way, or from the unsanctified waters of Abana and Pharpar: He must receive it from the waters of Jordan, and by the ceremony of dipping seven times, or be content to remain a leper: And if he will not submit to be cleansed in the way that the gospel prescribes, the corruption of our nature will remain, and we must die in our sins. To wash in cold water seemed no doubt, an improper prescription for the leprosy, and to do it just seven times, could not well be accounted for on rational principles. Yet the power of a divinely commissioned prophet gave success to both, and a warning to the haughty spirit of man, to trust the great Physician of our souls with the cure of them; since however simple, or mean, his prescriptions may seem in our eyes, if submitted to in faith and humility, they will never fail to produce the designed effect. God has chosen such means of conveying his grace and favour to us, as are least apt to fill us with high notions of our own merit and ability: For it is certain, the divine communications will never flow in any channel, which human pride has made impure.

We must not then think to act in religious matters, according to our own caprice or fancy, nor do, each of us, what shall seem good

ⁱ Acts ii. 14 &c.

^j Acts xiii. 16.

is, *to make all nations disciples to Christ by baptizing them*, to initiate them in his faith, and enter them into union with him, by means of that sacred institution, which he had appointed for that purpose, an institution to be duly and regularly administered in the name of the one true God, as revealed under the gospel, by the gracious titles of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the three adorable witnesses who "bear record in heaven" to the mysterious scheme of man's salvation. Such was the method the divine wisdom was pleased to adopt, for putting mankind in the way of obtaining the blessings of this salvation. It was not enough that they should be properly taught and instructed in the great doctrines of the gospel; for that knowledge they might have acquired from teachers, not so solemnly authorized, as those who received the commission in my text. But the truth is, the christian church is not like a sect of philosophers, distinguished only by their adherence to some particular system, or their belief of some particular system, or their belief of some useful and excellent truths, without any other bond of union, or form of admission to the participation of certain privileges. Though indeed this is a doctrine very much espoused, especially by those, whose loose incoherent notions of things, will not allow them to associate with any body of christians, and who yet pretend to have a sense of their duty to God, and even a respect for the christian religion, although they be in communion with no part of Christ's church. Had the first converts to our religion been of this opinion, they would not have shewn so much zeal for maintaining an outward and visible communion with Christ; they would not have suffered so much for "continuing steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers."^b But they knew well that the benefits of the gospel, or, which is the same, the privileges of the church belonged to them, not in their personal capacities, but as they were members of the one body of Christ. And therefore, they expected all spiritual blessings in common with their brethren, and by virtue of Christ's public institutions, which they justly considered as the means of uniting them to Christ under the character of their Head, and of deriving food and nourishment from him as their Shepherd: and indeed the reason of the thing is very plain and obvious. For unless we adhere to Christ's flock, how can we expect any benefit from the care and protection of the Shepherd? Unless we shew ourselves members of his church, by joining with it in all the bonds of christian communion, how shall we claim a share in any of the privileges that belong to it? This is plainly the doctrine of the scriptures, and what must be inferred from the nature and design of the commission now before us. So that to say, as some do, that a man may repent of his sins and keep God's commandments and so be a good man and in favour with his Maker, without being admitted into the church of his Redeemer, implies a manifest contradiction; since this is one of the most plain and positive commands of God, that men should be baptized as well as repent, and so be admitted into union with Him, in whom *alone* God is *well pleased*, and on account of whom alone, and because of our relation to that beloved person, God has promised to

^b Acts ii. 42.

into the profession of that religion which alone could make them free, they would, no doubt, be saying within themselves, "Who are we, a company of poor, weak, illiterate men, that we should be sent to proselyte all nations, to bring them off from their former prejudices, and make them accept the terms of salvation offered by a crucified Redeemer?" This, we may suppose, our Lord foresaw; and therefore, as the God of Israel answered Moses, saying, "Certainly I will be with thee," so does our Saviour here encourage his apostles, with a "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." Indeed some are of opinion, that there is a farther resemblance between these two cases, and that the author of the gracious promise in my text, was not only Jesus of Nazareth, who had done many wonderful works, had made the blind to see, the lame to walk, the dead to rise, and himself to be raised from a guarded sepulchre; but was also, by the peculiar construction of this promise, declared to be, even no less a Being, than the adorable *I am*, the same *Jehovah* who appeared to Moses, for the deliverance of his people out of Egypt, and now commissioned the apostles for the forming his church out of "all nations."

We need not wonder then that such a gracious promise, from one so infinitely powerful, and able to perform it, encouraged the apostles to undertake, and supported them in the discharge of, the important trust assigned to them. They could not but perceive, to their unspeakable satisfaction, that they were sent forth to convert the world, by the same Almighty, omnipresent Being, who had been so long the *Worship of Israel*, and had wrought such wonders for that chosen people, and now promised to be with them his apostles, as the God and Guardian of the christian church, even to the end of the world. "Go, teach all nations," says he, *and lo, I am with you; With you my chosen servants*, to whom I have now delegated proper powers, for executing the commission I have given you: *Behold*, take special notice of what I say, I am with you always, at all times, and upon all occasions, when you are employed in the discharge of your sacred office, I am with you in the execution of it, and that too, to the very end of the world, so long as my church shall last, which will be even to the dissolution of all things.

Nothing is more evident, than that our Saviour here supposes, there were to be apostles upon earth to the end of the world, otherwise he could not possibly make good this gracious promise to them. But it is likewise as certain, that the persons to whom our Saviour spoke these words, were not to continue in this world, beyond the ordinary course of nature; nay, it is a fact, that most of them were hurried out of it, rather in an untimely way. So that this remarkable promise must have been made to the apostles, not as private persons, or as our Lord's immediate attendants, but as *apostles*, persons sent to convert and baptize the nations, and whose office was, therefore, to continue, as long as there should be nations upon earth, to partake of the benefits of it. For had the promise been purely personal, and to have expired with the apostles, as some have foolishly pretended, it would have run in these words, "I will be with you all *your days*," and not *always*, especially since the following words, "*to the end of the world*," are the very same in the original, with what S. Matthew uses

in our own eyes: but "whatsoever thing the Lord has commanded us, that we must observe to do; we must neither add thereto, nor diminish from it." For to this purpose, the divine commission in my text authorized the apostles, not only to baptize all nations, and so unite them to Christ, as members of his body, but to "teach them also to observe all things whatsoever he had commanded them," whatsoever he had given in charge to his apostles, to be prescribed to, and required of, all his followers. Now this is a part of the apostolical commission so generally acknowledged, and for the most part, so well understood, as necessary both to the propagation and support of the christian religion, that I have little occasion to enlarge much upon it. One thing, however, I cannot help remarking, as I think it deserves notice, that in the scheme of christian practice here laid down for the observance of all nations, our Lord's commands are all comprehended under one denomination, and no distinction made between what are called moral and positive duties. We are not told, that some things are good because commanded, and others commanded because good. We are not referred, for the regulation of our conduct, to the standard of moral rectitude, and the eternal fitness of things. Our heavenly Teacher made no use of these idle distinctions, the foolish conceits of a vain philosophy, which affects to teach us "after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ." It is the law of the gospel which points out to christians what is really and truly good: and unless we are careful to observe what our great Lawgiver has there commanded, and observe it because he has commanded it, and from a principle of love and obedience to him he has assured us, we have no title to call him Lord, Lord: We have no right to expect his favour, or depend on his protection, unless we "do the things which he commands us." It is his approbation alone on which we must rely, as that which stamps all their value on our imperfect services. And this approbation is to be discovered and applied by those significations of his will, which he has revealed and made known for that purpose: revealed them to his apostles, and made them known to his church, by their inspired writings, from generation to generation.

We have now taken a short view of that divine scheme of salvation, provided for all nations by him, who, to that end, and in the character of Mediator, had received all power in heaven and in earth. We have considered, as far as the present occasion will admit, the nature and design of those powers and privileges, which were originally conferred by the commission in my text, and which, from the gracious promise made in the conclusion of it, we have ground to hope, will be continued in the church, *even unto the end of the world*. And indeed, this is no more than what was necessary for encouraging the apostles to engage in, and go through with such an important and arduous undertaking, For, as we are informed that Moses, when commissioned by Jehovah to go and bring the children of Israel out of Egypt, made this reply, in diffidence of his own ability for such an enterprise, "Who am I, that I should go to Pharaoh, and that I should bring forth the children of Israel out of Egypt?"^k So when our Lord commanded, his apostles to go and bring all nations out of their slavish idolatry,

^k *Exodus* *iii.* 11.

the apostles being thus sent and ordained by our Lord, took special care to transfer the same Spirit to others, which they had received from him. Only they did not pretend to do it precisely after the same manner as Christ had done, by the act of breathing. For that was peculiar to Christ himself, from whom the Spirit *proceedeth*, and having a resemblance to what was done at the creation, when God “breathed into man the breath of life,” was justly considered as a distinguishing symbol of divine power. The apostles therefore made use of another antient and venerable mode of conveying the Spirit, even the laying on of hands: and wherever we read of their ordaining any, we find they always did it after this expressive and significant manner: and that too, whether they ordained them into their whole office, or into any part of it. For nothing is more certain, than that there always has been a subordination in the ministry, and these various degrees of office-bearers in the church, which have wisely continued to this day, for governing, feeding, and watching over the flock of Christ. And though there be now no workers of miracles, no inspired speakers with tongues, nor interpreters, nor discerners of spirits; yet there are still, and ’tis to be hoped will be to the world’s end, men who have succeeded to the spiritual powers of the apostles, in governing and directing the church under Christ, its supreme Head and Governor, and others who, in due subordination to these, discharge the several offices assigned to them, for the edifying of the body of Christ. And this plan of spiritual government and instruction being instituted by Christ himself, and carefully transmitted by his apostles to the converted nations, how can it now be set aside or changed by any of these nations, without involving them in the guilt of infringing that divine authority, by which it was at first established? It is well known, that no society can subsist, if those who preside in it, have no more power or authority committed to them than the rest have. And as the church of Christ is a regular, well formed society, it necessarily follows that the governors of it must have their distinct powers, and can claim the exercise of them, to the ends and purposes for which they received them. They must not allow such sacred powers to lie dormant in their hands, when the necessities of the church require the exertion of them. As long as there are nations to be instructed in the principles of the gospel, or a church to be formed in any part of the inhabited world, the successors of the apostles are obliged, by the commission they hold, to contribute as far as they can, or may be required of them, to the propagation of these principles, and the formation of every church, upon the most pure and primitive model. No fear of worldly censure ought to keep them back from so good a work: no connection with any state, nor dependence on any government whatever, should tie up their hands from communicating the blessings of that kingdom, which “is not of this world,” and diffusing the means of salvation, by a valid and regular ministry, wherever they may be wanted. When our Lord first sent out his apostles, to announce the kingdom of heaven being then at hand, by works of mercy and charity, he added this generous command, “Freely ye have received, freely give.”^a The successors of these apostles ought all to remember this,

n *S. Matt.* x. 8.

to signify the general judgment, or consummation of all things.¹ But the truth is, and every discerning person must at first sight perceive it, that this promise, so essential to the support, nay, to the very being of the christian church, is not made so much to the persons of the apostles, as to the apostolical office, or at least to their persons only, as vested with that office, and consequently to all persons, to the end of the world, who should ever have that office conferred upon them. It will not be denied, that Matthias had the benefit of this promise, though he was not yet numbered with the apostles, when it was delivered: nor will Barnabas and Paul, I presume, be excluded from it. And if these were entitled to the support of it, not by their being personally present at the time it was made, but by virtue of their apostolical powers, the same privilege must be extended to all, who shall ever be invested with those powers, or succeed to the office of the apostles: an office which, it is plain, from the very nature and design of it, as described in the words of my text, must be continued while the world lasts, or while there are people upon earth to be baptized and brought to Christ, and taught to observe whatsoever he has commanded. Having now discovered how the apostles were to continue in the church to the end of the world, we shall be at no loss to understand, in what sense our Lord here promises to be always with them. To find out this, we need not have recourse to the wild and extravagant opinion of those, who assert the human nature of Christ to be every where present: neither is it sufficient to observe, that he is present with them as God, for so he is in all places, and with all creatures, as the support of their existence. Whereas our Saviour here promises to be with his apostles in a peculiar sense, in a manner particularly appropriated to them as apostles. And that we might not be mistaken in a matter of such consequence, he has elsewhere sufficiently explained his meaning, and shewn how the promise in my text is to be understood. For as he here assures his apostles, *he* will be with them to the end of the world, so he tells them in another place that his *Holy Spirit* shall be always with them. “I will pray the Father,” says he, “and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of Truth.”² Which is the same in effect with himself being always with them, since the Spirit of Truth is likewise the Spirit of Christ; and whosoever the Spirit is, there is Christ also. In a word, our Saviour here promises his apostles, that he will be always with them to the end of the world, by his Holy Spirit accompanying and assisting them in the discharge of their sacred office, and particularly in handing down the commission they had received, by regular succession, to the end of time. The manner in which this has been always conveyed, plainly shews the part which the Holy Spirit is graciously pleased to take in it. When our blessed Lord himself was glorified to be an High Priest, it was by the visible descent of the Holy Ghost: and when after his resurrection, he appointed his apostles to the work of the ministry, “he breathed on them, and said, Receive ye the Holy Ghost,” declaring at the same time, “As my Father hath sent me, even so sent I you.” Accordingly

¹ *S. Matt.* xiii. 39, 40, 49.

² *S. John* xiv. 16.

sistent with the sordid views of worldly-minded men. And this is the reason, why the christian faith has frequently been modelled according to the fashion of the times. Every new sect must have a creed of their own making; and there is no doctrine or mode of worship, however contrary to antient faith, or primitive practice, but the men of this world, if it answer their ends, will be tampering with texts of scripture to support it. But the heathen may rage, and the enemies of Christ imagine a vain thing: yet "the foundation of God standeth sure." And though many, and once famous, churches, have long since been buried in the darkness of error and superstition, yet we may assure ourselves, Christ will not suffer his truth to fail, but will preserve it among some or other of the converted nations, and at last present to himself a glorious church, not "having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing."

These few observations may serve to give some general notion of the way and manner in which Christ has been, and is, and ever will be, present with church, according to his gracious promise in these words, "Lo I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." And if he is so mercifully condescending, as thus to countenance and support the successors of his apostles, to sanctify their administrations, and grant success to their labours: If he has entailed so great salvation upon his church, and made it the earthly Zion, in which he delights to dwell: then how ill does it become men to make light of all this mercy, to vilify his divine appointment, and depreciate those means of salvation, which he has been graciously pleased to put into our hands? Will any pretended regard to the rules of what is vainly called *morality* excuse such a professed contempt of plain and positive institutions, delivered by the Son of God, by him who has "all power in heaven and in earth," and delivered too as the only means of restoration and happiness to fallen man? What monstrous ingratitude, as well as base presumption must it be, that can look down with scorn on this scheme of mercy, as an arbitrary unmeaning appointment, or regard the observance of its rules as a matter of indifference? Indeed! Has the great God of Israel, who once wrought such wonders for his chosen people; the adorable *I am*, the Almighty Jehovah; has he founded a church in his own blood, promised his presence and protection to it, established the rules of faith and obedience in it, adorned it with the means of grace, and appointed certain officers to be the regular administrators of them? And is it yet a matter of indifference, whether we shew any regard to this church, or any just sense of a divine presence in it; whether we live up to these rules, or make use of these means, or apply regularly to these ministers for the benefit of them? If all these things are of no moment, and are left at our liberty as to the observance of them: then, what could be the meaning or design of those passages of the apostolic writings, which exhort us "to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints,"^r and "to mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which we have learned, and avoid them."^s Offences against the faith, and divisions or separations from the unity, of the church, were not, it

^r *S. Jude* 3.

^s *Rom. xvi. 17.*

and "go and do likewise." Whatever be the power and authority their heavenly Master has committed to them, it is no more than ministerial: they act only under him as his ministers and stewards, and must one day give an account to him of all their actions. The power they have, in all the various branches of it, is still to be considered as his power in their hands: they derive it all from him, who is continually present with them in the exercise of it. And therefore, as they themselves would need to have a care how they exercise this power, or neglect the proper and necessary exercise of it: so when they are thus careful to do their duty, and have nothing else in view but it, but the glory of God, and the good of his church, they may humbly hope, that others will take care also not to misrepresent their intentions, nor despise their endeavours in so good a cause: remembering what our great Master said to his commissioned servants, "He that despiseth you despiseth me, and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me." Our Saviour assured his apostles, that "as the Father had sent him, so sent he them," with power to continue this mission, and to make thereby a standing provision, for communicating the grace and influence of his gospel to all nations.

This provision therefore, in accomplishment of the prophetic promise in my text, he is pleased to bless and sanctify with his word and Holy Spirit, and thereby to make it effectual to all the purposes of salvation. Under the ministry even of the apostles themselves, it was this divine promise which warranted their office, and ratified their administrations: it was this blessing of God's Holy Spirit, which gave success to their labours, and made their preaching of the gospel so prevalent on those that heard it. Though "Paul himself planted, and Apollos watered, yet it was God only that gave the increase." And the case is the same in every age and situation of the church. The labourers may and ought to do their duty, as becometh their several stations; but the fruitfulness of the vineyard depends altogether on the "continual dew of God's blessing." Without the "healthful Spirit of his grace sent down," as we are taught to pray, "on our Bishops and Pastors, and on all congregations committed to their charge," the ordinances we administer would be but dead and empty signs, and the people under our care, would no longer be *living* members of Christ's mystical body. Whereas he being always present, according to his promise, by his Holy Spirit, at the administration of the several offices he has ordained in his church, they are thereby sanctified, and made effectual to all the purposes of christian edification. The members of Christ's church are thereby built up in their most holy faith, and being thus reared on the foundation of apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone, they are compared to a "building fitly framed together, growing up to a holy temple in the Lord."^p Attempts have been made in all ages of the church to sap the foundation of this spiritual building, and heresies, we are told, must be, that they who are approved may be made manifest.^q The cause of pure uncorrupted truth, is not always found con-

^p *S. Luke* x. 16.

^q *Eph. ii. 21.*

^r *I Cor. xii. 19.*

stood its ground, supported its own Almighty Head, and amidst the corruption of surrounding error, has restored itself to the purity of the primitive standard. May we not suppose, that for wise and good reasons, it has been thus wonderfully preserved and purified? No doubt, to shew the all-sufficiency of the divine protection; and perhaps to afford, through God's good providence, the means of conveying to others, a more liberal share of those spiritual blessings, which we enjoy under some restraint. And if such a blessed prospect is now presented to us, by the happy occasion of our assembling here this day, who would not wish success to the means of promoting so desirable an end? Who would not earnestly pray that the dispensation of the grace and knowledge of the gospel, by a valid and truly apostolic ministry, may, like the glorious light of heaven, go out from the east, to the utmost boundary of the western world, and nothing be hid from its saving influence?^v

Let it be our fervent petition to the throne of grace, that the blessed author and finisher of our faith, would thus give universal spread to the pure and primitive profession of it; that he would make his church to be yet glorious upon earth, and the joy of all lands: and thus teaching the nations once more, by the regular successors of his own apostles, give them universal cause to rejoice in the accomplishment of his merciful promise, "*Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.*" To him, therefore, the divine Almighty, Sovereign and only Protector of his church, the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls: to him, in unity with the Father and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God be ascribed, as is most due, all glory and honour, thanksgiving and praise, now and evermore. Amen.

v *The desirable object of this prayer, as well as of the good work that gave occasion to the foregoing discourse, is most happily expressed by the worthy Dr. Horne, now Dean of Canterbury, and President of Magdalen College, Oxford, who in his Apology, &c., p. 27, after mentioning some respectable characters on the other side of the Atlantic, that "give us ideas of our Episcopal Brethren in America, to which we were before strangers," delivers his pious sentiments in these pathetic wishes. "May the great God, our Saviour, prosper the glorious work of their hands upon them, till the clouds of infidelity disperse before the Sun of Righteousness, rising to the American, perhaps as he sets to the European world; and till the unhappy misguided wanderers, having their eyes opened by the shining of his marvellous light, return to the church, and all become one fold under one Shepherd, the Bishop of their souls, ruling in every church that is his, by an earthly representative. And O come that happy day, when God shall put it into the hearts of our governors, to remember the groanings of such as are in captivity under the bondage of sin, and to consider the cries and tears of the hundreds and the thousands, who would receive a Bishop of the Church of England, as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus; that he might ordain them elders in every city, who being sent forth, might preach liberty to the miserable captives, and the opening of the prison doors to them that are fast bound in darkness and the shadow of death, calling them forth into the light of the Lord God, and the Lamb, to behold him shining in his church in the beauty of holiness. For whom this glorious work of establishing Episcopacy in America, is reserved, God only knows. Blessed is he whose heart shall conceive, and whose hands shall accomplish it. His works done in the faith, and for the love of his Master, shall praise him, when that Master sits in judgment, in the gates of the new Jerusalem; and all generations arising from the dust, shall call him blessed."*

THE END.

seems, in the eyes of the apostles, such light things as they now appear to be with many who call themselves Christians. And the reason is, the apostles looked directly to their Master's kingdom, without casting a side-glance upon the present world. When they went forth to convert and instruct the nations, they kept close to the commission they had received, and with divine ardour and resolution, pressed the necessity of coming to Christ in the way of his own appointment, since the dutiful observance of what the gospel commands, can only proceed from the grace which it inspires. Such was the doctrine of these primitive preachers; such the zeal and fervency with which their "sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world." Whereas nothing is to be seen now, but a lamentable coldness and indifference as to these evangelical truths; especially among those who have it in their power to discountenance, and therefore ought not to patronize, such a glaring degeneracy. The world begins now to see no great harm in infidelity itself. Christianity is swallowed up in the religion of nature: the chair is almost every where filled with scorers: Even the productions of the pulpit are of a strange unchristian composition, and favour more of the rudiments of philosophy, than of the doctrine of Christ. The preaching of the cross is again become foolishness to the learned, and a stumbling-block to the men of this world. Therefore, though Christ has promised to be always with his church, and never promised what he did not mean to perform, yet we cannot hope that he will be with a faithless and apostate people. Unless we co-operate with him zealously to the blessed end, for which he promises to be with us, he will withdraw his presence from us, and have nothing to do with a lukewarm generation. For thus the sentence runs, against every disobedient and gainsaying people, "The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof."^t

How careful then should we be to walk worthy of the advantages we enjoy, and to be fruitful in every good word and work? For "herein is my Father glorified," said the blessed Son of God, "that ye bear much fruit, so shall ye be my disciples."^u The bearing much fruit, it seems, is the only way by which we can glorify his Father, and the best, indeed the only proof of our being really his disciples, of our abiding in him as branches of the true vine. It is not enough that we be entered into union with him, and made members of his church, in the way prescribed by his commission to the apostles: we must also "continue in that holy communion and fellowship, and do all such good works as he has commanded us to walk in." So shall we ensure to ourselves the continuance of that divine presence and protection, which he promised to his apostles and their successors, even to the end of the world. This powerful promise we have the utmost reason to confide in, if we are only thankful to the gracious Author of it, since we have seen it made good, in a very wonderful manner, to that part of his church, to which we have the happiness to belong. Without any of the boasted props of civil establishment, yea, often depressed by the hand of insulting power, it has, nevertheless, firmly

^t S. Matt. xxi. 43.

^u S. John xiv. 8.

THE EPISCOPATE OF BISHOP SEABURY

By William A. Beardsley

THE somewhat audacious venture into ecclesiastical polity and politics of that little group of quondam Church of England clergymen, who were working in Connecticut after the waves of the Revolution had rolled up their wreckage on the beach, had so far succeeded that the man who was the hero of that venture had gained the object of his quest, after long delay, delay as discouraging as it was long.

It is true that he had gained it not as he expected to gain it, nor as those who had sent him on that quest expected him to gain it, but, nevertheless, out of that little obscure upper room in dismal Longacre, Aberdeen, which served as the private chapel of Bishop Skinner, Samuel Seabury came on that memorable November 14, 1784, with properly authenticated Orders to be a Bishop in the Church of God, a Bishop whose jurisdiction was far away in the new Western world, "that very country," wrote the father of Bishop Skinner to Bishop Jolly, "to which the execution of my office has for these thirty years past exposed me to the risk of being banished as a felon."^{*}

This reference is a reminder of the bitter hardships of the Scottish clergy, which, fortunately, were now abating owing to the changed and changing attitude toward the penal laws. It was Bishop Skinner, aided by his very able father, John Skinner of Linshart, who labored valiantly and successfully for their abrogation. In 1792 the days of oppression by law ceased for the Church in Scotland, but it was not until 1864 that all disabilities were removed.

One can well imagine that Bishop Seabury, as we must now call him, emerged from Longacre thoroughly humbled by the solemn experience through which he had just passed, and on the whole satisfied with the outcome of his patience and perseverance. Perhaps he was not as well satisfied as he would have been had he received his commission from the English Bishops to the south, but satisfied he was, nevertheless, because he had obtained what he came to get, namely, "a free, valid, and purely Ecclesiastical Episcopacy," to use the familiar and significant phrase of the Concordat.

^{*}*Scottish Church Review*, Vol. I, p. 597.

Of the genuineness of that Episcopacy Seabury had not a shadow of doubt. He was too good a student of ecclesiastical history and polity ever to have turned north to the Scottish Church, "proscribed and persecuted on account of its romantic fidelity to the banished Stuarts," if he had felt that what they could give him was not what he wanted, was not what the Church back home wanted. He might have gone thither in the first place, except, of course, that he was obeying his instructions, and naturally to the Mother Church in England would the first appeal be made. That would be simply a matter of filial courtesy, or, better, of filial duty.

It was nearly four months before the Bishop started homeward. It took him three months to reach his destination. This delay was due in large part to the fact that he encountered extremely rough weather in his passage over. Crossing the ocean then was not the pleasurable experience that it is now.

But his arrival home was also delayed because he stopped at Halifax. Two reasons may be assigned for this break in his journey. He had a married daughter, Abigail, living in St. John, New Brunswick. He would take this opportunity to visit her. That he did so is evidenced by the fact that we have the record of his preaching in that place, in Trinity Church, of which his son-in-law, Colin Campbell, was a vestryman.^{*} He also preached in Annapolis Royal. And in a letter of the Rev. John Breynton, rector of St. Paul's Church, Halifax, we read: "D^r Seabury or Bishop Seabury stay'd ten Days with us, was treated with great civility by all that I & Col. Hannory could influence. He preached here in my Church & performed very well."[†] That not only accounts for some of Seabury's time in Nova Scotia, but it also gives us a passing judgment of him in his official capacity.

Another reason for his going to Nova Scotia may be that he was desirous of "spying out the land." Many of the Loyalists were there, having left the colonies, either by constraint or of their own free will. If he were not received at home, and therefore could not exercise his office as a Bishop there, perhaps he could in Nova Scotia.[‡]

In due time the Bishop resumed his journey, arriving at Newport, Rhode Island, June 20th, 1785. There in Trinity Church he preached his first sermon as a Bishop in this country. Seven days later he reached New London, where he was to make his home. Two days had barely passed before he began to lay his plans. Naturally, the first thing he would wish to do would be to meet his clergy. He is now the Chief Pastor of the flock, and he is in the field where he is to exercise his ministry as a Bishop.

^{*}*Ms. letter.*

[†]*Formative Period, 1784-1791, p. 6.*

[‡]*Letter of Daniel Fogg, Church Documents, Connecticut, Vol. II, p. 212.*

Orders, which, from the point of view of the Church, were essential to a valid ministry. Many had done so, and some had never returned. The loss of lives, in this way sacrificed, was a serious one to the Church.

The first thing, then, that Bishop Seabury did in his capacity as Bishop was to hold an ordination there in Middletown, and in connection with that first Convention. And so on August 3rd, 1785, four men were admitted Deacons, "Colin Ferguson, A. M., of Washington College, Maryland, Recommended by Dr. Wm. Smith, Rev'd Messrs. John McPherson, Wm. Thompson and others. Henry Van Dyke, A. M., Ashbel Baldwin, A. M., Philo Shelton, A. M., Recommended by the Clergy of Connect." That is the way the record appears in the Bishop's own handwriting in his Registry of Ordinations.*

Which of those four was the first to receive the laying on of hands? It is not a matter of any great consequence, though, possibly, a matter of interest. Among Mr. Shelton's descendants the tradition was strong that he was the first. And that was the tradition among the older clergy. But we can not attach too great weight to family tradition, nor to the recollections of elderly people. In the absence of any direct statement in the matter it would seem as if some regard ought to be given to the order as it appears in the Bishop's Registry of Ordinations. When he sat down to make the entries did he just write the names as they happened to come to mind? He did not enter them alphabetically, nor according to age. The obvious inference would be that he entered them as he ordained them, and Ferguson being a guest, so to speak, came first as a matter of courtesy. The Secretary's minutes give us no help, for they have an order of their own, and it is not the Bishop's order. But of course all this is a matter of idle and useless speculation, albeit a matter of some interest.

That first meeting of the Bishop with his clergy there in Middletown was in every way of such importance that it deserves more than a passing notice. We see Bishop Seabury entering upon the active work of his Episcopate with becoming modesty, but with the firmness of one who was reasonably sure of himself, and with a full understanding of the opportunities and responsibilities of his office.

His first charge to the clergy was a model in its way, concise, clear, forceful, stressing the points which he deemed of first importance to the development of the Church over which he was to preside, still very much in its infancy, but with great possibilities. One of those points was precisely what Bishops and Standing Committees are carefully and prayerfully considering today, namely, the need for a closer scrutiny of the qualifications of men offering themselves for the ministry.

**In the Archives of the Diocese of Connecticut.*

Yes, at last, at long last, there was a Bishop in Connecticut to assume the leadership, and help revive the feebly flickering life of the Church, and shape and guide its destinies through the troublous days that were to follow, days that were to witness its wise and heroic efforts to adapt itself to changed conditions, and to make a place for itself in the young Republic.

The Rev. Abraham Jarvis was the Secretary of the clergy, and to Jarvis Seabury wrote from New London acquainting him of his arrival there, and expressing his desire to see him, with particular reference to calling the clergy together as soon as it was practicable, at such time and place as might be arranged. Seabury had been a long time away from home, he felt the urgency of the work, there were certain proprieties to be observed, certain preliminaries to be looked after, those he would attend to at once and then get to work. He was eager to meet his clergy, but no more eager to meet them than they were to meet him. He must give an account of his stewardship.

Middletown was settled upon as the place of the meeting and August 2nd as the time. Ten of the clergy were present. We now know definitely who they were, for just recently the minutes of that meeting have been published.* Besides the Connecticut clergy there were present also the Rev. Benjamin Moore from New York and the Rev. Samuel Parker from Boston. Learning was chosen President. The first item of business recorded in the minutes is as follows: "The right reve^d Dr. S. Seabury attended upon this Con. and his Letters of Consec: being requested by the same; they were produced and read, whereby it appeared to this Con: that he hath been duly & canonically consecrated a Bishop by the Bishops of the Epis: Chh: in Scotland."

The next morning the Convention reassembled, carefully went over the address of welcome to the Bishop, and appointed a Committee of four to go to the parsonage, and "in the name of the Clergy declare to the Bp. their Confirmatⁿ of their former Election of him, & that they now acknowledged^d & rec^d him their Bp." He returned with them to the church, and "seated in his Chair in the Altar, the Clerg at the Rails," as the minutes have it, the address of the clergy was read by Mr. Hubbard, after which "the Bp. read his Answer—and gave the Apostolical Blessing—then the Clergy retired to th^r pews."

The necessary formalities were now over, and the Bishop was at liberty, as the Bishop of Connecticut, to exercise the duties of his office, and he straightway proceeded to do so. One of the pressing reasons why a Bishop was so much desired on this side of the water was that the young men seeking the ministry here might not be compelled to take that hazardous and tedious voyage to receive their

**Historical Magazine, Vol. III, p. 59.*

Other changes were put over to the meeting of the Convocation which was to be held in New Haven in September. The changes agreed upon were set forth and authorized by the Bishop in a pastoral letter dated August 12th, 1785.

Dr. Samuel Parker of Boston was present at that first Convocation in a semi-official capacity. He was there to assist in giving a welcome to the new Bishop, but he was there also "to collect the Sentiments of the Connec^t Clergy in respect of Dr. Seabury's episcopal Consecratⁿ, the Regulatⁿ of his episcopal Jurisdiction", and their thots of connecting themselves with them, under his Episcopal Charge." This interested the Connecticut clergy, and they "expressed th^r warmest Wishes for the Union & concurrence of th^r Breth^m in Massachusetts und^r Bp. Seabury."

Dr. Parker was a member of the Committee appointed at Middletown to make alterations in the Liturgy, indeed it was at his suggestion that the work was undertaken, as we learn from a letter of his to Dr. White. "It was at my Request that the Bishop with his Clergy agreed to make some alterations in the Liturgy and Offices of the Church and a Com[']tee from the body of the Clergy was Chosen to attend him for that purpose." Most of these proposed changes were accepted by Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire at a Convention held September 7th and 8th. Thus far there had been no attempt, apparently, to introduce the Scottish Office.

But that would come all in good time. Seabury had returned from his venture abroad bearing his Episcopal Orders from the non-juring Bishops of Scotland, but he also bore in his portfolio the duplicate of a document which we know as the *Concordat*, a mutual solemn agreement between the consecrating Bishops and the Bishop consecrated. Two of the Articles of that *Concordat* have to do with the forms of worship, and one in particular with the Communion Office. The whole document is beautifully persuasive, eloquently forceful, lovingly tender, in its desire that it shall be a "Bond of Union, between the Catholic remainder of the ancient Church of Scotland, and the now rising Church in the State of Connecticut."

A brief quotation from that *Concordat* will show the obligation under which Seabury rested. "And tho' the Scottish Bishops are very far from prescribing to their Brethren in this matter, they cannot help ardently wishing that Bishop Seabury would endeavour all he can consistently with peace and prudence, to make the Celebration of this venerable Mystery conformable to the most primitive Doctrine and practice in that respect: Which is the pattern the Church of Scotland has copied after in her Communion office." "Bishop Seabury also agrees to take a serious view of the Communion office recom-

It would be difficult to improve upon what he says. In describing the character and qualifications of those who shall be presented to him for ordination he has this to say: "By qualifications, I mean not so much literary accomplishments, though these are not to be neglected, as aptitude for the work of the ministry. You must be sensible that a man may have, and deservedly have, an irreproachable moral character, and be endued with pious and devout affections, and a competent share of human learning, and yet, from want of prudence, or from deficiency in temper, or some singularity in disposition, may not be calculated to make a *good* Clergyman; for to be a *good* Clergyman implies, among other things, that a man be a *useful* one. A clergyman who does no *good*, always does *hurt*: There is no medium." It is doubtful if even a Whig or Tory could take exception to that, and it ought to have satisfied the most rigid Churchman or Presbyterian.

At that first Convention, or Convocation rather, for a distinction must now be made, a movement was set on foot to change the Liturgy to meet the changed conditions of the Church, to adapt it to its new political environment. When the Bishop dissolved the Convention he directed the clergy to meet him a little later in the day in Convocation. Inasmuch as the Convention was composed only of clergy it might seem as if there were a distinction without a difference. But there was a difference. "From a survey of the Convocation's work we can formulate this definition of the term as applied to the assembly of the clergy of Connecticut: The Convocation is the body of the clergy of a Diocese called together by its Bishop to consult upon the spiritual interests of the Diocese, to determine and act upon all matters concerning the welfare and edification of the Diocese, and to advise the Bishop in regard to such cases of discipline as he may see fit to lay before it."*

On October 1st, 1790, "The Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States" was approved by the Convocation of the clergy of Connecticut. It was not adopted, however, by the various parishes, to permit the organization of a Convention under it, until 1792. With the Convention came the advent of the laymen into the temporal affairs of the Diocese, and the Convocation henceforth was concerned almost entirely with spiritual matters.

The Committee that was appointed at that first Convocation "to consider of & make some Alteratⁿs in the Liturgy needful for the present Use of the Chhⁿ" remained in session for two days in Middletown, and, with the Bishop, agreed upon such changes as they deemed the most important, which were those regarding the state prayers.

*"The Records of Convocation, 1790-1848," p. 13.

The personal element entered very little, if at all, into his attitude. It was a matter of principle with him. He was influenced by what he regarded as the practice of the primitive Church.

Bishop Seabury's attitude towards the laity is apt to be misunderstood and misrepresented. It is too often disposed of as rigid and uncompromising. But his own words do not quite bear that out. "I have as great a regard for the laity as any man can have." "But I cannot conceive that the Laity can with any propriety be admitted to sit in judgment on Bps. and Presbyters, especially when deposition may be the event; because they cannot take away a character which they cannot confer. It is incongruous to every idea of Episcopal government." It was because he felt that their "fundamental principles" allowed just that, that he voiced his opposition. And he carried his point, for in the Constitution which came out of that Convention of 1789 this, to him, anomalous situation was eliminated.

But this attitude toward lay representation was not peculiar to Bishop Seabury. It was the attitude of the Connecticut clergy. Seabury was a Connecticut man himself, and therefore familiar with Connecticut traditions, and, so far as this matter was concerned, that tradition was that the clergy only were members of their ecclesiastical councils. None but clergy went to that secret meeting in Woodbury, which selected Seabury to go abroad for consecration.

The suggestion has been made that the reason for not summoning the laity to that meeting was a consideration for their safety.* It is not likely that the clergy were as solicitous for their laity as that, however highly they may have valued them. No, it was a matter of principle with them. Spiritual and ecclesiastical affairs belonged to the clergy. This tradition still lingers in Connecticut, as is evidenced in the make-up of its Standing Committee, which is composed only of clergymen. But this is not as anomalous as it may seem, inasmuch as the Diocese is so organized that the laity are very largely responsible for the temporal affairs of the Diocese, while the great bulk of the business which falls to the Standing Committee has to do with spiritual and ecclesiastical matters.

But to go back to that Convention of 1785. Out of it came the "Proposed Book," as it was called. It was published April 1st, 1786. One of the "fundamental principles," recommended as the basis of a union in a general ecclesiastical Constitution was that the Church shall adhere to the Liturgy of the Church of England "as far as shall be consistent with the American Revolution and the Constitutions of the respective States."

But when this "Proposed Book" appeared it was found that too

*McConnell, *"History of the American Episcopal Church,"* p. 226.

mended by them, and if found agreeable to the genuine Standards of Antiquity, to give his Sanction to it, and by gentle methods of Argument and persuasion, to endeavour, as they have done, to introduce it by degrees into practice without the Compulsion of Authority on the one side, or the prejudice of former Custom on the other."

That is a graciously worded instrument, clear and definite in what was desired, and courteous in its presentation of the methods to obtain that desire. Seabury had not put his name to that document lightly. And so it was a serious obligation with him to carry out his part of the solemn agreement.

In the following year, 1786, he put forth for use in Connecticut the Scottish Communion Office. This met with the instant approval of the Connecticut clergy, and evidences of a preference, or at all events, of a fondness, for it were seen for nearly half a century after the ratification of the Book of Common Prayer.*

As for alterations in the Prayer Book as a whole Bishop Seabury counselled deliberation. He had "found that the Church people of Connecticut were much alarmed at the thoughts of any considerable alterations being made in the Prayer Book," and it was his feeling that no alterations should be attempted until a "little time shall have cooled down the tempers and conciliated the affections of people to each other." He was certainly moving in the spirit of the *Concordat*.

And he was all the more inclined to proceed cautiously because of the reports which were coming to him of the doings of the States to the south, which, as then understood, meant New York and all below it. From September 27th to October 7th, 1785, delegates from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina had met in Convention in Philadelphia. They had adopted a preliminary draft of a Constitution "for the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America," and had also agreed upon certain more obvious changes in the Prayer Book.

This is frequently called the first General Convention. In its intent and purpose it was that. It is true that Connecticut was not represented, but it is equally true that Connecticut was invited. Bishop Seabury and his clergy were not satisfied with the conditions under which the Convention was called, and with its personnel. There was that matter of lay representation. Seabury did not like that, not that he was opposed to the laity, but because, as he understood their "fundamental principles," the Bishop was subjected to the jurisdiction of presbyters and laymen, and that was altogether contrary to his conception of the office and power of the Bishop.

*Beardsley's *Life of Seabury*, p. 263.

least have "produced an opposition." But no such thing happened "to any considerable extent."

This may be attributed to the "gentle methods of argument and persuasion" of Seabury, but more particularly to the godly wisdom and tactfulness of White. On the eve of the Convention Seabury wrote to him an appealing letter, which shows the high estimate he had of his influence. And his confidence was not misplaced, for had Bishop White "thrown his vote against what is now the most striking departure of the American from the English Prayer Book it would never have had a place therein."* And it is a well-known fact that White, if not strenuous in his opposition to it, certainly had no fondness for it. Due credit should be given to Dr. William Smith, President of the lower House, who favored the Prayer, and used his influence to bring about its adoption. The more one reads the story of this formative and critical period of the Episcopal Church in America, the more he will be impressed with the true greatness of those two men, White and Seabury.

They represented different types. They differed in temperament, differed in their manner of gaining their ends, differed in their Churchmanship. And yet probably the difference there was not as great as is commonly supposed. Seabury was a high Churchman, his standard always the primitive Church. White's classification was that of a low Churchman, but the degree of his "low" was as moderate as Seabury's "high." They were both intensely loyal to their Church, and neither would fit in with any comfort to the classification of "high" and "low" today.

That General Convention of 1789 was memorable not alone for the adoption of the Book of Common Prayer, which was to remain practically unaltered until 1886, but it was memorable also for what might be called the nationalization of the Church. And it was the opportune time for such action. Out of that Convention came the Church united as to its organization, and the danger of a Church geographically divided was averted, as was averted also the danger of a Church divided as to its Scotch or English origin.

And this was a real danger. Seabury was jealous of his position as the Bishop of Connecticut, with no shadow of doubt as to the genuineness of his Orders, in which certainty his clergy shared. But there were those elsewhere who looked askance at both him and his Orders. And in some quarters there was a bitter hostility to him based on the ground of his well-known loyalist sentiments in the past, and that hostility was not softened by the knowledge that he was in receipt of a pension from the British Government. Pensions, as such,

*McGarvey. *"Liturgie Americanae,"* p. xxx.

many and too radical changes had been made. The English Bishops were greatly perturbed by it, and did not hesitate to say so. This had a serious aspect for those, who, dissatisfied with Seabury's Orders, were hoping and working for an English Episcopate.

And as for Seabury himself, he of course found little satisfaction in it. His imprimatur of approval would hardly be given to a book which left out the Nicene Creed, and he was altogether partial to the Athanasian Creed, and that too had gone by the board. But as events turned out the "Proposed Book" exerted but little influence on the liturgical life of the Church. The General Convention of 1789, which should probably be considered the first *real* General Convention, as meeting all the requirements, put forth a Book of Common Prayer, which, while it represented compromises, yet was reasonably satisfactory to all, as being the best that could be obtained under the circumstances. Seabury's desire for the Athanasian Creed went unfulfilled, but probably not many have felt any deep sense of liturgical loss. One Connecticut clergyman* wrote rather mournfully, perhaps a bit exaggeratedly, "Poor Athanasius is beheaded, his Creed condemned as heretical. Areans Socinians, &c., may now fill our Churches."

But the great achievement as regards the Prayer Book of 1789 was the adoption of the Communion Service, in which the Scottish Office was the model, and here, of course, we see the hand of Seabury. He had agreed with his consecrators to take a serious view of the Scottish Communion Office, and by gentle methods of argument and persuasion introduce it into the American Church. He had been successful in the narrower field of Connecticut. Now his task was more difficult. The point of particular interest to him had reference to the prayer of consecration. And he had very strong convictions about that, so strong in fact were they that, as Bishop White tells us, he hardly considered the form in the English Office as "strictly amounting to a consecration." He felt that without "a more formal oblation of the elements, and of the invocation of the Holy Ghost to sanctify and bless them," the whole act was woefully deficient.

Here was a matter which might easily have shattered beyond repair the harmony of that gathering, and retarded for a long time, if not forever, the organization and consolidation of the Church. Bishop White recognized the extreme delicacy of the situation, rather expected that "the great change made, in restoring to the consecration prayer the oblatory words and the invocation of the Holy Spirit," words which were left out in King Edward's Prayer Book of 1552, would at

*Ebenezer Dibblee, *"Formative Period, 1784-1791,"* p. 72.

with his Pontificals but by coming in at the *back Door?*"* That was Ebenezer Diblee, who, writing to Samuel Peters from Stamford under date of February 5th, 1793, said, "In a late Convention of the Bishops, Clerical & Lay Delegates of the United States; a happy Coalition among the Bishops took place. Through Bishop Seabury's wise & prudent conduct, all contention for primacy or precedence is laid aside. A happy union we hope will succeed."†

In his Journal Bishop Seabury makes this entry which bears upon this matter: "At the last General Convention at Philadelphia, it was proposed by Bp. White, & agreed to by me, that the eldest Bp. present (to be reckoned from his Consecration) should be President of the House of Bps. This agreement seemed to be displeasing to Bps. Provost & Maddison; and it was proposed by them that the presidency should go by rotation, beginning from the North. I had no inclination to contend who should be the greatest in the kingdom of heaven, & therefore readily consented to relinquish the Presidency into the hands of Bp. Provost. I thank God for his grace on this occasion, & beseech him that no self exaltation or envy of others may ever lead me into debate & contention, but that I may ever be willing to be the least, when the peace of his Chch requires it. Amen."

Well, the General Convention had adopted a Constitution, and set forth a Book of Common Prayer. Would Connecticut approve? Inasmuch as their Bishop had subscribed to both, Connecticut assuredly would. On June 2nd, 1790, the Convocation of the Clergy of Connecticut met in Litchfield. It was the first meeting since the Convention, and a well-attended meeting it was, the Minutes showing that the Bishop and fifteen of the clergy were present. The Constitution and Canons were briefly considered, but action on them was deferred to an adjourned meeting to be held in Newtown on August 26th, which in turn was postponed to September 30th. At that meeting the alterations in the Book of Common Prayer were read and considered.

Presumably the minds of the clergy had so far crystallized that little or no debate was necessary, at least there is no suggestion of it in the Minutes, for immediately comes the entry: "On motion, The question was put, in these words, '*Whether we confirm the doings of our Proctors in the General Convention at Philadelphia, on the 2^d day of Octob^r, 1789.*'" That is a blanket vote, apparently, covering Constitution and Prayer Book, and it was carried with only one dissenting voice.‡ He offered a very formal and formidable "Protest," which was read and ordered to be recorded by his desire, and then the

**Historical Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 68.

†*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 76.

‡*Rev. James Sayre.*

have not always been under suspicion with the American people. It is only the source whence they are derived that gives them a questionable look.

But the stronger ground of hostility to him was no doubt the source of his Orders. It was unquestionably those non-juring Orders from Scotland that so affected Bishop Provost's spelling, that "Cebra" was as near as he could get to the Bishop's name. "He didn't care a picaune for the Non Jurors as Ch'men. He hated 'em as Jacobites & Tories. It was easy for him to make Jurorism a *cover* for his political malignity as a Whig. The *odium politicum* is more remorseless than the *odium theologicum*—let worldlings say what they will."*

These facts are mentioned here only for the purpose of showing the delicacy of the situation that prevailed, and its possibilities for disaster. But there was an earnest desire for a united Church, and with White working to that end, not forgetting Parker of Massachusetts, and Smith of Philadelphia, the outlook began to brighten.

Early in the Convention of 1789—it began July 28th, adjourning to meet again in September—this resolution was unanimously adopted: "That it is the opinion of this Convention, that the Consecration of the Right Rev. Dr. Seabury to the Episcopal office is valid." There at last was the removal of the great stumbling block. Henceforth progress was comparatively easy. However grudgingly on the part of some that may have come, it had come. Now what would Seabury do?

Well the summer passed, and on September 29th the Convention reassembled. Seabury was there with two of his clergy. He presented his letters of consecration which were read and ordered to be recorded. When the General Constitution of this Church, as altered and amended, "was laid before him and his deputies, they placed their names to it, and took their seats as members of the Convention," and now the "Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America" was definitely and fully organized. Bishop Seabury may not have gained all that he desired, and others may have had to take more than they desired, but it is ever thus that progress is made. Concessions, compromises, even sacrifices, are oftentimes necessary to the accomplishment of ends that are tremendously desirable, and yet might not otherwise be attained.

As an indication of the attitude of Bishop Seabury in that Convention we have the testimony of one who was never quite reconciled to the way in which Seabury received his Orders, and who somewhat whimsically asked, "was there no other way for him to be Cloathed

**Ms. Letter. T. W. Coit.*

dence, and Bristol, met in Convention, and declared the Right Rev. Samuel Seabury, D. D., Bishop of the church in Connecticut, Bishop of the church in this State." This was an addition of responsibilities more than of territory.

There is in the Archives of the Diocese of Connecticut an exact copy, duly authenticated, of Bishop Seabury's Journal covering the period from May 30th, 1791, to November 4th, 1795. He called this "Journal B," which would indicate that there was a "Journal A." If there was, then it has disappeared, and that is a serious loss, for it would have covered those tremendously important first years of his Episcopate.

"This day, Monday, May 30th, I am to set out by water for New Port, my daughter Maria accompanying me." So begins "Journal B," which records an Episcopal journey extending as far as Portsmouth, New Hampshire, before his return to New London, after an absence of six weeks and four days, "having traveled, out & home, by land & water, 397 miles." He traveled by boat, on horseback, by stagecoach, and by "Post coach" or "Post chariot." The entry regarding his visit to Newbury Port is interesting. There in the afternoon he preached to a congregation "supposed to consist of more than 2,000 people," and confirmed about fifty. But the church was so "crowded that the aisles were impassable to those in the remote parts. Those who wished to be confirmed were therefore requested to repair to the Church the next day, when after Prayers they would be attended to." About fifty were then confirmed.

That is merely a sample of the nature of the Bishop's work. Laboriously he went about his field, preaching and confirming, and smoothing out the usual difficulties which fall to a Bishop's lot. Whoever among his enemies thought to discredit him by picturing him as riding about his Diocese in regal style glorified his sulky into a royal coach, for that seems to have been his chief means of transportation for minor journeys. He does speak in one place of a "hired chariot," but there is no mention of postillions and outriders, and so we may conclude that when the Bishop went by he created no more excitement than any humble traveler would who was trying to get from one place to another.

The Bishop preached, of course, wherever he went, but as he invariably mentioned his text it is clear that he "traveled light" so far as that item in his luggage was concerned, for the same sermon did duty over and over again, a practice which may be forgiven a Bishop who necessarily leads a nomadic existence.

Bishop Seabury had his enemies. One of the counts made against him at Woodbury was that he was a refugee. That was a very serious

Convocation adjourned for the day. The next morning the protester withdrew and left the Convocation.

The Constitution having been adopted in Convocation, and the Book of Common Prayer accepted, then came the question as to the mode of introducing them into the several parishes. While it was "agreed that each of the Clergy should take that method that should appear to him the most eligible," yet there was no thought of leaving it so completely to the discretion of the clergy that they might or might not adopt the Constitution, for in the records of the Convocation of 1792 we find the vote recorded: "That unless the Wardens & Vestrymen of Christ's Church in Stratford shall transmit to the Rev'd the Bishop of Connecticut, within 14 days after Easter-Monday next, a Notification, that the congregation of s^d Church, have adopted the constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church, as settled by the general Convention at Philadelphia, in Octob^r 1789, they (the Congregation) will be considered as having totally separated themselves from the Church of Connecticut."

And again, in 1793 there is the record of a vote—"That the Clergy, in the execution of their ministerial office, can not pay any attention to the Church at Woodbury, until they accede to the Constitution of the Church in Connecticut." This was the parish in which Seabury was elected, but Marshall, the rector, had died January 21st, 1789, and in 1793 the Rev. James Sayre was in charge, he of the "Protest." This explains things.

These references to the Church in operation are given here simply to show the determination of Seabury to make effective in his own Diocese the organization which had been set up after many and serious difficulties had been overcome. That we can see the hand of Seabury here there is little doubt. And it has its significance as bearing upon the character of Seabury. It does not suggest the autocrat, but instead, the firmness of one, who, having committed himself to a course, not in all respects as he would have had it, yet in the larger interests of the Church will faithfully follow that course.

And this brings us to the consideration of the Episcopate of Seabury in its more local and diocesan aspect. As we have seen, upon his return from his consecration he at once set to work to be a Bishop in fact. As there had never been a Bishop out here, there was, of course, an abundance of those things which Bishops do, awaiting him, young men to be ordained, candidates to be confirmed, churches to be consecrated. The Bishop threw himself into his task eagerly and wholeheartedly. By 1790 his jurisdiction was extended to Rhode Island, for in that year "the churches of Newport, Provi-

for the hour, qualities which, coupled with those of Bishop White, wrought a great work for the Church at a crucial time in its history. However much men may differ from Seabury in their conception of the Church, in their understanding of the things which they deem essential, yet they will accord to him the honor which belongs to one who, having a distinct goal, holds to his course with patience and courage, and devotion, until at last he comes to the end a victor in the long, hard struggle, and those who freely condemn now just as freely praise.

A Bishop* of recent years, who himself, not indifferently fits his own characterization of Seabury, says: "The grand old Bishop! How he stood for the integrity of the faith in the days that were dark, and among the friends that were few, and before Gallios that were many, and against enemies that were mighty!" Truly may we say in the words of the inscription carved upon the marble that marked his grave in the public burying ground in New London, and later transferred to the church where rests his body:

"He was duly qualified to discharge the duties of
The Christian and the Bishop."

•Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle, *Ms. Letter*.



count. But those electors could settle upon no one else who, they thought, was so likely to succeed. Evidently they had little hope that Leaming, who was their first choice, would accept. And then Seabury came back with Orders derived from the non-juring Bishops of Scotland, and that in the minds of many was a serious count against him. Here were the two great sources of hostility shown to him, one political, the other ecclesiastical; and it would probably be a safe assumption that that latter form of hostility still lingers on, though, no doubt, growing less as the figure of the Bishop recedes farther into the past.

Even Leaming felt the handicap under which Seabury labored, this handicap of hostility, for in a letter* to Samuel Peters, dated June 1st, 1786, he unburdened himself, a bit disheartened, perhaps, at the way things were going, and admitted "under the rose," that "had I known that Dr. S. had so many personal Enemies, I should not have given the answer I did," which answer was, *Nolo Episcopare*, given because "fearing the Chh. might suffer under my poor Abilities," among which he counted "diffidence," which he designates a "misfortune," and also his age and infirmities, if his repeated reference to them means anything. This bespeaks no disloyalty to Seabury, but merely recognizes the difficulties under which he labored, and the menace to the cause, of all this hostility.

In attempting to estimate the character of Seabury and his Episcopate, this matter of the hostility shown to him must be brought into the reckoning. Any fair appraisal of his life and work as a Bishop must take into account his success in overcoming opposition, and commending himself to his own Church and to those outside of it. Certain misconceptions regarding him, which had either purposely or ignorantly been fostered, were forgotten as time went on, and Seabury assumed the place in the picture which is rightly his. A small man would never have won through.

Read his Journal, the record of his travels from place to place in his Diocese, of his work among and for his people, done in the consciousness of the ever-present power of God, and you shall see limned there the portrait of a true Bishop, of a "simple, grand, conciliatory, uncompromising man," of a man humble as he was honest, a man of faith and conviction.

His Episcopate covered only eleven years, but they were tremendous years in the life of the Church in Connecticut and America, and while no one would claim for Seabury a greatness beyond his deserts, yet that he was the man for the occasion and the task there will be few to deny. He possessed certain qualities which were needed

**Historical Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 131.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF BISHOP SEABURY.

THE RT. REV. SAMUEL SEABURY, D. D., first Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Dioceses of Connecticut and Rhode Island, the son of the Rev. Samuel Seabury,* was born at Groton, 1728. Very little is known of his early history, beyond the fact, that he was always remarkable for soundness of mind, clearness of understanding, tenacity of memory, and for comprehensiveness and solidity of judgment. He was educated at Yale College, where he was graduated in 1748, with credit to himself, and honor to the University. He received the degree of M. A. from Columbia College, N. Y., and that of D. D. from the University of Oxford, England. In 1751 he went to Scotland for the purpose of studying medicine, but his attention being turned to Theology, he relinquished medicine, and after a course of theological study, was ordained by the Bishop of London, 1753.

On his return to America, he was appointed Missionary at New Brunswick, N. J., and remained in charge of Christ Church in that place, until Easter, 1757. He then removed to Jamaica, L. I., and had charge of Grace Church, Jamaica, until December, 1766, when he was removed to St. Peter's Church, Westchester. Here he remained until the fall of 1776, when he removed to the city of New York, subsequent to the occupation of the city by the British troops, and remained in New York and at Staten Island until the declaration of peace, in 1783, officiating for some portion of the time as Chaplain to the British army.

During the War of the Revolution, Bishop Seabury and the other missionaries of the Venerable Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, felt themselves bound by the oath of allegiance to the King, which they were obliged to take before their ordination, by their relation to their Diocesan, the Bishop of London, and by their duty to the Society of which they were missionaries, to espouse the cause of the King and the mother country. And they were still further stimulated to this course by the violent opposition made to the Consecration of Bishops for this country, and by the unmitigated hostility manifested towards Episcopacy itself. But there is no pretence that they

ever did any acts inconsistent with their character as ministers of the gospel of peace. They were content to remain silent spectators of the conflict, faithfully discharging their duties to God and the Church, and when the final issue declared America triumphant, those who had not been removed by the Society in whose employ they were, cheerfully came forward and acknowledged their allegiance to the new government.*

Immediately after the declaration of peace, and before the British troops had left the city of New York, and only two days after a formal proclamation of the cessation of hostilities throughout the army had been made, the Episcopal Clergy still remaining in Connecticut, held a private meeting in the city of New York, and in concurrence with the clergy of that city, made choice of the Rev. JEREMIAH LEAMING, D. D., as Bishop of the diocese of Connecticut.† Debility and many bodily infirmities caused him to decline, and Rev. SAMUEL SEABURY, D. D., was unanimously chosen, April 21, 1783. The Archbishopate of Canterbury being then vacant, by the death of the Rt. Rev. Frederick Cornwallis, a letter was written by Rev. Abraham [afterwards Bishop] Jarvis, the Secretary of the Convention, and testimonials were signed, addressed to the Archbishop of York, to whom belongs the right of Consecration, when any vacancy occurs in the See of Canterbury. The reasons for this apparent haste, are thus described, in the letter addressed to the Archbishop of York, from which we make an extract:

"This part of America is at length dismembered from the British Empire; but notwithstanding the dissolution of our *civil* connection with the parent state, we still hope to retain the *religious polity*—the primitive and evangelical doctrine and discipline, which at the reformation were restored and established in the Church of England. To render that polity complete, and to provide for its perpetuity in this country, by the establishment of an *American Episcopate*, has long been an object of anxious concern to us, and to many of our

brethren in other parts of this continent. The attainment of this object appears to have been hitherto obstructed by considerations of a political nature, which we conceive were founded in groundless jealousies and misapprehensions that can no longer be supposed to exist: and therefore, whatever may be the effect of independency on this country, in other respects, we presume it will be allowed to open a door for renewing an application to the spiritual governors of the Church on this head; an application which we consider as

* Rev. Samuel Seabury was a member of Yale College at the time President Cutler, Dr. Johnson, and Mr. Brown declared for Episcopacy, but left in consequence of the troubles, and went to Harvard University, Cambridge, where he was graduated in 1724. He was soon after ordained to the Congregational ministry, over the Second Society in Groton, though omitted in Dr. Trumbull's list; but left about 1729, and becoming an Episcopalian, went to England for Orders, about 1731 or 1732. On his return in 1733, he was appointed Missionary at New London, where he remained until 1743, when he was removed to Hempstead, L. I., where he died in 1764, leaving three sons. It is worthy of remark, that Mr. Seabury's successor at Groton, Rev. Ebenezer Ponderson, as well as Dr. Johnson's successor at West Haven, Rev. Jonathan Arnold, both became Churchmen. To the exertions of the latter, Trinity Parish, New Haven, is indebted for its funds.

* See "Minutes of the Convention of Delegates from the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, and from the Associations of Connecticut, held annually from Jan. 1766 to 1775, inclusive," for some evidence of the state of public feeling among non-Episcopalians at that time.

† Dr. L. was born at Middletown, 1717, graduated at Yale College in 1745, ordained in 1748, stationed at Newport, R. I. about eight years, when he removed to Norwalk, Conn., and remained there twenty-one years. He subsequently removed to Stratford, and died at New Haven in 1804.

not only seasonable, but more than ever necessary at this time; because if it be now any longer neglected, there is reason to apprehend that a plan of a very extraordinary nature, lately formed and published in Philadelphia,* may be carried into execution. This plan is, in brief, to constitute a nominal Episcopate by the united suffrages of presbyters and laymen. The peculiar situation of the Episcopal Churches in America, and the necessity of adopting some speedy remedy for the want of a regular Episcopate, are offered, in the publication here alluded to, as reasons fully sufficient to justify the scheme. Whatever influence this project may have on the minds of the ignorant or unprincipled part of the laity, or however it may, possibly, be countenanced by some of the clergy in other parts of the country; we think it our duty to reject such a spurious substitute for Episcopacy, and, as far as may be in our power, to prevent its taking effect.

"To lay the foundation, therefore, for a valid and regular Episcopate in America, we earnestly entreat your Grace, that, in your Archi-Episcopal character, you will espouse the cause of our sinking Church: and, at this important crisis, afford her that relief on which her very existence depends, by Consecrating a Bishop for Connecticut. The person whom we have prevailed upon to offer himself to your Grace for that purpose, is the Reverend Doctor *Samuel Seabury*, who has been the society's worthy Missionary for many years. He was born and educated in Connecticut—he is personally known to us—and we believe him to be every way qualified for the Episcopal Office, and for the discharge of those duties peculiar to it, in the present trying and dangerous times."

The Bishop elect sailed immediately after, and arrived in London June 7th. On his arrival he found the See of Canterbury filled by the translation of the Rt. Rev. JOHN MOORE, from the Diocese of Bangor, and the Archbishop of York had been gone from London a fortnight. Dr. S. immediately waited on the Bishop of London, under whose jurisdiction the colonies had always been, who entered heartily into the scheme, and declared his readiness to coöperate with the two Archbishops, but was unwilling to take the lead in the matter. He found, however, upon conferring with the Archbishop of Canterbury, that the oaths of allegiance to the King, and of obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury required by Act of Parliament, were likely to be very great obstacles in the way of the accomplishment of the object of his journey. Beside this, it was objected, that the Bishops of England had no right to Consecrate a Bishop for Connecticut without the consent of the State, and there was no evidence that, if one were Consecrated, he would be received

and obeyed, and that no adequate provision had been made for his support.

In addition to all these obstacles, there was one which gave more uneasiness than any other. Hitherto the whole proceedings seem to have been conducted silently, fearing that, if they were known, the dissenters would interpose and prevent the Consecration entirely. Nor was this fear as groundless as at first may seem. The Episcopate proposed was precisely of the same character as that which had called forth so much opposition before the Revolution, and the feelings manifested towards the Church during the Revolution, were calculated to strengthen their apprehensions. The expectation was, that the dissenters in England would prevail on the government of Connecticut to remonstrate against the Consecration of a Bishop, which would, of course, prevent it. These obstacles would have disheartened a less persevering man than Bishop Seabury, but firmly believing that the integrity of the Episcopal Church in this country depended on the early Consecration of a Bishop, he determined not to give over the pursuit, so long as any hope of success remained.

To obviate the objections made in England, a special convention of the clergy was called at Wallingford, and a committee appointed to confer with the Legislature, then in session in New Haven, to procure permission for an Episcopal Bishop to reside in Connecticut, and to allow him to exercise the functions of his office over his own congregations. The opinion of the leading members being that such permission had already been granted, no new act was proposed, and certified copies of the laws on the subject were made and transmitted to England. These succeeded in removing the objections, only in part. After having been in England a year, without any prospect of success, a correspondence was opened with the nonjuring Bishops of Scotland, who declared themselves willing to Consecrate a Bishop for this country. The Bishops of England felt that they could not Consecrate without a special act of Parliament, authorizing them to do it, and Parliament having refused to pass such an act, the clergy of Connecticut directed Dr. Seabury to proceed to Scotland, and apply for Consecration there.

Accordingly he proceeded to Scotland, and was Consecrated at Aberdeen, Nov. 14, 1784, by Robert Kilgour, Bishop of Aberdeen, *Primus*, assisted by Arthur Petrie, of Ross and Moray, and John Skinner, coadjutor of Bishop Kilgour. He arrived at New London in June, 1785, after an absence of near two years, most of which had been a period of painful trial and solicitude. A Special Convention of the Clergy of Connecticut was held at Middletown, August 3, 1785, at which he was voluntarily accepted, received and recognized as the Bishop of the Diocese, as supreme in the government of the Church and in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs; and solemn engagements were entered into, to render him the respect,

* The author of this plan was the Rev. William [afterwards Bishop] White. It is described in his *Memoirs Prot. Epis. Ch.* 22, 23, 86—93. It was published in 1782, before any prospects of peace had appeared, and a considerable portion of it was republished in the *Episcopal Recorder*, Philadelphia, Dec. 1842.

duty, and submission due to that office. The Bishop returned the Convention his warmest thanks, accepted the responsible office, and immediately entered upon its duties, by admitting Mr. Colin Fergusson, M. A., Mr. Henry Van Dyke, M. A., Mr. Ashbel Baldwin, M. A., and Mr. Philo Shelton, M. A., to the holy order of deacons, this being the first ordination in this country.

After Bishop Seabury's return to this country he was elected to the rectorship of St. James' Church, New London, which he held until his death, Feb. 26, 1796, discharging faithfully the office of Rector, as well as that of Bishop, as the following inscription on his tombstone bears true witness :

" Ingenious without pride,
Learned without pedantry,
Good without severity,
He was duly qualified to discharge
The duties of the Christian and the Bishop.
In the pulpit he enforced religion,
In his conduct he exemplified it.
The poor he assisted with his charity,
The ignorant he blessed with his instruction :
The friend of men, he ever designed their good,
The enemy of vice, he ever opposed it.
Christian! dost thou aspire to happiness?
SEABURY has shown the way that leads to it."

The organization of the Church in Connecticut, during the first years of Bishop Seabury's administration, was modeled after the plan proposed for an American Episcopate before the Revolution, the laity having no voice in the election of a Bishop, nor in the enactment of ecclesiastical canons, and the Bishop having no authority over the laity. Nor does it appear that any Constitution was adopted, until 1790, when one was recommended by the Convocation to the several Parishes, and adopted by them—the first Convention under it being held June 6th, 1792. This was the first appearance of the laity in any Convention in Connecticut, as members of that body.

Previous to that time the ecclesiastical affairs of the Diocese had been regulated by the Bishop and Clergy, who met in Convocation, as frequently as any business required, but always once a year. Similar meetings of the Clergy, for similar purposes, had been common in the Northern States for many years before the Revolution, and Bishop Seabury did not see fit to change the mode of transacting the ecclesiastical affairs of the Diocese. At these *Convocations*, candidates for orders were examined, recommended, and approved, and Ordinations were usually held, at, or immediately after a Convocation. All difficulties between Clergymen, or in Parishes, were also considered, and, if possible, adjusted at these meetings. They were, indeed, in place of all Constitutions and Canons.

Of the amount of his labors it is impossible to form

any just estimate, as the early Records of the Diocese are lost. The list of Ordinations, recorded in the *Episcopal Register*, show that he visited the various parts of his Diocese every year,—that he was frequently in Rhode Island, and that he occasionally visited Massachusetts and New Hampshire. During his Episcopate, he ordained *forty-eight* Deacons and *forty-three* Priests, *five* for Rhode Island, *four* for Vermont, *five* for Maryland, *three* for New Hampshire, *one* for New Jersey, *one* for North Carolina, and the remainder for Connecticut. He assisted in the Consecration of only one Bishop, the Rt. Rev. THOMAS JOHN CLAGGETT, of Maryland, the first Bishop Consecrated in this country. And it is worthy of remark, that there is not now, and never has been, a Bishop in our Church, who could not trace his succession to Bishop Seabury.

The influence of Bishop Seabury in the revision of the Liturgy, was very considerable, in some important points. The Invocation and the prayer of Oblation in the communion service, and which are not in the present English service, and even the words of oblation omitted in King Edward's time, were restored at the urgent desire of Bishop Seabury. The descent of CHRIST into hell, mentioned in the Apostles' Creed, seems to have been retained at his instance. Other changes were made, to which he was opposed. He wished to retain the Athanasian Creed, was opposed to the discretionary power given to use selections of Psalms, instead of the Psalter for the day.

The Bishop's *personal appearance* is said to have been remarkably good. He was rather above the middling height, well proportioned and portly. His eye was dark and brilliant, especially when animated. His gait moderate, but easy and courtly, indicating the dignified gentleman. His voice was rather harsh, but deep-toned, heavy, and effective. He was a man of ready wit, and many anecdotes are told of him, showing that he knew how to enjoy and enliven the social circle. His manner of expressing himself was firm and decided, but never dogmatical or overbearing. He was a careful observer of men and things, a scholar of general information in most departments of Literature. His strong good sense made him an interesting companion for the learner and the unlearned. Indeed, few men possessed conversational powers of a higher order than Bishop Seabury. The impression made by the Bishop on all who saw him, was well expressed by a Congregational minister who knew him, who said, that "Bishop Seabury looked as he always thought a Bishop ought to look."

In his intercourse with his clergy, the Bishop's manners were easy and affable, kind and courteous, but always dignified; sustaining, at the same time, the character of father and brother, of companion and friend. In his consultations with his brethren, he had a happy faculty of so drawing out their opinions upon points of difference, as to reconcile them with each

other, and accommodate them to his own, until he impressed his own mind upon that of all his clergy. To the laity, also, he was equally courteous and easy of access, for which he was rewarded by a correspondent affection. It may indeed be truly said that they revered and admired him, and he was always sure of a warm reception and a hearty welcome, wherever he went.

As a *writer*, he had no superiors, and few equals. His style was simple and unadorned, concise and comprehensive, and at the same time perspicuous and easy of comprehension. His language was always chaste and pertinent; his ideas following in the most natural and obvious method, were easily understood and retained. Theological niceties, metaphysical subtleties, and conjectural divinity, found no favor with him, though his writings evince the scholar thoroughly armed, and his language was always well weighed. His one great object, as a sermonizer, seems to have been, so to explain the important doctrines of the gospel,—the great articles of faith,—and the practical duties of life,—so to show what we must *believe* and *do*, as to persuade men to embrace and follow those things which are necessary to salvation. His own sense of the importance of vital religion was deep and fervent, and breathes through all his discourses, animating them with the same holy fervor that burned in his own bosom.

As a *preacher*, he was deservedly popular, and was always sure of a full audience, wherever he went. Plain and simple in his language, fervent and engaging in his manner, even those who differed from him in opinion could listen to him with pleasure, and all went away benefitted and instructed. He foresaw the lamentable defection which has since taken place among the orthodox of Massachusetts, and warned them of their approaching danger. The two volumes of sermons which he published, were designed to guard his own people against those errors, and may be read with great profit at the present time, for the same purpose.

Towards those *who differed from him*, he was courteous and charitable; never yielding any truth, but defending it in those terms which would give the least offence. Confident of the solid grounds on which his own religion was based, he was not disturbed by the assaults that were made upon it, and believing that they generally originated in ignorance or prejudice, he sought to overcome and root them out by kind words and solid arguments. In all his discussions the fair-minded man is clearly seen. Too honest to misrepresent, too honorable to urge a weak point, or to attempt to mislead by sophistry, always calm, considerate, and courteous, he triumphed over the most determined opponents.

Of Bishop Seabury, as a *theologian*, it is hardly necessary for us to speak, nor could justice be done him, in the space that could be allotted to the subject. It

is no small praise that he was looked upon by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Hobart, of New York, as one of the soundest divines, and that an eminent British periodical has pronounced him worthy of the best days of English theology.

After this account of Bishop Seabury, no eulogy of ours is necessary. His memory is embalmed in the hearts of all who knew him, many of whom remain to the present time, and the influence of his example and theology can still be seen in all the older parishes, and in all the native clergy of the Diocese. His were the principles of Johnson, and Beach, and Leaming, and Chandler,—they ever have been, and still continue to be, and may they ever remain, the principles of the *Churchmen of Connecticut*.

The publications of Bishop Seabury, so far as known, are as follows:

1785. His first Charge to the Clergy of his Diocese, on recommending Candidates for Orders, and on Confirmation, delivered Aug. 4, 1785, together with a list of the succession of Scotch Bishops, from the Revolution, in 1688, to that time. Reprinted Conn. Jour. 147—152.

1786. His Second Charge to the Clergy of his Diocese,—on the proper deportment of the clergy, the religious errors of the times, and on the Holy Eucharist, delivered Sept. 22, 1786.

The Communion Office, or order for the administration of the Holy Eucharist, or Supper of our Lord, with Private Devotions, recommended to the Episcopal Congregations in Connecticut. An account is given of this Liturgy in the *Chronicle of the Church*, V. 47.

1789. The Duty of Considering our Ways; a discourse preached at New London, Dec. 13, 1789, at the ordination of R. Fowle to the holy order of Deacons.

1790. Anonymously. An Address to the Ministers and Congregations of the Presbyterian and Independent Persuasions in the United States of America. By a member of the Episcopal Church,—reprinted in the *Churchman of New York*, during the months of April and May, 1841.

1791. Discourses on several subjects, dedicated to the Episcopal Clergy of Connecticut and Rhode Island, in two volumes. These have been reprinted two or three times.

A Discourse delivered in St. John's Church, N. H., June 29, 1791, at the ordination of Rev. Robert Fowle, A. M., to the Priesthood. Published in consequence of the misrepresentations to which it had given rise.

About the same time an earnest persuasive to the frequent receiving of the Holy Communion; republished in 1816, by Rev. B. G. Noble, Rector of Christ Church, Middletown, and subsequently by Rev. H. Crosswell, D. D., Rector of Trinity Church, New Haven.

1798. Subsequent to the Bishop's death, a supplementary volume of Sermons of his was published.

ABRAHAM JARVIS (1739-1813): SECOND BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT (1797-1813)

By William A. Beardsley

AFTER Bishop Seabury's death, February 25th, 1796, it was nearly a year and seven months before his successor was consecrated. This was not due to any indifference or negligence on the part of the Connecticut convention, for promptly on May 5th, 1796, the convention met in New Haven, and proceeded to the election of a bishop. The ballots showed the election of the Rev. Abraham Jarvis, and a committee was appointed to wait on him, and to "acquaint him with his election to the episcopate, and to request an answer whether he will accept it or not."

The convention adjourned for half an hour, at the end of which, the committee reported that Mr. Jarvis declined the election. It would seem as if that were a rather short time in which to make a momentous decision. But the minutes of the convention give only the bare facts. There was more to it all than appears on the surface. In a manuscript letter¹ in the archives of the diocese there is an inkling of the real situation. The letter says in part:

"I have just Received an Account of the Doings of the late Connecticut Convention, relative to the Election of a Bishop—I I thot possibly you might not be informed of it & that a line on this Subject, might be acceptable—

There was a great deal of electioneering, among both Clergy & Laity—they had to go round, a number of times before they were able to declare a choice—It was however at last decided, in favor of *Doctor Jarvis*—the Clergy, wished to have a Bp. in the State—Mr Bowden,² absolutely declined—after the Clergy had made a choice—a Committee waited upon the Lay delegates for their approbation, upon whh a Violent Struggle ensued & after an earnest debate, about the manner in whh they should give in their Determinations—It was at last agreed that they should give in their yeas & nays, with their names annexed—& their (*sic*) appeared a majority of two only in favor of the Choice."

Dr. Jarvis was ultimately elected, but declined, and here in this letter is the reason in part. And no doubt the wish of the clergy to

¹From Rev. Abraham S. Clark to Dr. Samuel Parker of Boston, May 10th, 1796.

²Rev. John Bowden (1751-1817).

select someone within the State, and the contrary wish of the laity to go outside of the State, was in a large measure responsible for the contest. The diocese had no Bishop's Fund and that further complicated matters. Before the adjournment of the convention it was, "*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to prefer a memorial to the general assembly, for an act of incorporation, to establish a fund for the support of the Bishop of Connecticut." After that the convention adjourned to meet in October next.

It did meet then, and at the outset it was determined that "no other business shall be done at this adjourned Convention, to be recorded, but only the business of electing a Bishop." The election took place, and the Rev. John Bowden was chosen. This was on October 19th, 1796. Mr. Bowden requested that he might defer giving his answer until the annual convention in June. His request was granted, and when the answer was given it was in the negative. And still Connecticut was without a successor to Seabury.

But at an adjourned convention held in Derby, June 7th, 1797, the Rev. Mr. Jarvis was unanimously elected by the clergy, which election was unanimously concurred in by the laity, a method of election which prevailed in Connecticut until quite recent years. And thus happily came to an end the difficulties which the convention had experienced in the choice of a successor to Seabury. The clergy had succeeded in having one of their own number elected.

And now who was Abraham Jarvis? Let us get our answer from a manuscript letter in the archives of the diocese of Connecticut, written by the Rev. Samuel Farnam Jarvis,³ son of the bishop, distinguished scholar and author. It was written at the request of the Rev. Tillotson Bronson⁴ immediately after the death of the bishop, May 3rd, 1813.

"New Haven May 23, 1813.

Rev. & Dear Sir

I find myself somewhat at a loss respecting the communication which you wished me to send you, respecting my late father:—Had you proposed to me, the points on which you wished to receive information, in the shape of question, I should perhaps have been better able to give you satisfaction.—As it is, I send you the following dates, & if you need any thing more you will be pleased to let me know it.

Abraham Jarvis was one of ten children, & the youngest but one, of Sam^l Jarvis of the town of Norwalk in Conn^t Born May 5. 1739. OS. Fitted for college under Dr Noah Wells

³(1786-1851).

⁴(1762-1826),

Principal of Episcopal Academy of Connecticut, Editor of *Churchman's Magazine*.

the congregational minister at Stamford. Entered in 1757. was graduated AB. 1761.—Soon after, went to Middletown, where he officiated as Lay reader. Nov^r 14th 1763, the wardens & vestrymen of Xt's Church in that town, signed his Title, agreeing to receive him as their minister in the event of his obtaining orders. Soon after he sailed for England.—He was ordained Deacon by Frederick Keppel Bp of Exeter in the Royal chapel at St James's Westminster on Sunday Febr 5th 1764.—Priest by Charles Lyttleton Brother of Lord Lyttleton, Bp of Carlisle, Sund. Feb. 19. 1764 in the parish Church of St. James's Westminster. These two Bps acted on this occasion as Suffragans to the Bp of Lond.—Licensed to perform the office of a priest in N Eng. by Rich^d Osbaldeston Bp of London Feb. 28th 1764 consecrated Bp. in Trinity Chh NewHaven on the Fest. of St Luke. Wednes. Oct. 18. 1797. by Bps. White, Provost & Bass (Edward)—Resigned the Rectorship of Xt's Chh Middletown & removed to Cheshire in 1799.—Lost his wife Nov^r 4. 1801. Removed to NewHaven Dec. 1802.—Married his second wife Lucy the widow of Nathaniel Lewis, July 4. 1806.—Departed this life. May 3^d 1813 in the 74th year of his age, & in the 16 of his Consecration.—

To morrow I shall set out for NewYork, where I shall at all times be happy to hear from you.

I am, dear Sir,

Your friend & Brother

Sam^l F. Jarvis.

Rev. Mr Bronson"

There we have from an authoritative source, in a bold and condensed form, the salient facts of the bishop's life. We may now proceed to fill in some of the more important details. This bare statement of facts was later expanded by its author into a lengthy sketch of the bishop published in *The Evergreen* for 1846.

It ought to be noted that about a month before his consecration Yale College had honored Mr. Jarvis with the degree of doctor in divinity. He was at the time of his election to the episcopate rector of Christ Church, Middletown, now Church of the Holy Trinity. It was in this church that Bishop Seabury, after his return from his consecration, held his first ordination, August 3^d, 1785.

At the close of the Revolutionary War there were fourteen clergymen of the Church of England remaining in Connecticut. Among that number was the Rev. Abraham Jarvis of Middletown. The condition of the Church was pathetic, the feeling towards it was bitter. Cut off as it was from the mother Church of England its continued existence was precarious. Now that it was independent the first thing necessary was

the completion of its organization. All felt that, and none felt it more keenly than the Connecticut group.

The American colonies had been under the nominal oversight of the bishop of London. They were no longer under his oversight. They were without a bishop, even one three thousand miles away. How to remedy this, how to obtain that which they believed was essential to the very existence of the Church, was never out of their minds. This Connecticut group of clergy finally took the matter into their own hands. A bishop they wanted, and a bishop they would try to get. They could at least make the venture.

They were accustomed to meet in "Voluntary Conventions." From March 29th, 1739, to August 2nd, 1785, there were twenty such conventions held in different places. Unfortunately the minutes of those meetings, except in two or three cases, have not been preserved, or better, perhaps, have not yet come to light.* 1/2 The meeting on March 25th, 1783, was held in Woodbury. The importance of that meeting was such that we could wish that we had the record of its doings. Probably there was a record, because there was a secretary, and Abraham Jarvis was that secretary. That much we know.

That Woodbury Convention has been so voluminously dealt with that it is not necessary to dwell upon it here. It will be enough to say for the present record that of the fourteen clergymen in Connecticut ten were at the meeting, only three of whom are known, the Rev. John Rutgers Marshall, rector of the parish and host, the Rev. Abraham Jarvis of Middletown, and the Rev. Daniel Fogg of Brooklyn. Eleven remain from whom to choose the seven, and one man's guess is as good as another. If regularity of attendance at the meetings from 1790 on, the

* 1/2 *Editor's Note:* The following original minutes of conventions of the Connecticut clergy have been published in full in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, Volume III (1934)* :

1766, May 28, at Wallingford.....pp. 56-57
1784, June 8-10, at New Milford.....pp. 57-58
1785, August 2-5, at Middletown.....pp. 59-64

The following original minutes of conventions of the Connecticut clergy are extant among the Jarvis Papers in the Massachusetts Diocesan Library, Boston, and will be published in full in some future issue of *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*:

1774, September 21, at Norwalk
1776, June 4-6, at Waterbury
1776, July 23-25, at New Haven
1780, May 23-25, at Derby
1781, June 12-14, at Litchfield
1783, June 18, at Simsbury
1787, May 30, at Stamford
1789, September 15-16, at Stratfield

minutes of which have been published,⁵ is any criterion as to the attendance at the Woodbury meeting, then we may safely assume that the Rev. Bela Hubbard of New Haven, and the Rev. Richard Mansfield of Derby were present. Dr. Hubbard's score is almost perfect, and Dr. Mansfield's is not far behind. And the Rev. Mr. Jarvis was faithful in his attendance.

The business transacted at that convention was fraught with momentous and far-reaching consequences. It was a bold venture they were making, but they were bold men, their boldness stiffened by the exigency of the case. They felt, and rightly so, that the hope of the Church here in the new world under the conditions imposed upon it by the Revolution, depended upon the completion of its organization, in the manner in which they believed it should be completed, to conform to the true conception of the Church.

Consequently at that meeting in Woodbury, presumably summoned for the purpose, they chose one to go abroad for consecration as bishop of Connecticut. There seems to have been some secrecy about that meeting, and perhaps it is not difficult to understand why there was. The few facts which we have come to us in an indirect way, namely, through a letter of the Rev. Daniel Fogg, who was present, to the Rev. Samuel Parker of Massachusetts who had expected to attend, going on with Fogg to the meeting. It is in one of Fogg's letters apologizing for not waiting for him that we get a little of our information.

"I wrote you a few lines the 2d inst., by an uncertain conveyance in which I attempted to excuse myself by throwing the blame upon you, for not waiting for you, till the time you mentioned. I now plead guilty & beg your forgiveness."

Samuel Parker was afterwards the first bishop of Massachusetts, though he never performed any episcopal acts, as death prematurely intervened.

While no minutes of that Woodbury meeting have come to light, yet certain documents followed almost immediately, which give us somewhat in detail the purport of it all, letters to the archbishops of Canterbury and York, signed by Abraham Jarvis, "Minister of the Episcopal Church in Middletown, and Secretary to the Convention."

Of the men gathered at that meeting he was the one best qualified to act as scribe, or secretary, if we may judge from the testimony of the Rev. Daniel Burhans,⁶ a contemporary and acquaintance of long standing. Speaking of Dr. Jarvis he says:—"He had an uncommon tact at

⁵The Records of Convocation, 1790-1848.

⁶(1763-1853). Sprague's *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, p. 239.

public business, and in a talent at drafting petitions, memorials, &c., had few, if any, superiors." Certainly the various documents and letters bearing on the election and consecration of Seabury, whether signed by Jarvis alone or in conjunction with others, in which case he was probably the author, give good proof of the truth of Dr. Burhans' words.

As we are not now concerned with the story of Dr. Seabury's efforts to gain consecration, we may pass over his strenuous and disheartening days of waiting, when at times it seemed as if his quest would fail, and return with him to America. He is a bishop, and that is what he hoped and prayed he might be when he set sail from America. He came to New London, where he was to make his home, and serve as rector in addition to his episcopal duties.

The Church had so long and so much desired a bishop that he lost no time in beginning the exercise of his office. He must meet his clergy at once, and so he writes to Mr. Jarvis to announce his safe arrival, and to express the hope that he will visit him soon that they may arrange the time and place of the meeting of the clergy, which, as he says, "should be as soon as practicable." Naturally it would be with Mr. Jarvis with whom he would communicate, because all along he had been the able secretary acting in behalf of the clergy.

There was no church in New London, as it had been destroyed in the Revolution, and very likely at the suggestion of Mr. Jarvis himself, Middletown, the parish of which he was rector, was chosen as the place of that first meeting of the clergy with their bishop. It was more central than New London, and the church, Christ Church as it was then, was adequate for the service of ordination. The convention met at the parsonage. The minutes of this convention have recently been published, and they furnish a detailed account of the order of events.⁷

There were ten of the Connecticut clergy present. The Rev. Mr. Learning⁸ was chosen president. Bishop Seabury's letters of consecration were requested, and to quote from the minutes, "they were produced and read, whereby it appeared to this Con: that he hath been duly & canonically consecrated a Bishop by the Bishops of the Epis: Chh: in Scotland." It fell to the lot of Mr. Jarvis, in the name of the clergy, to declare "to the Bishop their Confirmation of their former Election of him, & that they now acknowledge⁹ & rec^d him their Bp." Then followed the ordination service, the first ever held in this country, when four men⁹ were ordained deacons, and "Mr. Jarvis officiated as Arch-deacon." In the Church of England service it is the archdeacon who

⁷*Historical Magazine*, Vol. 3, p. 59.

⁸Jeremiah Learning (1717-1804).

⁹Colin Fergusson, Henry Van Dyke, Ashbel Baldwin, Philo Shelton.

presents the candidates, and vouches for their fitness to be admitted deacons. And, of course, it was the English ordinal used at that service. As we have already seen, it was Mr. Jarvis, rector of Christ Church, Middletown, able and influential presbyter of the diocese, who was elected to succeed Bishop Seabury, and who was consecrated October 18th, 1797. That date should be particularly noted, because an erroneous date has frequently appeared in print.

It was not the only time, by the way, that Mr. Jarvis was elected bishop. The southern clergy, the clergy, that is, of New York and all below, were pursuing a course which seemed ominous to Bishop Seabury and his clergy. The danger may be sensed in a letter of the Rev. Benjamin Moore of New York to the Rev. Samuel Parker of Boston. He says:

"I have my fears, but not so very apprehensive as you appear to be, that a schism must take place in our Church. A few people in this State, from old grudges on the score of politics, have determined to circumscribe, as far as they possibly can, the authority of Bishop Seabury. But they will not be able to effect their purpose to any great degree. His Episcopal powers have already been acknowledged by most of the Southern States, and truth and justice will in due time get the better of prejudice and partiality."¹⁰

In the light of what was going on to the south, Bishop Seabury felt that if anything happened to him all that he and his clergy had been working for would go by the board. The way to obviate this was to secure a "canonical number of Bishops of the Scottish line" for New England. He called his clergy together February 27th, 1786, in Wallingford, and they proceeded to elect another clergyman to go to Scotland for consecration. The choice ultimately fell upon Mr. Jarvis, Doctors Learning and Mansfield, in that order, having first been designated, and both having declined.

Fortunately, there was no haste in putting the plan into operation. That is no reflection upon Mr. Jarvis, for had it been carried out, there was real danger that a serious split between the Church in the North and the Church in the South might have resulted. As it was, the danger which Bishop Seabury feared did not materialize, wise counsels prevailed, and the American Church went forward as one.

A project which had been much in Bishop Seabury's mind, and was nearing its realization at the time of his death was the establishment of the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut at Cheshire. The date of its organization is given as 1794, when the committee appointed to

¹⁰Wm. Stevens Perry. *Historical Notes and Documents*, p. 342.

form a plan for establishing an academy reported to the convention of the diocese.¹¹ But it was not until June 1796 that its doors were opened for the reception of students.

Bishop Seabury had died in February of that year, and so did not see the completion of the undertaking which was so dear to his heart. It remained for his successor, Bishop Jarvis, to carry on and develop the project, which he did in ways which he could as head of the diocese, but best of all by putting his stamp of approval upon it by sending his son there. Now that he was bishop, the cares and labors of that office absorbed his time and energy, and in 1799 he relinquished the rectorship of the church at Middletown, where he had been since 1764.

This did not involve a change of residence necessarily, but the bishop did remove to Cheshire. Let his son give the reason therefor. He says:—"The Episcopal Academy of Connecticut having been established at Cheshire in 1796, and the Rev. John Bowden appointed its principal, Bishop Jarvis determined in 1798, to place his son under the care of so able an instructor. But his heart and that of his wife were so bound up in this child of their old age, that the event of sending him for the first time from home led to their removal, in the following year, from Middletown to Cheshire."¹²

This son was the Rev. Dr. Samuel Farmar Jarvis,¹³ the distinguished scholar and author. The bishop built for himself a house on Cheshire street, which is still standing in good repair, and as Dr. E. E. Beardsley says:—"The village so beautiful and attractive by nature became, for a time, the general centre of diocesan interests."

At this early stage the diocese had no "palace," no house for the bishop, that is, and so he was free to live where he chose. His wife having died, and Dr. Bowden having resigned from the academy, in 1803 the bishop determined to remove to New Haven, and place his son in Yale College, from which he graduated in 1805. In New Haven the bishop lived in what is now the Graduates Club, 155 Elm St., remodeled and much enlarged, but still in the main the "Episcopal Palace" of 1803.

There was little to disturb the quiet routine of episcopal duties. It is true that the "Church of Connecticut was despised by her adversaries as a feeble flock," but it was slowly recovering from the shock of the Revolution, and more and more causing those adversaries to regard it, though reluctantly, perhaps, with some respect. It was a force to be reckoned with.

¹¹*Journal of 1794*, p. 8, reprint.

¹²*The Evergreen*, Vol. III, 1846, p. 175.

¹³(1786-1851).

Bishop Jarvis had one annoying experience in his administration, which was a source of anxiety and mortification to the end of his life, not because of anything for which he was responsible, but because of the persistent and pernicious activities of the person involved. It was the case of the notorious Ammi Rogers. But that is a dead issue, long since dead, and there is no thought of resuscitating it here. Rogers was a graduate of Yale College in the class of 1790. He sought holy orders in Connecticut, but he was too well known there, and he failed. But he went to New York, and on the strength of a certificate, irregularly obtained, was ordained by Bishop Provoost, June 20th, 1792.

There was no canon then bearing on letters dismissory, and here was the cause of much of the trouble that followed. Finally, the case got into the General Convention of 1804, and the House of Bishops, having heard it and considered it, gave their report in no uncertain language. Out of that convention, and this is the important thing, there came canons covering the questions here involved, which, had they existed at the time, might have mitigated the trouble, though Rogers was not particularly amenable to canons, and some of his adherents frankly declared that they were not under the authority of any bishop. This annoying matter disturbed the serenity of Bishop Jarvis's episcopate, but in no way reflected upon the bishop himself. Through it all, he carried himself with dignity and patience, though, as his son says, "he was persecuted by the vindictive pertinacity of a degraded priest, almost to his dying day."

The Rev. Dr. Samuel Farnar Jarvis, in his sketch of his father, gives an interesting bit of history in relation to the General Convention of 1801, which, of course, does not appear in the minutes.¹⁴ The convention met at Trenton, N. J. There were present Bishops White, Claggett and Jarvis. In the words of Dr. Jarvis, Bishop White said to Bishop Jarvis, "Sir, it is your turn to preside"; to which he answered, "Sir, I can never preside over the bishop who consecrated me." Presumably the son got that from his father.

It was apparently in the mind of Dr. Jarvis that this was responsible for the action taken in that convention to determine the bishop who should preside. The convention of 1789, the first General Convention, general, that is, as including representatives from all the dioceses, adopted the rule that "The senior Bishop present shall be the President; seniority to be reckoned from the dates of the letters of consecration." That meant the presidency of Bishop Seabury.

At the convention of 1792 that rule was rescinded, and the following adopted instead thereof, viz.—"The office of President of this house

shall be held in rotation, beginning from the north; reference being had to the presidency of this house in the last Convention." That meant the presidency of Bishop Provoost.

In the convention of 1801 there were present in the upper House Bishops White, Claggett and Jarvis. The first entry in the minutes of that convention has to do with this matter of the bishop presiding. And this is the entry:—"Some doubt arising in regard to the meaning of the rule of this house in the year 1792, substituted in the place of the 1st rule of this house in 1789 [those rules have just been quoted]—*Resolved*, That until the same shall be considered and explained by this house, the Right Rev. Bishop White be requested to preside at the present session."

According to Dr. S. F. Jarvis, it was the refusal of Bishop Jarvis to preside over the bishop who consecrated him that gave rise to that resolution. As the senior bishop of the American Church, Bishop White continued as president until his death. Dr. Jarvis makes the further comment that in accordance with the ancient rule the bishop of the first see presided. Connecticut was the first see in the United States. "By the primitive rule, therefore, Bishop Seabury might have claimed the right of presiding as long as he lived; but this right he was content to waive for the sake of peace." That simple phrase, "for the sake of peace," has a deeper significance than anywhere appears in the minutes. Of course had that primitive rule been in operation in 1801, there would have been no question as to whose turn it was. Bishop Jarvis would have presided by right of his being the bishop of the first see.

We saw that Bishop Jarvis lost his wife while still residing in Cheshire. She died November 4th, 1801.¹⁵ Her death was a partial reason for his removal to New Haven. She was Miss Ann Farnar of New York, the niece of the wife of the Rev. Dr. Jeremiah Leaming, who figured so prominently in the early history of the Church in Connecticut. By her he had a son to whom was given the name Samuel Farnar. He lived only a few weeks. Some years after a second son was born, and to him also was given the name Samuel Farnar. He later became the eminent scholar and author.

Bishop Jarvis married a second time. His grandson tells us how it came about. He says:—"The Bishop lived in loneliness for five years, but in 1806 he went to visit a widow in her affliction. She was a woman of great beauty and loveliness of character, and in his efforts to console her, he found consolation for himself as well. They were married by Bishop Moore in Trinity Church, New York, surrendering independence on the Fourth of July." That is naively told, is it not?

¹⁵Buried in the Peck Vault, Trinity Church-yard, N. Y.

¹⁴*The Evergreen*, Vol. III, 1846, p. 176.

Letters in the possession of the writer bear out that characterisation of her, and testify to her devotion to the bishop. In a letter to Dr. Jarvis, written a few days after his father's death, she says:—

"O my Son how lost how lonely, every room I enter, and every door that opens I think I must see my dear Companion enter. Since the ill turn he had 3 years since I have scarcely had my eyes off him, but constantly at my side, every ready to advise and instruct. I have never been out of the house except to Church untill yesterday by the persuasion of Mary and Mr Davidson I rode as far as Mr^s Cummings and she insisted on my spending the day how melancholy every thing look'd when I returned in the evening."

The bishop was a great sufferer from asthma towards the end of his life, and he needed and received the tender care of a sympathetic helpmeet.

The glamor that has gathered about the first bishop of Connecticut, Bishop Seabury, has tended to dim the glory that rightly belongs to the second bishop of Connecticut, Bishop Jarvis. Perhaps his story is not as spectacular, perhaps his episcopate was more of the routine type, perhaps his personality was not as aggressive and commanding, but Bishop Jarvis was a man of fine parts, a man of scholarly tastes and attainments, and served the Church with wisdom and dignity, loyal and devoted to its teachings.

If those early Churchmen were narrow, and bigoted, and unbending in their relations to other religious bodies, we must remember what they had to endure, the efforts made to thwart them and discredit their Church. It was more, of course, than just retaliation in kind. There was the profound conviction of the truth of their position, of the divine character of the Church as they understood it and taught it. They were Churchmen by tradition and training.

As an evidence of the firm and unyielding position of Bishop Jarvis, and not as an indication of narrowness of mind, the letter which follows is of interest, and may well find a place here. So far as is known it has never been published.¹⁹

"Cheshire July 13th 1801

Dear Sir

It is reported to me, that, Mr Griswold the congregational Minister of New Milford, is to preach, and pray, I suppose, in your church at Waterbury, on the last Sunday in this Month, and that you or Mr Jones, is to go, & officiate at New Milford,

¹⁹In the Ely Collection of Bishops' autographs, owned by Berkeley Divinity School.

on the same day, viz. the 26th instant. I have inquired of the Man, who spoke of it here, who tells me he heard it mentioned by several persons at Waterbury, Sunday before the last.—We here cannot believe it. It gives me some uneasiness however, fearing that possibly you have been prevailed with, to allow of such an irregularity, aggravated by the appearance of an exchange of Services. I say nothing of the situation in which Mr Griswold stands, but in every view, consider it improper. A presbyter of our church cannot consistently put his office upon a par, in exchange of the duties of it, with a congregational Teacher. He cannot give up his Church consecrated to the worship of God, according to the liturgy to an unauthorized person, who will, in that church, substitute in the place of the liturgy his own conceived devotions.

The consequences of such a procedure, are, too obvious to need a recital; they are subversive of the principles upon which we stand; &, if I err not, will prove injurious to yourself & to the peace & harmony of your parish; it may lay a foundation for evils, which no after exertions of yours may be able to remove. You have here my sentiments, & I will flatter myself, that nothing of the above nature will take place, that the doctrine & rule of our church cannot justify—

Yr Brother in Christ

Abm Bp Connect^d

Addressed to Rev^d Tillotson Bronson
Rector of St. John's Church
Waterbury"

Whether or not one approves of the bishop's attitude, one is bound to admit that he was fearless and straightforward in declaring it, for he was not writing to a youngster just out of the seminary, but to a mature man fifteen years in the ministry, already influential in the Church, and destined to be more influential in the affairs of the diocese. The letter is, perhaps, of no great importance in itself, but it does reveal the character of Bishop Jarvis, and shows that he possessed a real sense of his responsibility as chief pastor.

Interestingly enough, when the sermon was to be preached before the convention after the death of Bishop Jarvis, it was Dr. Bronson, then principal of the Episcopal Academy, and chairman of the standing committee, who was called upon to preach it. Did he have that letter in mind, perhaps on his desk before his eyes, when he sat down to write his sermon and wrote these words?—

"Thus settled in his faith, he listened not to novelties. He believed that whatever was new in Divinity, was, for that very reason, false. To improvements in human science, he was a friend: while he believed that God had long since revealed every

tic noted by his contemporaries, for in a letter written as far back as 1787, the Rev. Ashbel Baldwin says "I have lately made a Tour to Guilford, all's well in that Quarter. I visited Bs Jarvis & Hubbard the gravity of the one & and the politeness of the other still continues."

Although abundantly qualified to produce a body of worth-while writings, yet the bishop left very little in print:—a discourse on the death of Bishop Seabury; a charge to his clergy, and an address or two, all in pamphlet form. It was not much, but enough to show the caliber of his mind, and to give assurance that it might have been much more if the cares of his office and the state of his health had permitted.

On Monday morning, May 3d, 1813, Bishop Jarvis died at his home in New Haven. He was buried in the new cemetery which the city had just opened. But that was not to be his final resting place. He was, of course, interested in the erection of the new Trinity Church on the Green, interested as the head of the diocese, and as a member of the parish, and it had been his hope to see it completed. But that hope was not to be realized. When, however, the church was completed in the following year, his body was removed from the cemetery, and placed under the altar of the church there to await the resurrection morn.

On the wall of the church his son erected a suitable tablet bearing an elaborate Latin inscription, "reciting his ecclesiastical dignity and position, and his own filial and affectionate sorrow."

Such is the story of the second bishop of Connecticut, ABRAHAM JARVIS.



REV. SAMUEL JOHNSON, D.D.

Ordained 1722.

thing necessary for man to know, believe, and do, in order to obtain salvation. Hence, nothing new was to be expected in theology. This rendered him an undeviating advocate for primitive usage and discipline in the Church. This he was, to such a degree, as to be thought by some, too unyielding, too little disposed to accommodate the feelings of others. But those who knew him well, were convinced, it was the pure effect of principle, and a sense of duty . . . The truth was, he deliberated long and thoroughly, before he formed opinions; and when they were formed, they became principles of action, and were not readily changed . . . Such, in the fullest sense of the word was the character of Bishop Jarvis."

Now if this seems to suggest a static condition it must be remembered that we are dealing with a time when, theologically speaking, things were static, when the Scripture text, "the faith which was once delivered unto the saints,"¹⁷ would be wrongly quoted, as if to preclude the possibility of any further delivery. Bishop Jarvis was a fair type of those strong Churchmen, who, at the end of the colonial period and at the beginning of post-revolutionary days were called upon to guide the destinies of a bewildered, distressed and despised Church.

Properly to evaluate the episcopate of Bishop Jarvis one must take full stock of the conditions under which he served. The Church was "experiencing the trials of her deepest depression." It was a bitter transition period. And to add to all the trials which came in the administration of his office, there were the vexatious personal trials inflicted upon him by a recalcitrant priest, who never ceased to persecute him, and who, when he went to his grave, seemed to the clergyman who buried him, the "most forsaken man, both of God and man, he had ever seen." And he adds, "all people, those of the Ch. & those out of the Ch. seemed to conspire to stay away from the funeral."

But in spite of all adverse conditions, political and personal, Bishop Jarvis administered the affairs of the diocese with dignity and success. Statistics were not large, but then that was not the day of large statistics in the Church. He took part in the consecration of five bishops, Moore, Parker, Hobart, Griswold and Dehon, and he ordained thirty-three men to the diaconate, and advanced twenty-eight to the priesthood.

As a preacher we get the picture from Dr. Bronson who preached the commemorative sermon before the convention. He says:—"His discourses in the pulpit were marked by good sense and sound divinity, rather than fine conceits, or tricks of rhetoric. And as was his matter, so his manner of delivery—always grave, solemn, earnest, and frequently impressive, in a high degree." Gravity seems to have been a characteris-

¹⁷Jude 3rd verse.

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MEMOIR OF BISHOP JARVIS.

THE simple annals of a clergyman are so far only valuable as they exhibit privations endured for the kingdom of Heaven's sake, and as connected with the Church's struggles against the enemies of man's salvation. ABRAHAM JARVIS was born in Norwalk, in the Colony of Connecticut, May 5, O. S., 1739. His father, Samuel Jarvis, had removed thither from Huntington, on Long Island, and had conformed to the Church about the year 1737. An anecdote is preserved of him, which marks his character, and the opinions of the times as to parental discipline. The celebrated Whitefield was to preach in Norwalk, and some of Mr. Jarvis's elder sons, though strictly forbidden, were led by curiosity to mingle in the crowd of his hearers. As soon as their father heard this, he went, with his whip in hand, forced his way through the crowd, till he had found his boys on their knees in the circle around the preacher, and applying it to their shoulders, drove them home. Another anecdote may be mentioned of him, showing that, at a very advanced period of his life, he retained the same firmness and intrepidity. When Gov. Tryon burned Norwalk, July 12th, 1779, his house and its contents were consumed. The soldiers who were plundering it came into the room, where Mr. Jarvis and his wife were sitting, and one of them knelt down before the old man to take his silver buckles out of his shoes. Whereupon, regardless of consequences, and with all the gravity of the Roman Senator who smote the Gaul, he raised his cane and bestowed a most severe blow on the back of his kneeling enemy.

Abraham was the youngest but one of his children; and as he early displayed a fondness for his books, it was determined that he should be fitted for college. He was therefore sent to Stamford, where his eldest brother was settled, to work on his farm, and pursue his studies under the Congregational minister, Mr. Noah Welles, who had great reputation as a teacher of classical learning. The Bishop often related, among his school-boy reminiscences, that he habitually rose before day-light, and, for want of a candle, lighted a piece of pitch-pine, that he might see to study his lesson in Lilly's Grammar, and the Colloquies of Corderius and Erasmus. At the age of 18 he entered Yale College,

where he took his first degree in arts in the year 1761. At that time there were very few Churchmen educated at Yale; and they were obliged to endure all the trials which their position necessarily inflicted. Yet our young student bore all these with intrepidity, and sometimes even with hilarity. As he was going one day to Dean Berkeley's library, he met one of his classmates coming from it, who, on account of his age, was called "father." "What book have you under your arm, Father——?" "Why, I thought I should like to read a little about Ecclesiastical polity, and I have found a book written on it by Mr. Richard Hooker." "Take care, father; you don't know what you are doing. As sure as you live he'll make a Churchman of you." "O dear! will he?" said the other, with a deep sigh; and so saying, he walked back and placed Mr. Richard Hooker on the shelf again.

Soon after he was graduated, the Missionary, Mr. Camp, having left the parish of Middletown, Mr. Jarvis went thither as a lay-reader; and continuing his studies alone, prepared himself for orders. As he had not had the small-pox, which was then greatly dreaded, he went to Elizabethtown, N. J., to be inoculated, and resided for some time in the family of the Rev. and learned Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler.* He then sailed for England in the autumn of 1763, and after receiving Deacon's orders from Dr. Keppel, Bishop of Exeter, and Priest's orders from Dr. Littleton, Bishop of Carlisle, in February, 1764, returned in the month of April to America. Landing at Boston, he hastened to take possession of his cure, and arrived in Hartford on election day in that year. The practice of religious ceremonies and an election sermon, when the Governor of Connecticut was sworn into office, was then in its pristine vigor; and the preacher took the opportunity, as Mr. Jarvis was present, to stretch forth his hand toward him, exclaiming, "What do not they deserve, who cross the Atlantic to bring in Episcopal tyranny and superstition among us?" Finding himself the object of general observation, Mr. Jarvis rose from his seat, and calmly looked round upon the assembly. A captain of one of the king's ships lying

* The late lamented Bishop HOBART married one of Dr. Chandler's daughters, who is still living. Bp. Jarvis always spoke of Mrs. Hobart with great affection.

at the mouth of Connecticut river, was also present, and, stung to madness by this insult upon the national religion, sprung from his seat and exclaimed loud enough to be heard by the whole congregation, "The infernal rascal! Let us pull him out of the pulpit." The anecdote is recorded here to show what were the feelings of animosity towards the Church of England in the spring of 1764.

It is now well known that the New England ministers were much engaged in fomenting the divisions between the mother country and the colonies, in the hope of establishing their own modes of faith and discipline as the religion of America. Under such circumstances the position of a clergyman of the Church of England, in Connecticut, was one of great trial and difficulty. By the thirty-sixth canon of 1603, he could not be ordained nor suffered to preach or catechize without subscribing what are there called the three articles of allegiance, supremacy, and conformity; and his license to execute the office of a priest in New England was revocable at any moment, at the pleasure of the Bishop of London. Yet during the twelve years which preceded the declaration of Independence, the missionary at Middletown gained friends even among those who were most opposed to him in their religious opinions. His Church was flourishing. At that time none but communicants could have any share in the regulations of the parish; and, from a memorandum in his own hand-writing, it appears that the male and female members amounted to one hundred and fifty-two, out of three hundred and sixty souls who constituted the whole cure. These were scattered in what are now the towns of Haddam, Chatham, Portland, and Middletown. His extra parochial services were also great; for he was oftentimes called to preach and administer the sacraments, as well as other occasional offices, in Hartford County, and even beyond it. The sacraments were not then undervalued, as they are now; but the aversion of the puritans to sponsors, and their notion that none but parents who were Church members could present their children for baptism, had then the effect of leading many of their own people to send for Episcopal clergymen to baptize their families. On one occasion, Mr. Jarvis baptized eighty-seven children and ten adults, after the second lesson of evening service. A different effect has since proceeded from the same cause, united with others. Whole families are suffered to grow up unbaptized, till it is now a question whether the majority of the people of New England can with propriety be called Christians. Generation after generation go to their graves without baptism; and the vexed question whether lay-baptism is valid, is likely to become one of theory, rather than of practice. Among the different sects, there are few, if any, records kept; nor is there any security that the words prescribed by our Lord, are strictly observed.

No sooner did the Revolution commence, than new

perplexities and dangers arose. The Church clergy were bound, by the solemn oaths incorporated with their very ordination, to be faithful to the king, and strictly conformable to a liturgy which prayed that he might have victory over all his enemies. What were they to do? They shrunk back with horror from the crime of perjury; and they could not use such prayers without being denounced as enemies of their country. Mr. Jarvis was compelled to close his church and retreat to his own house, where he continued to do his duty, without fear or favor of man. News came that a body of men had armed themselves at Farmington, with the avowed purpose of mobbing him. His friends gathered around him with arms in their hands. Captain Mortimer buckled on his sword, and Martin Macnamara, an old soldier of Wolfe's army, came with his broadsword, to spend his life, if need should be, in defence of his priest. The mob heard of these preparations and dispersed. In the mean time, the object of their fury was unremitting in the exercise of his duties. One day he had been at Durham, six miles distant, to visit a dying parishioner. As he was returning, at sunset, an athletic man, on a vigorous horse, overtook him and rode by his side into Middletown. He began to talk on the agitated questions of the day, but was answered so prudently that he could not take hold of his companion's words. "The fox was too cunning for me," he afterwards said; "for if I could have got anything out of him, I'd have soon had him off his horse." A native of Connecticut, Moses Dunbar, the peaceable father of a family, was mobbed because he was a tory, and compelled to join the British forces on Long Island. Love for his family induced his secret return. He was taken, adjudged to be a spy, and hung. At the time of his imprisonment in Hartford, he sent for the missionary at Middletown, who faithfully attended him, and went with him to the scaffold. A forged letter, signed Abraham Jarvis, and addressed to the Rev. Mr. Jacobs, a London clergyman, was sent to New London, to be published in the only newspaper then printed in Connecticut; and it was so timed that the paper would arrive in Hartford on the morning of Dunbar's execution. The object was to create a popular excitement against the supposed author. Mr. Green, the editor, would not publish, but sent it to Middletown, to the address of him who had enclosed it. There it lay, at the widow Bigelow's tavern, unclaimed, as no such person was known. Dr. John Osborn was one day passing the house, when Mrs. Bigelow called him in and said, "Here is a letter which has been lying some time, and the seal is partly broken. It is some plot against Mr. Jarvis, and I desire you to open it." He did so, and recognized the hand-writing under an assumed name. In this providential manner the wicked design was defeated. Among the committee of safety in the town of Middletown, Dr. Dickinson and Mr. Elijah Hubbard, though differing widely from Mr. Jarvis in reli-

gion and politics, were his fast friends. By their powerful protection he was delivered from further personal dangers, but was often exposed to petty annoyances. If any continental soldiers, as they were called, marched through Middletown, they were sure to be quartered upon "the tory parson." The liberty-pole was erected near his door, with the emblem of the snake cut in pieces, and the motto, "United we stand, and divided we fall."

At length the peace of 1783, and the acknowledgment of our independence by the king, released the clergy from the obligation of their oaths. It was to them an occasion of great joy. They loved their country, and they showed it by the voluntary relinquishment of worldly prosperity. The salaries derived from England were withdrawn; but they were informed that if they would remove into the provinces which still owned allegiance to the British government, they would be amply provided for. A few accepted these terms; but the greater part chose rather to continue with their flocks. Mr. Jarvis was one of these. The events of the revolution had greatly diminished the numbers of his parish, but he would not desert the post of duty. He was afterwards invited to take the charge of the parish at Providence, Rhode Island; but though, in a worldly point of view, that was a station of greater eminence, he was unwilling to sever the ties which had so long existed, and had been strengthened by mutual trials and adversities. Middletown was his only parish; and he continued in it two years after he had been consecrated Bishop.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)



MEMOIR OF BISHOP JARVIS.*

THE peace of 1783, by which the Independence of the United States was secured, seemed to human probability, the ruin of the Church of England in America. But God seeth not as man seeth; and the very events which were then thought disastrous became signally instrumental to its healthy growth. If the country had remained colonial, the Church would have grown up a sickly plant, under the withering influence of State protection.

To understand the proceedings of the Clergy of Connecticut, it is absolutely necessary to go back to the Revolution of 1688 and the subsequent accession of the house of Hanover; nay, even to the tyranny of Henry VIII, the time-serving policy of the timid Cranmer, and the Erastianism of the Protectorate during the minority of Edward VI. The limits of this Memoir will not allow of such extensive preliminaries. Suffice it then to observe, that from the accession of Elizabeth to the period when a Dutch Presbyterian, in violation of the English Constitution, was placed on the throne, and subsequently when a German Lutheran became the Monarch, a wound was inflicted on the Catholic character of the Church of England, from which it is even now but slowly and painfully recovering. The fatal policy of preferring political expediency to religious right, paralyzed her energies, and diminished the fervency of her zeal and the extent of her charity.

Happily for the Church in Connecticut, her Clergy, when they went to England for orders, found, among the champions of ecclesiastical freedom from political misrule, their most ardent and zealous friends. They were counseled, in the choice of books, to purchase the English theology which preceded 1688, and which, in accordance with the creeds, always regarded the provinces of Great Britain and Ireland as integral members of the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church. Sitting at the feet of such masters they learned to look at the Primitive Church, before it was blighted by Imperial favor, and corrupted by the conflicts for preëminence between the rival capitals of Old and New Rome.†

Having such views of Catholic Unity, they were, at this juncture, greatly alarmed by the appearance of a pamphlet, written and published in Philadelphia in 1782, when as yet there were no hopes of peace with England. Its object was to propose, as a sort of interim, a spurious Episcopacy, like that which the Methodists, so unhappily for themselves, have subsequently introduced. No sooner had the pamphlet reached

* Continued from page 99.

† Constantinople was called New Rome by the Council of Chalcedon; and the Papal Supremacy grew out of the struggles between the Bishops of Old and New Rome, supported and excited by the Emperors, who, to serve their own purposes, played one against the other, like the Bishops of a chess-board.

them, than the clergy of Connecticut convened, and through Mr. Jarvis, their secretary, addressed a remonstrance to their beloved, but temporizing brother. The answer from Philadelphia, which was not received until July, 1783, asked for their indulgence on the plea of a supposed necessity; admitted that such necessity no longer existed; and sheltered itself under the loose language of Cranmer, and the indefinite expressions of the Articles, which, to the author, seemed to admit, that Episcopacy is not of divine right. It will at once be seen, that these opposite views laid the foundation for that unhappy diversity which even now agitates the American Church. In his maturer years, the venerable author saw and lamented the mischievous effects of his pamphlet, and labored to counteract them;* but the beginning of strife is as when one letteth out water; and the deceitful plea of necessity and expediency in departing from what is lawful and right, overflows and obscures, or sinks beneath and undermines, the brightness and the stability of truth.

In the latter end of autumn, 1782, the preliminaries of peace were signed at Paris, and the tidings reached this country early in 1783. The clergy of Connecticut lost no time in convening to elect a Bishop. All eyes were turned to the venerable Jeremiah Leaming, who had defended the Church with his pen, and had suffered for her cause, in mind, body, and estate. In 1779 his library was burned by the British in their descent upon Norwalk, where he was then the Society's missionary; and he was despoiled of property to the amount of nearly £5,000, for which the British Government never restored him a penny. On the other hand, though peacefully exercising the office of his ministry, he was taken from his bed by the Americans in an inclement wintry night, hurried off to the Fairfield county gaol, deprived of his wife, who was not allowed to accompany him, and denied even the comfort of a bed. The consequence was a severe cold which settled in his hip, and made him a cripple for life. His property, consisting of three farms in Connecticut, was confiscated; and thus reduced to poverty, he was obliged to take refuge in New York, where his wife's estate lay, which was now his only source of support. These particulars it is necessary here to state, that the reader may understand the following original draught of a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, written by Mr. Jarvis, as the Secretary of the Convention. The passages in brackets were afterwards omitted, for reasons which will now be obvious.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE:

"In this day of anxiety for the Church in America, the Clergy of Connecticut, deeply impressed with apprehensions of what will be her fate, under the present changes of empire and policy, beg leave to embrace the earliest moment in their power to address your

Grace, with all the unaffected freedom which may become the ministers of Christ when pleading the cause of that Church—a cause wherein not only her interest is greatly concerned, but on which her very existence depends.

"America is now severed from the British Empire. By that separation, we cease to be a part of the National Church. [During the arduous struggle, the Church in this country was passed over without notice; and we grieve to find that in the conclusion she was not thought worth regarding. In the severest season of the conflict, none of her faithful members conceived of this as possible; much less did they dream of it as probable. But we mean not here to dwell on unavailing complaint. Though] *But although* political changes affect and dissolve our external connection, and cut us off from the powers of the State, yet we hope a door still remains open for access to the Governor of the Church; and what they might not do for us without the permission of Government, while we were bound as subjects to ask favors and receive them under its auspices and sanction, they may, in right of their inherent spiritual powers, grant and exercise in favor of a Church planted and nurtured by their hand, and now subjected to other powers. As it is our only refuge, we are persuaded no just exceptions can lie against the attempt to avail ourselves of it; and the uniform benevolent part the Bishops have taken in order to transfer the Episcopal authority into America, fills us with the greatest confidence of success in the application.

"To secure to our Church a valid and undoubted Episcopate, and that the several vacant Churches may be furnished with ministers as soon as possible, are what we have much at heart. A further reason, we beg leave to observe, that induces us to take this early and only measure we can devise for this purpose, is effectually to prevent the carrying into execution a plan of a very extraordinary nature, lately come to our knowledge, formed and published in Philadelphia, and, as we suppose, circulating in the Southern States, with design to have it adopted. The plan is in brief, to constitute a nominal, ideal episcopate by the united suffrages of presbyters and laymen. The singular and peculiar situation of the American Church, the exigence of the case, and the necessity of adopting some speedy and specious remedy, corresponding with the state of affairs in the country, are some of the pleas which are adduced as adequate to give full sanction to this scheme. To what degree such a plan may operate upon the minds of the uninformed, unstable, or unprincipled part of the laity; or upon some clergymen in the southern parts, of perhaps equal merit with the author in all the traits of an accommodating and complying character, we can, at present, form no opinion. Equally unable are we to conjecture what may be the lengths to which the rage for popular right, as the fountain of all institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, will run.

* See the use made of this pamphlet in the Albany controversy, 1805-6, from page 92 to the end.

Sufficient for us it is, that while we conscientiously reject such a spurious substitute for Episcopacy, we also think it our duty to take every step within our power to frustrate its pernicious effects. Thus are we afloat, torn from our Anchor and surrounded with shelves and rocks, on which we are in danger of being dashed to pieces, and have but one port into which we can look, and from whence expect relief.

"The distinguished light in which we have been always taught to view your Grace as an able and zealous patron of the American Church, decidedly points to whom in this crisis we are instantly to make our request. Accordingly, to your Grace we have recourse, and humbly present our petition, that in your Archiepiscopal character you will espouse the cause of our sinking Church, and afford her relief by consecrating the person for our Bishop whom we have prevailed upon to offer himself to your Grace for that purpose. [The gentleman we beg leave to present to your Grace is the Rev. Mr. —, the Society's worthy Missionary at ——. His age and infirmities we confess were objections on his part we felt the force of. In yielding to our desires to encounter the fatigues and dangers of such a voyage, which (free from motives of personal ambition for which in our situation there is very little temptation) nothing but a zeal almost primitive would lead him to do, much the more endears him to us. He is indeed a tried servant of the Church, and carries about him in a degree the marks of a Confessor.]

"[The sacred deposit committed by the great Head of the Church to her Bishops, we would with all deference observe, must be so awfully revered by your pious mind, as not to suffer a moment's doubt in us, of your being religiously disposed to assist in this great and good work of rescuing the American Church from the now more than ever distress she is under, through the want of an Episcopate.] We rely on your Grace's indulgence for the liberty we take to assert, that it is a real act of charity; while we humbly trust, the blessings of her that is ready to perish will come upon those that befriend her in this necessity. Well known unto your Grace are all those irrefutable arguments that have been so clearly stated and strongly urged by the illustrious prelates who have, as our Fathers in God, advocated for us. Wherefore as the whole of our case, and all the weighty considerations which concur to enforce it are present with you, we forbear to enlarge, lest the multitude of our words should imply a diffidence of success in the thing we ask. Suffer us then to rest in humble confidence that this our solicitude for a matter in itself so important to the Church of God, will meet with your fullest approbation; and that your Grace will feel affectionately for us, and from a pious zeal to advance real religion and propagate the true Church of Christ, will judge it clearly your duty, in the exercise of your high and holy office, to hear and grant our petition, and give us the consolation of receiving through a clear and uninterrupted channel,

transmitted to us by your Grace's hand, an Overseer in this part of the Household of God.

"That God may continue your life and health, make you, in His providence, an eminent instrument of great and extensive usefulness to mankind in general, a lasting blessing to the Church over which you preside in particular,—and that the present and future sons of the Church in America may have cause to record and perpetuate your name as their friend and spiritual father—and when your sacred work is ended, that you may find it gloriously rewarded—is and shall be the devout prayer of

May it please your Grace,

Your Grace's most obedient humble Servants,
THE CLERGY OF CONNECTICUT."

Mr. Leaming, who was then about sixty-four years of age, having declined, from the idea that his lameness would prevent the proper exercise of Episcopal duties, the next choice of the clergy was the Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury. Mr. Jarvis, as Secretary of the Convention, was authorized to prepare and sign the necessary papers; and for that purpose went to New York. Letters to the two Archbishops and the Bishop of London, dated the 21st of April, 1783, were accordingly written and signed by him, of like tenor and purport with the draft above given. The clergy of Trinity Church in New York wrote to the same prelates, on the 24th of May, stating that Mr. Jarvis was duly commissioned to sign in behalf of the Convention. They intimated, at the same time, that Dr. Seabury, when consecrated, would be willing to serve as Missionary at New London, and expressed the hope that a part, at least, of the legacies bequeathed for the support of Bishops in America, might be devoted to his maintenance. A letter was also written, in the same month, by the clergy of Connecticut, in Convention assembled, imploring the Society to continue their support to its Missionaries. As Mr. Jarvis had received but little and only occasional assistance from that quarter, the Convention were pleased, in his absence, to give him this honorable testimony, that he had been equal with the Missionaries, in his labors and sufferings.

Happily for the Church in America, though to the great distress of the Connecticut clergy, the English Society turned a deaf ear to all these entreaties. The cold and exclusive character of mere Anglicanism is strikingly exhibited in the following private communication, made to Mr. Leaming by a Connecticut clergyman in London, of a conversation he had had, on the subject of the Missionaries, with the Archbishop of Canterbury and Mr. Pitt, who, in the correspondence, is called Billy Whig. "The Archbishop said, 'What is the Episcopal Church to us?' And Billy Whig said, 'All we want of America is their trade. To gain it, we may and shall follow the rule of Charles II, i. e. buy our enemies, and neglect our former friends, now become weak. Our old friends may move into our colonies, or be governed by their and our ene-

mies. As to what religion may reign in the Thirteen States, it concerns not Great Britain. We want their trade, and we will gain it.' The Archbishop said, 'Mr. Freeman, Mr. Tyler, Dr. Mayhew, and all the Puritans of America, are alike indifferent to us of the Church of England.' They then laughed at the word *Religion*, and said, 'No matter to us, if their creeds are *many or few*.' Behold what deception have we been led into! *Piety* and *morality* henceforth is my religion, and I hate all other religions. Dr. Seabury, by turning to the Scottish Jacobite Bishops, damned Dr. Chandler, Vardill, Cooper, Caner, and all the loyal clergy of New England, and makes room for your beloved I****, M****, P****, W****, M****. Thus, Dr. Seabury has gratified the Archbishop and Mr. Pitt, and ruined you and all us here." This statement was evidently written under much excitement; and both the Archbishop and Mr. Pitt may have been irritated by Dr. Seabury's success in Scotland. It is introduced here, because it shows what were then the lamentable influences of political sway, in deadening the Catholicity of the English Church. A few of the Connecticut clergy accepted the offers of England, and removed to Nova Scotia; but the greater part, as will hereafter appear, were indignant at the very proposal. Their love to their country, wronged and persecuted though they had been, was too strong to be broken.

Dr. Seabury sailed from New York in the flag-ship of Admiral Digby, and arrived in London on the 7th of July, 1783. The Archbishop of York, in whose character the New England clergy placed great confidence, had left London a fortnight before his arrival. The Bishop of London received him cordially; the Archbishop of Canterbury, politely. Dr. Seabury's official correspondence with the clergy of Connecticut was carried on principally with Mr. Jarvis, and occasionally with Mr. Leaming, the President of the Convention. From this correspondence, and the private letters of Eusebius and Verax, the names assumed by Mr. Leaming and his London correspondent, it is very evident, that neither the rulers of the State, nor of the Church of England, were then disposed to grant the Episcopate to the United States. Their policy clearly was to create a Bishop or Bishops for their own remaining colonies, and thus induce the clergy, from their pecuniary necessities, and as many of the laity as were conscientious in their adherence to Episcopacy, to desert their country. "British Ministers of State, it appears," wrote Mr. Jarvis, to one of the New York clergy, "would not suffer English ministers in Church to do what *we* know, and every mortal besides, that has any conscience and candor, must be convinced, was their duty. Mr. Pitt had the grace to declare to his Grace of Canterbury, that an Act should never pass the House of Commons, to license the Bishops to consecrate a Bishop for *any* of the American States. As a Christian Bishop, and the head of the English

Church in spirituals, what must have been his feelings on that occasion!" If one did not know the godly sincerity of the author, this last sentence would seem to have been written in bitter irony. The Archbishop had no feelings on the subject. He was ready to do whatever the premier commanded; and his conversations with Dr. Seabury exhibit the shuffling of diplomatic evasion. "He received me politely," says Dr. Seabury, one week after his arrival, "approved of the measure, saw the necessity of it, and would do all he could to carry it into execution. But he must proceed openly and with candor. His majesty's dispensation, he feared, would not be sufficient to justify the omission of oaths imposed by Act of Parliament. He would consult with the other Bishops. He would advise with those persons on whose judgment he thought he could depend. He was glad to hear the opinion of the Bishop of London, and wished to know the sentiments of the Archbishop of York. He foresaw great difficulties, but hoped there were none of them insurmountable."

As early as August 10th, Dr. Seabury thought, "unless matters can be put on a different footing, the business will not succeed. Both the Archbishops are convinced of the necessity of supplying the States of America with Bishops, *if it is intended to preserve the Episcopal Church here.*" BUT IT WAS NOT SO INTENDED. By this time the *difficulties* had been systematically arranged, and were as follows:

"1. That it would be sending a Bishop to Connecticut, which they have no right to do without the consent of the State."—Did the Apostles wait for the consent of the Roman government?

"2. That the Bishop would not be received in Connecticut."—On this objection Mr. Leaming's letters will throw much light.

"3. That there would be no adequate support for him."—Whose fault was that? Archbishop Tennyson, in 1710, gave £1000, and Lady Betty Hastings, in 1735, £1500, for the support of a Bishop in America. This, in equity, could apply only to the United States; for the Canadas and Nova Scotia were at that time French provinces. But, according to the policy of 1783, these sums were to be diverted from an American Bishop in the United States, to an English Bishop in the newly acquired provinces.

"4. That the oaths in the ordination office can not be got over, because the king's dispensation would not be sufficient to justify the omission of those oaths. At least, there must be the concurrence of the king's council to the omission; and that the council would not give their concurrence, without the permission of the State of Connecticut to the Bishop's residing among them."—"All that I could say," adds Dr. Seabury, "had no effect, and I had a fair opportunity of saying all that I wished to say."

In consequence of suggestions in this letter, the clergy of Connecticut assembled in Convention, at

Wallingford, Jan. 13, 1784. Mr. Leaming was chosen president, and Mr. Jarvis secretary. On the 14th, it was "voted, that Mr. Leaming, Mr. Hubbard, and Mr. Jarvis, be a committee to collect the opinions of the leading members of the Assembly concerning an application by the clergy of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut, for the legal protection of a Bishop for said Church, when they shall be able to procure one, agreeable to the common rights of Christians, as those rights are now claimed and understood by all denominations in the State." The following graphic description of the proceedings with the Assembly at New Haven, is given by Eusebius to Verax, in a letter dated Jan. 22, 1786. The letter contains other particulars; but as these throw much light on the whole subject, the greater part of the letter is here inserted. 'The Jonathan and Ezra, of whom Eusebius speaks, were Jonathan Trumbull, Governor of Connecticut from 1770 to 1783 inclusive, and Ezra Stiles, the President of Yale College.

"You not only find fault with my conduct, but say the English Bishops condemn me, and say it was not in the power of the King to absolve the clergy of this State from their obligation to their quondam Bishop. Be it so. It was not the King, but the Parliament and the English Bishops included in it, that made America independent. All the Bishops voted for it; and not one of them said a word in favor of the Loyalists; that they ought to be considered who have suffered so much for their attachment to the Constitution of Great Britain in Church and State. This was a subject that ought to have engaged the attention of somebody. For though there was provision made for those that went to Nova Scotia, all those whose circumstances were such that they could not remove thither, were entirely neglected in making the peace. So glaring was the neglect of the friends of Government, that Fox, though in the opposite scale, insisted that Government had engaged to support them, and it would be the basest conduct to neglect them. I suppose the Bishops may recollect, that the Parliament made America independent; and that the Parliament absolved the clergy of England from their oath to their quondam Bishops in the time of King William III. If the Act of Parliament was valid in one case, it will be a nice point to prove it is not so in the other. I must repeat it again, *I am of the same principles as when you left me.* And you may say what you please about me; it will not affect me, unless you can say, I have departed from the faith of the early Christians.

"You and the English Bishops have not understood in what manner things have been carried on in England by Presbyterian machination. I was sent by the clergy of this State to inform the Assembly, and obtain their approbation of our having a Bishop. I soon found your Jonathan and Ezra were alarmed, but were obliged to be very complaisant to me. For once I was popular, and every thing carried in the Assembly

according to my wishes. Jonathan and Ezra appeared very uneasy about a week's time; then brightened up and said, 'though the Assembly would admit we should have a Bishop, yet we should be disappointed, and we should see that our interest with the Church of England was very small.'

"However, I had no doubt in my own mind but that we should have some favor, and the civil powers would suspend the penalties the Bishops were liable to for consecrating a Bishop for the people here, in order still to preserve our affection to them, for whom they knew we had sacrificed our happiness and estates. But in this I was mistaken; for Jonathan and Ezra wrote to Dr. Price, and desired him to engage Billy Whig to oppose every movement for our having our petition granted. Upon this the half-loaf was given which you have mentioned. You were governed at home by Presbyterian interest; by the machinations of Jonathan and Ezra. Jonathan is not; Ezra is not dead. The daughter of Cheesbrook of Newport, an only child, married one Grant. He carried her to England and is dead. She came to Newport this autumn to dispose of her fortune and return to England. She had it in charge from Dr. Price to visit Ezra, and settle the affairs of the Nation, when she returns to England. So that you see how matters are. I have wrote a long Epistle.

"But I have not done yet. When Price found that Seabury was consecrated, he then engaged Billy Whig to send his mandate to the second man in the kingdom,* and ordered him to dismiss all the Missionaries in the States, and give large salaries to the clergy that would go to Nova Scotia, and by that means put an end to the Church here, which was the view of Ezra.

"Now upon this view of the subject, what was to become of 20,000 Churchmen in Connecticut, which could not move to Nova Scotia, if all our clergy had left their people? Why! they must have done as Ezra wished, *joined the meeting.* And in that case, what have the Society been doing for seventy years? Then Price says, What shall I do now? I am resolved what to do. Let there be an Act to suspend the penalties, &c., for if this is not done Seabury may ordain, and the Church there may be still preserved. Make a huge cry against a Jacobite Bishop, and ordain Bishops for the Southern States in opposition to Seabury, and by that means the Church will be divided, and consequently come to an end. This will gratify Ezra and complete all his wishes.

"You charge me with being a Jacobite. I deny the charge. I have the same good wishes for the present Family on the throne that I ever had. And what those were I need not say now. And I am as ready to communicate with the Church of England as ever, and of course no schismatic."

It will now be seen what a debt of gratitude the

* The Archbishop of Canterbury.

whole American Church owes to the Intrepid Clergy of Connecticut, and their first Bishop, as well as to the Catholic remainder of the Church of Scotland. If Dr. Seabury had not been a resolute and brave man, the application for an American Episcopate would have entirely failed. On his way to Scotland he called on the Archbishop of York, and frankly told him the object of his journey. "Why, Dr. Seabury!" he exclaimed, "do you not know that they are Jacobites?" "Yes, my Lord!" was the ready answer; "and if report says true, your Grace's non-juring principles are the brightest jewel in your Grace's mitre." The Archbishop smiled and was silent.

On the 2d of August, 1785, the clergy of Connecticut assembled in Convention at Middletown to meet and receive their Bishop. Eleven were present, with the Rev. Benjamin Moore from New York, and the Rev. Samuel Parker from Boston. Mr. Leaming was as usual chosen president, and Mr. Jarvis secretary. As his minutes contain the ceremonial of this first reception, an extract from them may be interesting. "The Right Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury attended upon this Convention, and his letters of consecration being requested by the same, they were produced and read; whereby it appeared to this Convention that he hath been duly and canonically consecrated a Bishop by the Bishops of the Church of Scotland.

"Aug. 3, 8 o'clock A. M., the Convention met. After the Address of the clergy to the Bishop had been reconsidered by the Convention and approved, the clergy repaired to the Church and appointed four of their body to return to the parsonage. Mr. Jarvis in the name of the clergy declared to the Bishop their confirmation of their former election of him, and they now acknowledged and received him as their Bishop.

"Then the Bishop returned his answer of acceptance, which two of them immediately carried back to the Convention, while the other two followed in attendance upon the Bishop, who thus proceeded to the church. Being introduced and seated in his chair at the altar, the clergy assembled at the rails. Their address to him was read by the Rev. Mr. Hubbard; after which, the Bishop read his answer; and then the clergy, kneeling at the rails, received the Apostolic blessing. Then the clergy retired to their pews, and the Bishop began divine service with the Litany, according to the rubric in the office for the ordination of Deacons; the four following persons, Messrs. Vandyke, Shelton, Baldwin, of Connecticut, and Mr. Ferguson of Maryland, being present, to be admitted into that order. The Litany being ended, Mr. Bowden read the first Communion Service. The Bishop then read the Service, consecrated the elements, and administered the Bread. Mr. Bowden assisted by administering the Cup. The Communion being finished, the Bishop then proceeded to the ordination. Mr. Jarvis officiated as Arch-Deacon. After the ordination a sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Leaming, and the congregation was dismissed by the

Bishop. From the church the clergy, preceded by the Bishop, returned to the parsonage. Mr. Jarvis by order of the Convention gave the thanks of the same to Mr. Leaming for his sermon delivered before them, with their desire of a copy of it to be printed. The Bishop then dissolved the Convention, and directed the clergy to meet him at five o'clock in Convocation. They met accordingly; and the Convocation was adjourned to the next morning, Thursday, 9 o'clock A. M.

"*Thursday, Aug. 4.* At 11 o'clock A. M. went to church. Mr. Parker read prayers, and Mr. Moore preached a sermon; after which the Bishop delivered a charge to the clergy. P. M. Mr. Parker communicated to the Convocation, the purport of his delegation from the clergy in the State of Massachusetts, viz: to collect the sentiments of the Connecticut clergy in respect of Dr. Seabury's episcopal consecration, the regulation of his episcopal jurisdiction, and their thoughts of connecting themselves with them under his episcopal charge. The clergy of Connecticut expressed their warmest wishes for the union and concurrence of their brethren in Massachusetts under Bishop Seabury.

"*Friday, Aug. 5.* After appointing Mr. Bowden, Mr. Parker, and Mr. Jarvis as a Committee to consider of and make with the Bishop some alterations in the Liturgy needful for the present use of the Church, the Convocation adjourned to meet again at New Haven in September.

"*Sunday, Aug. 7.* Mr. Colin Ferguson was ordained priest; Mr. Parker, Mr. Bowden, and Mr. Jarvis attended the ordination as presbyters. Mr. Thomas Fitch Oliver of Providence, Rhode Island, was ordained deacon on the same day."

So ends the Record of the first meeting of the first American Bishop with his clergy. The proceedings of the Committee on the Alterations in the Liturgy are interesting, inasmuch as they exhibit the extent to which the Bishop and clergy were willing to go, and they were afterwards made the basis of the proceedings in Massachusetts. They are too long to be further noticed, and are relevant only so far as Mr. Jarvis was concerned in the revision. It may be proper however to state, that in 1786 Bishop Seabury set forth "The Communion office or Order for the Administration of the Holy Eucharist," for the use of the Episcopal churches in Connecticut. It begins with the exhortation, "Dearly beloved in the Lord," &c. After which the priest or Deacon shall say, "Let us present our offerings to the Lord with reverence and godly fear." Then follows the offertory with an act of adoration by the priest. The rest, with a few verbal alterations, follows the order of the Church of Scotland, which is much better arranged than the English, and more conformable to the earliest usage of the Christian Church. The subject is mentioned here, because of the unfounded calumny lately advanced against Bishop Seabury of having foisted a part of the Scottish Service into the American Church. The revision by a committee of Convocation

in Connecticut, of such men as Bowden and Jarvis, shows that the Bishop did not exercise alone the authority which by primitive and Catholic usage was his right. The Church of Connecticut might have insisted on retaining the whole; and the substitution four years after of our present office, which, though superior to the English, is inferior to that of Bishop Seabury, was an act of concession and compromise.

During these transactions in Connecticut, the change of policy to which allusion has already been made, took place in England. The bold movement of Dr. Seabury had disconcerted the enemies of the Church, both in England and America. It was now impossible to prevent a valid Episcopacy in the United States. Mr. Pitt and Dr. Price withdrew the opposition to an Act of Parliament, and consented that Bishops should be consecrated for the States south of New England. Bishop Seabury and the Connecticut clergy were denounced as Non-jurors and Jacobites, though every one of them at his ordination had taken the oath of allegiance to the House of Hanover. "The reasons you mention for taking away our salaries is a paradox in all shapes I can view it," writes Mr. Leaming, one week after the Convention of which he was President had received and acknowledged Dr. Seabury. "Our names were never put to any papers, but to those directed to the Bishops in South Britain; and to them none put their names but only myself and Mr. Jarvis as Secretary of the Convention of this State. And the other reason, (if it can be called so,) offered for doing of it is as unaccountable. Did they, without our wish or design, make us Non-jurors? And then take away our salaries because we were Non-jurors? Heaven defend us from such sort of reason! I do not know how it is; but great men can draw conclusions without any premises. There is something so wicked, for them to entice the clergy of this State to leave their flocks, which have been brought up by us to believe, that the Society had nothing more at heart, than to support true religion, without the least thought of acting by a party spirit in the affair. However I impute all this to the influence of some crafty dissenter over the Society, in order, now we have a Bishop, to stop the rapid growth of the Church here. Perhaps you will not believe it; but the Church here is now the popular religion of the State. Had our salaries been continued seven years longer, we should have been able then to have done without them. And now, I am persuaded we shall be able to carry a sufficient sway to support the Church. A Bishop is no objection here. And the Dissenters applaud the zeal of the Church in their perseverance to obtain it."

If New York had pursued the same course as Connecticut, much of the subsequent evil would have been averted; but, unhappily, the Church in that city was then under influences very foreign from its well known orthodoxy. After the evacuation by the British forces, the Rev. Benjamin Moore, who had been

chosen rector, and the old wardens and vestrymen of Trinity Church, had been forcibly expelled, and the Rev. Mr. Provoost, an Arian in sentiment, and a personal enemy of Bishop Seabury, had been made rector, against the wishes of the great body of the parishioners. He was the leading, and for a time the only, clerical representative of the State of New York in the Conventions of the seven States held in Philadelphia. In that of June, 1786, he made the following motion, which was seconded by the Rev. Mr. Smith, of South Carolina: "That this Convention will resolve to do no act that shall imply the validity of ordinations made by Dr. Seabury. It was negatived by a majority of that State; New York, New Jersey, and South Carolina, voting for, and Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, against it. It was, however, resolved, unanimously, on motion of Dr. White of Pennsylvania, seconded by Mr. Smith of South Carolina, that it should be recommended to the seven States, not to receive any clergyman professing canonical subjection to any Bishop other than those Bishops who may be duly settled in the States represented in this Convention."

The next day a resolution in a still more offensive form, was unanimously carried, "against any minister who should receive ordination from any Bishop residing in America." Both were directly leveled against the Bishop of Connecticut; for even so early as December 24th, 1785, he had admitted twelve persons to orders, "one for Virginia, four for Maryland, one for Pennsylvania, two for New Jersey, three for Connecticut, and one for Providence; and all the world knew that there was but one Bishop residing in America. It was doubtless intended to please the English Bishops, and prevent any further application for orders south of New England.

The die seemed now to be cast, and a schism inevitable; but the clergy of Connecticut were undaunted. In Feb. 1787, the same month in which Drs. White and Provoost were consecrated at Lambeth, and twenty three days after that event, the clergy elected Mr. Jarvis to proceed to Scotland for consecration. It was intended to obtain the canonical number of Bishops in New England of the Scottish line, and thus preserve a purely primitive and Apostolic Church, holding fast the form of sound words, and the faith once delivered to the saints. Mr. Jarvis prudently deferred his answer till the annual meeting of 1788; and, in the mean time, the conciliatory course of Bishop White, and the kind mediation of the clergy of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, caused the prospect of union to brighten.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

MEMOIR OF BISHOP JARVIS.*

The Episcopate being happily obtained, the Clergy of New England considered a revision of the Liturgy as then, and not till then, canonical. At a meeting of the Clergy of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, held at Boston, September 8, 1784, they addressed a letter to the Clergy of Connecticut, concerning the movements in Pennsylvania, in which they declared, as their unanimous opinion, "that it is beginning at the wrong end to attempt to organize our Church before we have obtained a head. Our Churches at present resemble the scattered limbs of the body, without any common centre of union or principle to animate the whole. We can not conceive it probable or even possible to carry the plan they have pointed out into execution, before an Episcopate is obtained to direct our motions, and by a delegated authority to claim our assent." That such was the view of the Connecticut Clergy, will appear from the following extract, written by Mr. Jarvis in their name: "The Clergy in Connecticut consider the Church in which they officiate as collected and formed upon the principles on which the Church was at first founded by her great Head. Therefore what they have to deliberate upon and endeavor to carry into effect, in the first place, is, that she be settled in the full enjoyment of the Spiritual powers and officers essential to her: viz., a Bishop, from whom alone all other officers in the Ministry derive their commission. And when this is accomplished, and our Church thus completed in her members, then, 2. The Clergy of this State will consider it as their duty, as that is ascertained by Scripture and primitive example, to revise the Liturgy and render as perfect as they may be able whatever shall be found needful for a pure and Scriptural worship for all Christians of her Communion. 3. To form such canons as may appear necessary,—as may respectively relate to the Clergy and the Lay part of her Communion. 4. In this particular, so far as laymen are concerned and will bear a part in transacting the affairs of the Church, the Clergy will advise with and collect the sentiments and matured judgments of the ablest and best informed of the Laity.—5. The Clergy of Connecticut will be ready to meet with and consult their Brethren of the Clergy in any or all the other States for the preservation of the Unity and settlement of Uniformity in the Episcopal Church throughout all the States: it being an object they would most religiously regard, that in constitution, discipline, and worship, she may be and continue to be in every respect one Church."

At that time, strange as it may now appear, the real strength of the Church lay in New England. New York and Pennsylvania were then a wilderness. The better portion of the Clergy where the Church had been the legal establishment, were Englishmen, and had returned to their Mother Country. The New Eng-

land Clergy were indigenious and loved their native soil. They were disciplined by continual conflict with the puritans, and being not only unsupported, but even persecuted by secular power, were thrown back into the condition of the primitive Christians. Had their example been followed in waiting for a valid episcopate, before any attempt was made to revise the liturgy, the American Church would have been better organized, and the revision made with more knowledge and greater caution. Let any one carefully examine the unequal and imperfect representation of which the Conventions south of New England were composed, from 1784 to 1789, and he will see how justly the New England Clergy were alarmed. "There has been," writes Mr. Leaming from Stratford, Nov. 22, 1785, "a Convention of the Clergy and Lay deputies of all the States south of Connecticut, held at Philadelphia; who have cast away two of the Creeds, and altered the other. They have altered the Baptismal Office, and laid aside the use of the cross after baptism; have altered the Marriage and Burial Offices, and have altered the Common Prayer to make it shorter; and say the Bishops of England have engaged to consecrate a Bishop for them who are no longer of the communion of that Church. Is it possible that the Bishops of England should do this, when they lately refused to consecrate a Bishop for the Church in Connecticut, who hold firm to the faith once delivered to the saints, and have retained the ancient form of worship, and are truly formed upon the primitive plan of the Christian Church? The Clergy are determined to go through every difficulty rather than to depart from the foundation of an Apostolical Church. The Bishops of England must certainly feel uneasy that they have not taken us by the hand, when they find we are the only Church in all the States that have acted in such a manner as the world must approve of. No temporal interest shall cause us to depart from the truth; for we believe in that God who giveth light in times of darkness. If there is any thing in Religion, why are not we more engaged about it? If there is nothing in it, why should we give ourselves any concern about it? One question more I would ask, and I have done. Can the Bishops of England send Bishops to these States to be under the Government of Lay Elders?

"We should have done as we please here, if the Bishops would have favored our righteous cause. We are the true sons of the Church; and if they are so, why did they neglect us? The Lay-deputies to the southward will make wicked work with a Bishop if they get one; and the world will condemn the Bishops of England if they give them one, and will say it was done out of revenge to us."

The alarm was just, and the claims for Connecticut not exaggerated. By the articles of the New York Convention, in October, 1784, a Bishop would be only ex-officio a member of a future General Convention, and the Clergy and Laity would deliberate together, but vote

* Concluded from page 153.

separately. Thus the Bishop would have but one vote among his clerical brethren; and that, if he presided, only a casting vote; and the Laity would hold in their hands the balance of power. How contrary all this would have been to primitive Christianity, need not now be proved. The leaven of Erastianism and Arianism, if not Socinianism, had worked so extensively among the Laity that they feared not to encroach on the sacred deposit of the priesthood, and there was even a design to expunge the petitions to the Trinity!

The elevation of Dr. Provoost to the Episcopate prepared the way for a better and truer representation of the Church in New York by the Rev. Doctors Beach and Moore, in the Convention which sat at Philadelphia, July 28th, 1789. Bp. Provoost was not present, and Bp. White presided ex-officio. Maryland, in addition to Drs. Smith and Claggett, had sent the Rev. Colin Ferguson, who had been ordained by Bishop Seabury, and had since been honored with a doctorate of Divinity. This showed that the Clergy and Laity of that State were not disposed to be governed by the rash and hostile resolutions passed in June, 1786; and this convention, by admitting him to his seat, tacitly abrogated so offensive a proceeding. The Clergy of Massachusetts and New Hampshire had addressed to Bp. White an Act recommending for consecration the Rev. Edward Bass, and containing a request to the Bishops of Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania, that they would unite in consecrating him to "the Apostolic Office and powers." This was laid before the Convention, together with letters from Bp. Seabury; and both led to a solemn and unanimous recognition of the Scottish Episcopacy. The Consecration, however, of the Rev. Mr. Bass was frustrated by the refusal of the Bishop of New York to act with the Bishop of Connecticut.

The door was now opened for reconciliation. At a Special Convention of the presbyters of Connecticut, held at Stratfield, (now Bridgeport,) Sep. 15th, 1789, the Bishop being absent, the Rev. Dr. Leaming was chosen President, and the Rev. Mr. Jarvis, Secretary. Their object was to deliberate upon the invitation from the General Convention at Philadelphia to the Bishop and Clergy of the Church in Connecticut, to attend the Convention which they had adjourned for that end to the 29th of September. The letters and papers sent relating to a general Union having been read, it was voted, on motion of Mr. Bowden, that the Convention would send *Clerical* delegates. The next day (Wednesday, 16th,) Messrs. Hubbard and Jarvis were chosen, and "empowered to confer with the General Convention on the subject of making alterations in the Book of Common Prayer; but "the ratification of such alterations" was "expressly reserved to rest with the Bishop and Clergy of this Church." This, as will presently be seen, was an important reservation, of which the Church subsequently availed itself in establishing the *usage* of Connecticut.

At the Convention of Sep. 29, 1789, Bp. Seabury and his presbyters Hubbard and Jarvis attended, and were joined by the Rev. Dr. Parker, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston, as the sole representative of the Churches in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. The Conference which took place between Bp. Seabury, Messrs. Hubbard and Jarvis, and Dr. Parker, on the part of the eastern States, and the committee of Convention of the seven States south of New England, was conducted in a most conciliatory manner. New York had regained her correct position in that Committee, being represented by Dr. Benjamin Moore and Richard Harrison, Esq.; and thus the most obnoxious measures of the southern States were rescinded. But the attentive observer who is aware of the workings of party spirit, will see in the votes recorded on the journal, the origin of many changes by which the American Prayer-Book has departed from the English. As Mr. Jarvis had so prominent a part in the proceedings of that constituent assembly, it is important here to introduce an extract from his answers to certain queries made to him after he was Bishop, to be transmitted to Dr. Porteus, the Bishop of London.

The eighth query was, "What alterations from the Church of England in the Liturgy or Common Prayers?" To this he answered: "A comparison of the two books by inspection will discover the alterations more effectually, as well as more briefly, than any enumeration which could here be made. The causes of those alterations may not be so easily perceived. In September, 1789, delegates from ten of the then thirteen States, consisting of Clergymen and Lay-members of the Church, met at Philadelphia for the purpose of forming a Union. To accomplish this, it was necessary to make some alterations in the Prayer-Book, which, as the offspring of the Church of England, the American Church still looked upon as its own. With respect to the extent of the proposed alterations, the Convention was equally divided. The delegates from five of the States, viz: New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey, were averse from any alterations, except the omission or adaptation of particular prayers in the daily service to the government of the United States. Of the two Bishops present, (Bp. Seabury and Bp. White,) the former advocated the alteration in the Communion Service, and the addition of some occasional prayers; in all other particulars he strenuously opposed even such as were verbal. Strong impressions that a disunion would work ruin to the American Church, induced that part of the Convention most attached to her interest and sound doctrine, to submit to a compromise, in hopes that at some future day the true friends of the Church would be enabled to correct those defects to which the want of right principle, and the fervor for innovation in their opponents had obliged them reluctantly to consent. This may account for all the departures from the English Prayer-Book, and for the

latitude given in many rubrics to the officiating minister, which laid the foundation of diversity in the use of the Liturgy." This extract will fully explain the proceedings of the Convocation of 1790, in which the Bishop and Clergy adopted the new Prayer-Book, with the solemn and express reservation that the *use of it in Connecticut should conform as closely as possible to the English ritual*. It is believed that the same resolution was made in New York; for the practice of Trinity Church continued like that of Connecticut in every essential particular.

In the General Convention of 1792, of the four clerical deputies from Connecticut, Mr. Jarvis was the only one who attended. On the journal is given to him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, which had been conferred by Bishop Seabury on three of his presbyters, Mansfield, Hubbard, and Jarvis. This was anciently a prerogative of Bishops, and traces of it still remain in foreign universities; but Mr. Jarvis would never take it; nor was it ever conferred upon him by any college until after he was Bishop. Even to this day the Scottish Bishops will never receive a degree of Doctor of Divinity from any Presbyterian institution. Though it had been made a rule in the Convention of 1789 that the Senior Bishop should preside, Bp. Seabury, for the purpose of conciliation, surrendered his right; and the rule of rotation beginning from the north, conferred on Bp. Provost the office of Consecrator in the case of Dr. Claggett, the first Bishop of Maryland. In the General Convention of 1795, no deputies, clerical or lay, were present from the New England States, nor was Bishop Seabury there; a very significant proof of what they considered as the downward tendency of the American Church. We have reason to bless God that their gloomy anticipations were not well-founded.

In the month of February, 1796, Bishop Seabury died. Mr. Jarvis was sitting before the fire; his wife near him engaged in some domestic employment; and his little son playing about the room. A messenger entered with a letter sealed with black wax, and handed it to Mr. Jarvis in silence. He opened it, and his hand shook like an aspen-leaf. His wife in great alarm hastened to him, and his son crept between his knees and looked up inquiringly into his face. He could not speak for some minutes. At last he said, slowly and convulsively, "Bishop Seabury is dead!"

In the following May, a special convention was held at New Haven, for the purpose of electing a Bishop, and Mr. Jarvis preached before them. The subject of course was their irreparable loss. It was requested for the press, and is one of the few pieces which he permitted to be published. He was elected to the vacant office, but declined. In the following October, Mr. Bowden was elected, but deferred his answer till the next Annual Convention, which assembled at Derby on the 7th of June, 1797. Here Dr. Bowden (for in the meantime he had received that degree in Divinity) declined the Episcopate, and Mr. Jarvis was again

elect. The choice being now unanimous, and the exigencies of the Church seeming to require it, he reluctantly gave way. He had been for many years subject to the asthma, which invariably attacked him with great violence when he traveled; and he feared that it might utterly incapacitate him for the discharge of his Episcopal duties. The consecration took place in Trinity Church, New Haven, on the festival of St. Luke the Evangelist, Oct. 18, 1797. Immediately after his consecration, he received an affectionate address from the Clergy, to which he responded in like manner, and then delivered his primary charge.

The Episcopal Academy of Connecticut having been established at Cheshire in 1796, and the Rev. John Bowden appointed its principal, Bishop Jarvis determined, in 1798, to place his son under the care of so able an instructor. But his heart and that of his wife were so bound up in this child of their old age, that the event of sending him for the first time from home led to their removal, in the following year, from Middletown to Cheshire. There, in 1801, this affectionate wife and tender mother died, and the Rev. Dr. Bowden having, in 1802, resigned his charge, the Bishop determined, in 1803, to remove to New Haven, and enter his son at Yale College. With a view to this purpose, he called upon the President, Dr. Dwight, to settle the preliminaries, and the following dialogue passed between them:

"I shall expect my son to attend Church."

"Certainly! It is his right. Only he will be obliged constantly to ask leave."

"If it is his *right*, he ought not to *ask leave*."

"Oh, that is a measure of precaution. Young gentlemen might make their exemption a pretext to attend no public worship."

"Whenever you detect my son in a lie, it will be time enough to distrust him. If he enters the college, I must insist upon his asking no leave to go to Church."

Dr. Dwight yielded the point; but every Monday morning, when the delinquents of the past week were called over, the demand, "Jarvis absent from the Chapel on the Sabbath," was invariably followed by the response, "Sir, I was at Church." This, it is believed, was the first instance in which the son of a Churchman was permitted, as a matter of right, to absent himself from the Congregational Chapel on Sunday.

The routine of Episcopal duties was at that time almost as silent and noiseless as those of a parish clergyman. The Church of Connecticut was despised by her adversaries as a feeble flock. The Academy was her only instrument of imparting either a secular or religious education. Her clergy were obliged to have the charge of two or more parishes; and the services even of one in deacon's orders could not, in many cases, be enjoyed more than once a month. But God was pleased to bring good out of this great evil. The laity read much; and the enlargement of their knowledge

produced a correspondent interest. The Bishop's method of visitation was to spend a day or more in each parish; in the larger, as far as possible, on Sunday; in the smaller, on other days of the week, but always in the morning. The afternoon was taken up in passing from place to place. In the evening the members of the parish called upon him, and he often sat until a late hour encircled by them, hearing and answering questions, as to the sense of Holy Scripture, or the doctrines and discipline of the Church. His asthma was always an afflicting thorn in the flesh; but God's strength was at times visibly made perfect in his weakness. Often and often was he obliged, after these conversations, to sit up all night, his head supported by pillows; but he bore all with patient submission and a sweet cheerfulness, which brought tears into the eyes of all who were witnesses of his sufferings. In 1806 he married a second time; and the excellent lady to whom he gave his hand and his heart, prolonged his declining years, assuaged his sorrows, and made him and his son happy. For seven years, till the time of his death, no passing clouds of human infirmity throw their shadows over the mutual affections of their lives—no fracture in vessels of earth's mould interrupted their harmony.

During the Episcopate of Bishop Jarvis, five General Conventions were held, at three of which he was present. When the Convention of 1801 assembled at Trenton, Bishop White said to him, "Sir, it is your turn to preside;" to which he answered, "Sir, I can never preside over the Bishop who consecrated me." This gave occasion to the resolve on the journal of the House of Bishops, in which a doubt is expressed as to the meaning of the rule of 1792. From that time forth Bp. White continued till his death to preside as Senior Bishop of the American Church. With the exception of the Bishops of Africa, the ancient rule was, that in all provincial synods the Bishop of the first See (Præmæ Sedis Episcopus) should preside; and as from the time of the Apostles the first See was planted in the mother city, the Senior Bishop was in the first instance the Bishop of the first See. Hence the name of Metropolitan was subsequently adopted. In the United States, Connecticut was the first See, and her first Bishop was the Senior Bishop. By the primitive rule, therefore, Bishop Scabury might have claimed the right of presiding as long as he lived; but this right he was content to waive for the sake of peace. The rule being changed, his successor might have presided in 1801; in which case, as Bishop of the first See, the rule generally followed in the primitive Church would for that time have taken effect. But his modest deference to the Bishop who consecrated him, caused a practice to grow up in the American Church, which has no other precedent than the example of the African provinces west of Carthage. In 1804, a new rule was adopted, that the *Senior Bishop present at the opening of any convention*, should preside; nor was that of 1789 fully restored until the convention of 1832,

when the resolution since followed was moved by Bp. H. U. Onderdonk.

In the General Convention of 1804, a very extraordinary and anomalous proceeding caused the greatest, and almost the only, trouble, which, in his official capacity, the Bishop of Connecticut experienced. A young man named Ammi Rogers, of most impure and vicious life, but of pleasing appearance and insinuating address, finding it hopeless to obtain orders in his native State, went, about the year 1791, to New York, and in 1792 was there ordained by Bishop Provost. As his name is not on the list of the New York clergy in 1801, it appears that he had left that State; and as it is not elsewhere to be found, the presumption is, that he had privately returned to Branford, in Connecticut. There he obtained a vote of the parish that they would receive him as their minister. The Bishop of Connecticut, knowing well the character of his early life, and the way in which he had obtained orders, refused to receive him, unless he brought satisfactory testimonials from the ecclesiastical authority of the Diocese in which he was ordained, and to which of course he belonged. This Rogers would not do, but traveled about the Diocese, reading prayers and preaching wherever he could gain admittance, traducing the character of the Bishop, endeavoring to divide the clergy and to disaffect the laity, and thus to create a schism in the Church. According to the second canon of 1792, the Bishop gave official notice of these proceedings to the Bishop of New York, that the offender might be tried in the diocese to which he belonged; but this notice was entirely neglected. At length, on the 11th of June, 1804, the Bishop, by and with the advice of the Standing Committee, issued a circular forbidding him to exercise any clerical functions in the Diocese, and exhorting the parishes not to receive him. This induced Rogers to petition the House of Bishops in the General Convention of September, 1804, to try him "as a minister and as a man." Here began the difficulties of the case. By all the principles of canon law, he was amenable to the Bishop of New York. He had been ordained there, and had never been transferred. If the Bishops did not intend to try him, as a Court of Appeal, why did they call for witnesses? Why did they hear evidence and pronounce an opinion? Why did they declare him guilty and deserving of degradation? The whole proceeding was loose and irregular. They either had, or had not, the authority to try him. If they had not, they should have said so; if they had, then a trial by an inferior court would, on the face of it, be absurd. In this, as in all other instances where right is sacrificed to an apparent expediency, and high and holy responsibilities are not firmly met, evils are increased, not lessened. Many years elapsed before the Diocese of Connecticut was restored to its usual tranquillity; and the Bishop was persecuted by the vindictive pertinacity of a degraded priest, almost to his dying day. From motives of delicacy, the

Bishop would not sit with his brethren while the trial of Rogers was pending. There were therefore but four Bishops present: Bp. White of Pennsylvania, Bp. Moore of New York, Bp. Claggett of Maryland, and Bp. Parker of Massachusetts. The following letter from the Bishop of Maryland to Mr. Baldwin, the secretary of the Convocation of Connecticut, will show that both he and the Bishop of Massachusetts agreed with the Bishop of Connecticut in his construction of the proceedings of the House of Bishops. Bp. Parker was consecrated at that Convention, and died in the following December. The Convention had adjourned, and the Bishops of Connecticut and Maryland were both absent. Had it not been so, Bishop Jarvis would have entered his solemn protest against the reference to Connecticut; and Bishop Parker, supported by Bishop Claggett, would not have acquiesced in a measure so contrary to all primitive usage, and so subversive of that fundamental principle, that a presbyter is amenable where he was ordained; until he is canonically transferred.

"The Rev. Mr. ASHDEL BALDWIN, Stratford, in the State of Connecticut.

"CROOK, 12th JAN'y, 1807.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I had the honor to receive a letter from the Rev'd Convocation of the Diocese of Connecticut, together with a resolve of that body, requesting you, as their Secretary, to forward a similar one to all the Bishops who sat in the last General Convention of our Church. This letter I received about three months ago, and for reasons which will appear below, I have hitherto declined answering it. In their letter the Convocation inform me of the step the Convention of the Church of Connecticut had in the year 1804 thought themselves authorized to take in Mr. Rogers's unhappy affair, in consequence of its being referred to them by the House of Bishops; of their reasons for taking that step, and the consequent misunderstanding that had arisen between them and two of the House of Bishops on the subject, by which a great danger of a schism in the flourishing Church of Connecticut had arisen. They go on to profess 'the purity of their intentions in that transaction, and, in the true spirit of the Gospel, their hearty desire to do every thing in their power for the peace and prosperity of the Church, and conclude their letter by requesting that' I, 'in conjunction with the other Bishops concerned in that business, would, as soon as convenient, transmit a statement of our view of the whole subject, together with our advice to Connecticut, how it would be prudent, in the present state of things, to proceed, and particularly, whether it would be advisable to give Mr. Rogers a new trial on the ground of nullity in the act of Degradation.'

"For reasons which will presently appear, however desirous I may be, it is impossible that I should, at present, with my stock of information on the subject, comply with this request. However, I think it my

duty to state to you the view I myself had of the cause, and the part I took in it. You will recollect, my dear sir, the very ill state of health I was in during the whole session of that Convention, notwithstanding which, as I conceived Mr. Rogers's appeal to be amongst the most important affairs which the House of Bishops had to transact, I attended closely to it, and endeavored to view it in all its bearings. On the last day of the session of Convention, just before its adjournment, the deputies from the Church of Connecticut and Mr. Rogers were desired to retire out of the House of Bishops, when, according to the best of my recollection, every Bishop present, except Bp. Jarvis, (who, I presume, thought himself too much implicated to give any opinion,) expressed a decided conviction of his guilt; and I then thought nothing remained to be done, but to award the sentence denounced by our canon law against such criminals. But in this particular I was mistaken; for I was invited to dine, in the evening of that day in which the Convention adjourned, together with the rest of my Rt. Rev. Brethren, with the Rt. Rev. Bp. Moore, and told that Mr. Rogers's business would be then and there finished. In the course of the morning I was informed by some clergyman (I have forgotten whom) that it was the wish of some of the Bishops to have the cause referred back to some of the State Conventions. This gave me some uneasiness, for my illness having increased, I had determined to return by the first opportunity, and before the meeting at Dr. Moore's. Thus circumstanced, I sent for my Rt. Rev. Brother, Dr. Parker, to my friend Dr. Beach's, where I lodged, took him into a private room, and informed him of my situation, and of my intention to leave town immediately, and also of what I had heard concerning the wish of some of the Bishops respecting Rogers's cause. I told him that I was pointedly against the adoption of such a measure, for the following reasons: Because, as I understood the matter, Mr. Rogers did not hold himself amenable to the Church either of Connecticut or New York, and had on that ground appealed from the prosecution commenced against him by the Church of Connecticut, to our House, so that the cause appeared to me to come very properly before us; and that it did appear to me, also, after what had passed in our House in it, that we could not possibly refer it to any earthly tribunal whatever, without derogating from that authority given by the great Head of His Church to His Apostles, *collectively*, and through them to their successors in office to the end of the world, when he delivered to St. Peter the keys of the Church, which authority I conceived was by his appointment paramount to that of any *single* Bishop or Church in our Union; and therefore, in cases of this sort especially, not transferable by them to any earthly tribunal. I added, that if it should appear that a majority of the House of Bishops was determined to refer this cause to some State Convention, I hoped they would not re-

for it to the Church of Connecticut, as I was persuaded that such a measure would have a direct tendency to make the confusion already occasioned by it, in that flourishing Church, still more confused, and endanger a schism.

"In these sentiments Bishop Parker appeared at the time to coincide with me, and I concluded the conversation by requesting him to set my name to the act, if the Bishops should determine to do the only thing in my opinion remaining to be done, viz. to award the sentence against Mr. Rogers, required by our canon law; but if a reference to any Convention, or any other half-way measure was adopted, not to put my name to the deed, as I was *ex animo* against them all. The good Bishop promised to conform to the premises, and I have not had any information since on the subject, excepting what has been afforded me by the journals of the last General Convention, and the letter of your Convocation. I did think it possible that, in consequence of the resolution of your Convocation lately sent me, some of my Right Rev. friends might have stated to me, by letter, their motives for referring this cause, as also their intentions with respect to the powers to be vested in your Convention by the Act of Reference; and this circumstance delayed my answer to the Convocation.

"All expectations of information on the subject sufficient to enable me, *conjointly* with the other Bishops concerned, to give any further statement of that unhappy business, being now at an end, I have thought it my duty, by way of apology to your Convocation, to make this candid communication of the subject to you, and through you to them.

"The conversation with Bp. Parker, above cited, contains the substance of my sentiments on the subject at the time, and with great deference to the opinion of the three learned prelates who finally determined the matter in the House of Bishops, I have seen nothing as yet to induce me to alter them. There is a wide difference, to be sure, between us; but this difference may be accounted for by supposing, what their *determination*, as they call it, would lead us to suppose, that a canon of the General Convention was necessary to clothe them with authority in this case, which I did and do suppose Christ himself gave them, independently of any lay or clerical authority whatever.

"As for advice, my dear sir, insulated as I am from all intercourse with my Rt. Rev. Brethren, placed in a corner of the country where I can seldom, except at Church meetings and visitations, see my own presbyters, and at the same time in an ill state of health, I should consider it a high degree of presumption to offer it *individually* to the good Bishop of your Church, aided as he is by his truly pious and learned presbyters. However, my solicitude for the preservation of the ancient principles of the Church, impels me to hint a wish that your Bishop and learned presbyters would make a solemn pause, and well weigh the conse-

quences to the Church of Christ, before they suffer themselves to be induced to pronounce their own degradation a nullity; for I think it may well be questioned whether they, or any other power upon earth, in cases of this sort, are competent to such an act. Mr. Rogers, indeed, upon his true repentance, might be loosed from those sins which occasioned his degradation; but nothing but re-ordination can, in my judgment, restore him to his former standing in the Christian ministry. In this sentiment I think I am supported not only by the nature of the commission given to the Church by Christ, to bind and loose, but also by the practice of the primitive Church. Sure I am, that such a step, was it to be taken by your Convention at this time, and in this country, when and where the minds of men on the subject of Church discipline are so very unsettled, and tremblingly alive to what they call Liberty, would militate strongly against all ecclesiastical authority whatever, so necessary to the well being of the Church of Christ upon earth.

"If this unhappy business can not be amicably settled before, in some other way, rather than thus endanger so important a pillar in our venerable spiritual edifice, founded upon the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief Corner-stone, I should think that your Convention had much better abide by the consequences, until the meeting of our next General Convention, when they may avail themselves of far better advice than that of,

Dear and Reverend Sir,

Your sincere friend, and affectionate Bro. in Christ,
THOS. JNO. CLAGGETT, Bp. of the
Prot. Epis. Church of Maryland."

Little need now be added to a Memoir which has already exceeded the intended limits; though much might be said expressive of the Bishop's views on questions which interest the Church. He thought much, though he published his thoughts sparingly. His address to the Convention of 1807 is in print; and also that of 1812, the last occasion of his meeting the clergy and lay deputies of his Diocese. It is so expressive of those great principles by which his whole life was governed, that a reference to it may well be substituted for any remarks on his character. The asthma, under which he labored, broke down a constitution which originally promised great length of years. The physician who attended him in his last moments, the venerable Dr. Monson, declared that one of the lobes of his lungs was entirely consumed. In other respects he enjoyed a remarkable exemption from the ordinary decays of nature. He usually read without glasses till the day of his death. His hand-writing was as firm as it had ever been; and a comparison of his manuscripts, at different periods of his life, would exhibit the same constancy, stability, and firmness, which marked his character. When told that his end was approaching, he raised his eyes and united his hands in adoration, and said only, "God's will be done." Preparations

were immediately made to administer the Communion, during which he leaned his head back in his chair, closed his eyes, and remained in silent and devout meditation. The Sacrament was administered by the Rev. Mr. Whitlock. At the Confession, though his attendants attempted to prevent it, he gently waved his hand, as a sign to them to desist, and sank from his chair upon his knees. He then joined audibly, and with his wonted humility and reverence, in its lowly language. When the Absolution was pronounced he bowed his head; and when bidden to lift up his heart, replied, fervently, with his wife and son, and others who communed with him, "We lift them up unto the Lord." Thus he continued to unite his voice even in the triumphant strains of the Gloria in Excelsis; but when the Communion was ended, his energy was exhausted, and being helped again into his chair, he leaned his head back, panting, and with closed eyes. Life was now ebbing fast; but as his neighbor and dear friend, Nathan Smith, Esq., came in, he opened

his eyes, and extended his left hand, which was nearest to Mr. Smith, with a smile of ineffable tenderness and peace, but could not speak. His wife was kneeling at his right hand, and his son at his left. A couch stood near, on which several members of his first wife's family had expired, and on which her mortal remains were laid out. Suddenly he attempted to rise, and pointed to that couch. Being assisted to walk to it, his wife sat on his right side holding his hand, while he leaned on his son, to whom he gave his left hand. Nothing was heard in that room of death but his respiration, which grew shorter and shorter. At length it stopped, but so gradually and imperceptibly, that for a few moments none were conscious of it. His wife was the first to rise, with a motion of her hand to repress our lamentations, fearing to disturb his last moments. It was the third of May, 1813. His body was laid out on the same couch. "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord—Even so saith the Spirit, for they rest from their labors."



SEAL OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF
THE GOSPEL.

THE ADDRESSES

DELIVERED IN TRINITY CHURCH, NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT,
AT THE DIOCESAN CENTENARY CELEBRATION

OF THE

CONSECRATION

OF THE

RIGHT REVEREND ABRAHAM JARVIS, D.D.

Second Bishop of the Diocese

HELD ON WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1897

BY THE

REVEREND SAMUEL F. JARVIS, M.A.

Rector of Brooklyn

ON THE PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF HIS GRANDFATHER

AND BY THE

REVEREND JOSEPH HOOPER, M.A.

Rector of Durham

ON THE LIFE AND TIMES OF BISHOP JARVIS



NEW HAVEN
1898

EXTRACT FROM THE CONNECTICUT CONVENTION
JOURNAL, 1897, Page 74

On motion of the Rev. Joseph Hooper it was

Resolved, That a special committee of three clergymen and two laymen be appointed, with power to arrange a suitable Commemoration of the Centenary of the Consecration of our Second Bishop, Abraham Jarvis, the friend and associate of Seabury, on the Feast of St. Luke the Evangelist, A.D. 1897, in Trinity Church, New Haven.

The President accordingly appointed the following Committee on the Centenary of Bishop Jarvis's Consecration :

REV. GEORGE W. DOUGLAS, D.D.
REV. JOSEPH HOOPER, MR. BURTON MANSFIELD.
REV. SAMUEL F. JARVIS. MR. FREDERICK J. KINGSBURY.

83

The Committee, finding insuperable difficulties in holding the celebration on St. Luke's Day, by the permission of the Bishop, decided upon the 27th October, in conjunction with the Consecration of the Bishop Coadjutor-Elect, on the Feast of St. Simon and St. Jude.

HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES OF BISHOP JARVIS

BY

The Rev. SAMUEL FERMOR JARVIS, M.A.
Rector of Trinity Church, Brooklyn

ADDRESS

The personal reminiscences of my grandfather Abraham, the second Bishop of Connecticut, are so few, that I have to confess to a sensitive shrinking from undertaking the task with which I have been honoured, of making one of the addresses on the occasion of the Centenary Celebration of his Consecration. To the Rev. Mr. Hooper was assigned the address upon his life, and to Dr. Hart and Dr. Seymour was assigned the history of the Church in the Diocese during the hundred years which have followed the Consecration which we now commemorate. There seemed to be little left for me to take up, except to present to you my grandfather as a Churchman and Theologian. I began such a task; but I soon found that it would require more time than was left to me to give to the subject that thoroughness which justice required. I therefore resolved to avail myself of the Rev. Mr. Hooper's suggestion, and to gather together the personal reminiscences of the Bishop as related to me by my father and others. At the outset I have to acknowledge with the deepest regret, approaching to remorse, that from various causes, I did not avail myself of the opportunities which I had

8

to glean information, which, now locked in the silence of the grave, no one can obtain.

Bishop Jarvis's ancestors came early from England to the Colony of Massachusetts, from whence they spread into Vermont, Maine and Long Island. From Huntington, Long Island, his father, Samuel Jarvis, and Naomi Brush, his wife, moved to Norwalk in this State. He was a Puritan in religion; but about the time of the birth of his son Abraham he conformed to the Church. He probably came in contact there with the Missionary Clergy of the Church of England, who with great boldness and courage came among the Puritans, challenged the validity of their Ministerial Orders, and consequently of the lawfulness of their ministrations. He was a man of courage, who would follow the convictions of his mind; and on listening to the arguments and appeals of these English missionaries he returned to the Mother Church. He had eleven children, of whom Abraham was the ninth. I heard my father say that his grandfather was not able to afford a liberal education to so large a family, and that after the close of the day's labours Abraham used to read and study by the light of a pitch pine knot. Others of his children must have been actuated by a similar ambition; for I have in my possession some letters to my father written by one of the Bishop's brothers in a remarkably beautiful hand, and in the style of a gentleman of education.

Abraham was sent to Yale College and graduated

in 1761. There he took his stand as a Churchman. One day he met a fellow student of his acquaintance, returning from the library with one of the books

9

given by Dean Berkeley (I think a volume of Scott's Christian Life) in his hand. "Take care," said the future Bishop, "that book will most certainly make a Churchman of you." "Will it?" said the student, who turned about and replaced the book.

The influence of the Rev. Dr. Leaming of Norwalk, probably induced him to study for the Priesthood, and to go to England for valid Orders in 1764. Before going he acted as a Lay-reader to the Church of England congregation in Middletown. The Rev. Mr. Hooper will probably give you an account of the journal kept by one of the young men who went to England together, which was obtained by him after most diligent search. I have been told that when the young men came before the English Bishop to be ordained, he asked them their Christian names. "Mr. Hubbard, what is your name?" "Bela, my Lord." "Bela?" said his lordship, "Bela? what sort of name is that? I never heard of it before." "But, my Lord," said young Hubbard, "it is in the Bible."

I have in my possession a memorandum written by my grandfather of his attendance at King George III.'s Court, wherein he gives the following account of the entrance of the King and suite:

"Sunday, April 15th, went to Chapel Royal (&) heard ye Abp of York, a very sensible Discourse from 130 Psalm 4 verse; from thence went into Court; a large Assembly of y^e Nobility and Gentry; many of y^e Clergy; a number of Bishops. The Order in which y^e Royal Family came in was, first two or three of y^e Nobility; then y^e two princes Henry and

10

William followed by some others of y^e Nobility who preceded the King, who came next with attendants following. After them at some little distance came y^e Queen led by y^e hand of y^e Earl of Harcourt, having her train held up by a young lad, with one of y^e Noblemen's Ladys attending her in waiting, with six or seven Maids of Honour following after. Between 3 & 6 o'clock went to Christ Church Newgate, the meeting being to collect charity for the maintenance of a number of poor children. Heard an Anthem sung very finely, which afforded a most pleasurable entertainment." (Signed) "Abraham Jarvis."

My grandfather set sail for home April 19; his journal extends to June 10, the rest is gone. When he reached port I know not.

As I think that my grandfather must have pursued his theological studies under the direction of the Rev. Dr. Leaming, it must have been at his house that he met and became engaged to Miss Ann Farmar,* a

niece of Mrs. Leaming and daughter of Mr. Samuel Farmar, a merchant of New York. They were married in New York on Trinity Sunday, May 25, 1766, and the service was performed by the Rev. Dr. Samuel Auchmuty, Rector of Trinity Church. Mrs. Jarvis was one of the most gentle and loving of women. My father ever spoke of his deep love and devotion to her. Her death, which took place in Cheshire on the 4th of November, 1801, when he was fifteen years old, had a deep and lasting effect upon him. From

* The present representative of the Jarvis family has reverted to the original spelling, Farmor.

11

my recollection of my father's remarks, I think that my grandfather was a man of the warmest and sincerest affections, of great tenderness of feeling, conjoined to a high, strict and perhaps stern sense of the demands of duty, which led him to give them preference at the risk of being considered arbitrary. He never shrank from any duty however difficult or disagreeable. It was over thirteen years from his marriage when his wife presented him with a son—who was named Samuel Farmar, but who lived only ten weeks. Then followed seven more long, childless years before the birth of my father, on the 20th of January, 1786. He was doubtless the child of many prayers, and must have been promised unto the Lord from the womb—for he was baptized on the 22d, two days after his birth. He too was named Samuel Farmar. How acutely Mr. Jarvis must have felt the loss of his firstborn, and how deeply his affection was wrapped up in the second, now his only child, is evident from his unwillingness to be separated from him. When it became necessary to send this son to Cheshire Academy he resigned the Parish of Christ Church, Middletown, and bought a house in Cheshire, where he continued to reside until my father entered Yale College. He then removed to New Haven and dwelt there until his death in 1813.

It must have been through Bishop Jarvis's insistence that my father enjoyed what must have been considered by the college authorities as a very great concession. He told me that he was the first Churchman who was allowed to attend church without being obliged to ask special permission each time. Still,

12

so loath were the authorities to grant this, that when on Monday mornings the absentees from Sunday's Meeting were called upon to account for their delinquency, the Bishop's son was never spared—"Jarvis, absent from meeting." "I was at Church, sir," was the invariable answer. In those days there was a high and strong fence between the Church and Secession, and men were told in love and charity, but plainly, that it was a sin to divide the Body of Christ. When they came back to the Apostolic Church they did so, after study, on conviction; and the young

grew up intelligent, educated, decided and consistent Churchmen. It is a false liberality, so called, which levels down the fence, substitutes confusion of thought for the one definite Catholic Faith once delivered, and Denominational Union for Apostolic and Catholic Unity.

It was probably owing to the difficulty with which Bishop Jarvis had acquired his own education, and the great value which he placed upon its attainment, that for many years he took young men into his family at his own cost, and assisted them forward in their efforts. One of them became an intimate, loving and life-long friend of my father. He also must have been the more eager to give his son the best education to be had in his day. He had my father taught music and painting, Greek and Latin, French and Italian, besides the ordinary studies of the school and college courses. In a letter written to him February 9th, 1813, he says: "I will conclude this letter, my beloved son, by assuring you that on the 20th of January you had our special remembrance.

13

Twenty-seven times has the sun completed his annual orbit since the relation of father and son took place between you and me. I can now look back to the time; my memory presenting the scene to my view as in a mirror, when your smiles and infantile actions gave me undescribable pleasure. The same memory recalls to my mind the solicitude which accompanied you through every stage of your youthful progress in mental improvement to matured years. In all which, whatever was right in the execution of the important trust committed to me, 'Remember me, O my God, for good. Be thine the glory.' Your kind mother unites in love, and all that love can dictate, with your affectionate father, Abraham Jarvis."

It will give a further insight into the Bishop's character, if I give a few extracts from his letter to his son, written at different times. In answer to some complaints sent home from school, the Bishop wrote: "Your mamma continues to be much unwell with her cold. I hope you do not wish to make her uneasy. You should think of that and not write anything to her that you may imagine will give her trouble or cause the least unhappiness about you. If you meet with anything disagreeable that is worth speaking of, do it to me, but let your complaints be such as are manly, and learn to take no notice of little things if they are not as you would be glad to have them, and think slightly of trifles."

Years later on when in Orders, and married, and expressing anxiety about his living, his father wrote: "The great secret of contentment, my dear son, is to indulge as few wants as possible, and then you are

14

sure to come the nearest to have everything you want. Thus ordering yourself and house within the com-

pass of your means, habit will do much to tranquilize the mind, to fit it for a due dependence on Divine providence, and be a guard against any painful humbling dependence on man." (January, 1812.)

What I have related carries us beyond the close of the War of Independence, and indeed beyond the deaths of General Washington, and of the great Hamilton. I must go back to the opening of the great struggle of the Revolution. The citizens of these Colonies were all subjects of the British Crown. The strife was a civil war. And as this civil war was not only a resistance to the unlawful encroachments of King and Parliament upon the liberties of British subjects, but was admittedly urged on by New England religionists for the purpose of preventing the introduction of Bishops in this country, it is not to be wondered at that Churchmen should have been, many of them, Loyalists, and thus, have made themselves objects of persecution. John, one of my grandfather's elder brothers, who had married early, had grown-up sons, able to take part in the struggle. Samuel, one of them, was arrested by the vigilance committee of Amenia, New York, and imprisoned. He escaped from jail, made his way to the British in New York, and received a commission in the loyal forces. Another served as an officer under Tarleton. Samuel went to England at the close of the struggle with the English troops of Lord Howe, the other to Canada. John, the father, living in Poundridge, was one dark night summoned to his front door, and on opening it,

15

was shot and instantly killed. A second older brother of the future Bishop settled in Danbury, and his son is said by Hinman to have been one of the two young Tories who guided Tryon to Danbury. I have reason to think that this statement is a mistake. It is nevertheless the fact that his father was in great peril, and only escaped the fury of the vigilance committee by being hid in a potato bin, the potatoes covering him from sight when search was made. It was my informant's grandfather, who, though himself siding with the revolution, was his protector. It is hardly probable he would have so befriended his neighbour, had his son guided the British soldiers to Danbury. There was never any tradition of the kind handed down in either family. I mention these facts in order to explain the probable cause of two attempts which were made upon the life of my grandfather. I have reason to think that my grandfather was so thoroughly American as to enable him to see no obligation to desert his spiritual flock. He must have felt that his duty, as a Priest of God, was to his people, and therefore he did not follow in the general flight of the clergy. Hence his brothers' and their sons' reputation as Tories brought upon him two narrow escapes. One was a letter written by a prominent citizen to accuse him of treason, and to procure

his being seized and shot. How he escaped this danger I am not able to say. A long time has elapsed since my father related the circumstances to me, and I cannot recall more. I will add that a good many years ago I exchanged letters with a lady who was descended from this prominent citizen who devised

16

the plot against my grandfather's life, and was informed by her that her grandsire was one of Mr. Jarvis's most intimate and warmly attached friends. I am happy to believe that all his descendants have come into the Church.

The other attempt upon his life was this: a desperate ruffian was induced to try to kill him. Accordingly when my grandfather was riding down to Higganum to visit some of his congregation, he was overtaken by this man, who rode by his side and entered into conversation with my grandfather and tried to egg on to the subject of the war. Mr. Jarvis was prudent and wary, and turned the conversation into safer channels. The would-be murderer was asked why he had not killed his intended victim. He answered with an oath, "I tried to pick a quarrel with him, but the old fox was too sly for me, and I could not shoot him in cold blood."

My grandfather was not without friends in the Puritan community, and some of them proved their friendship by concealing him in their houses in times of special danger and excitement. There was another fact which probably helped to protect him. Mr. Jarvis was, as I believe all gentlemen in those times were, a member of the order of Masons. He was the Grand Chaplain of the Royal Arch Masons, and I have a sermon which he preached before them.

Among the few anecdotes which my father told me of my grandfather, was one that shows that Bishop Jarvis had a high regard for the proprieties of clerical dress. At a time when many Clergymen officiated without any vestments (and I have been told the first

17

Bishop of Virginia preached his first sermon as a Priest in a blue coat and brass buttons), Mr. Jarvis wore vestments—cassock and bands and surplice. Some of them descended to me past further use. Had he lived in these days he would, I doubt not, have been among those who do not consider it sinful to use God's colours of beauty, to symbolize the doctrines and different seasons of the Christian year, and who without aping the Romish Mass, delight in attractive and impressive functions, and in making the place of God's feet glorious.

A young gentleman came to Middletown to be made Deacon. The French pantaloons were first coming into use, to rival and supplant the knee-breeches and gold and silver knee and shoe buckles. They had the advantage of being cheaper, of being more easily donned and doffed, and of hiding undeveloped calves.

This young candidate, to honour the great occasion of his ordination, made his appearance arrayed in the new fashion. Bishop Jarvis, with his sense of propriety as much shocked as though he had come in Indian style without any covering at all to his legs, said, "Young Sir, I cannot ordain you in those things;" and turning to his wife, he said, "Mrs. Jarvis, cannot you find for this young gentleman a pair of breeches?" A pair was found for him and he was ordained in the costume to which the English Bishops still cling and which the bicycle is reintroducing among laymen. The young candidate for the Ministry had thought himself as paying the greatest possible respect to the occasion. He never recovered from the surprise and shock he received. But all are

18

now where no one needs the tokens of our first parents' fall from innocence, and are awaiting the hour when they will receive the white robes of the resurrection.

There is one matter which has never, I believe, been understood and upon which I have been asked to throw light. It is the case of Ammi Rogers. What was the cause of the trouble between him and my grandfather? The history of the case as related to me by my father was this. Mr. Ammi Rogers came to Middletown to study for Holy Orders under the direction of my grandfather. He took board in the family of a farmer who had an only daughter. This daughter Mr. Rogers ruined. Bishop Jarvis refused to continue him as a candidate for the ministry and declared to him that he would never ordain him. Thereupon Mr. Rogers went to the house of the Secretary of the Diocese during his absence, obtained permission from his wife to see the records of the Diocese and forged testimonials of good character which he presented to the Bishop of New York, who thereupon ordained him. Mr. Rogers then returned to Connecticut. Being a man of talent, of eloquence, of great plausibility and sanctimoniousness, he was able to obtain a large following and to give my grandfather a great deal of trouble. His case was brought up before the Bishops in Convention—and against the protest of Bishop Jarvis, who "insisted that Mr. Rogers had been ordained in New York and belonged to that Jurisdiction, and that he had never recognized him as a Clergyman of his Diocese," they decided that Mr. Rogers ought to be degraded from the ministry

19

and that Bishop Jarvis should pronounce sentence upon him. There was then no definite Canon Law touching such matters of discipline. But my grandfather was not a man to shrink from the performance of a duty laid upon him, and he accordingly degraded him. Mr. Rogers was very bitter in his enmity, and had plausibility enough to enlist the sympathy of some of the Clergy, who thought that my grandfather

was unnecessarily severe and hard upon him. Mr. Rogers' life and character were such that he created a great prejudice against the Church in the eastern part of the State. I have sometimes thought that the difficulty which the Church meets with, in our efforts to plant it in the New London Archdeaconry, is due in part to the evil produced by Mr. Rogers. The "mystery of iniquity" continues to work. He founded a church under the name of St. Thomas in the town of Canterbury. It continued a few years and then died out. My predecessor, the Rev. Dr. Camp, buried the last male member, who had been its parish Clerk, and I buried his widow. The family became Dissenters. Mr. Rogers also founded a Church in Jewett City in the town of Griswold. He built a stone Church in the most admirable position in the village, and gathered a large congregation. The corner-stone was laid with Masonic ceremonies and the music of a brass band. All was most flourishing, but Mr. Rogers was here guilty of an offence similar to that which had decided Bishop Jarvis to refuse him Ordination. This time the civil authority dealt with him and he was cast into prison. The large Church congregation disbanded in two years from its foundation. The

20

building became the property of the Congregationalists, who a few years ago built a more ambitious house for themselves and sold the church to the Romanists, who now hold it. Mr. Rogers took occasion, when my grandfather was in New York, to bring suit against him for personal damages. While the case was pending my grandfather departed from these scenes of trouble and suffering.

When Bishop Seabury died my father was a lad of ten years. He well remembered the shock which the news of the sudden death gave his father. He burst into tears, and as his little son ran up to him and sympathetically stood between his knees, he cried out in accents of deepest emotion, "How are the mighty fallen! Ichabod, the glory is departed." Dr. Jarvis had been one of the ten Clergymen who in March, 1783, met in secret at the house of the Rev. Mr. Marshall in Woodbury, and elected Dr. Seabury to be their Bishop. Secrecy was observed, not, I think, as Dr. Beardsley intimates, because "perhaps the fear of not having the hearty concurrence of their lay-brethren led to it." In the history of the Church, the Laity had never then been known to take part in the election of Bishops. I have a letter of the then Rev. Mr. Philander Chase, afterwards the famous Bishop of Illinois, written to my father from Hartford on the 28th of March, 1814, about ten months after the death of Bishop Jarvis, in which he says, "our Convention seem determined to proceed to the election of a Bishop to succeed your excellent father at the next June Convention. It would be more gratifying to my humble opinion of canonical propriety, if persons

only in Deacons' Orders and uninstituted Presbyters were not permitted to give their vote in so important an affair. The precedent will, I think, be a dangerous one." Far less, of course, would he have thought that the Laity had any further voice in the matter than that of approving of the choice made by Presbyters. The true reason is that first given by Dr. Beardsley in a too indefinite way. The letters of Dr. Jarvis show that the Clergy were apprehensive of interference from the civil authorities; and therefore they met in secret executive session.

Although my grandfather had, as the mouthpiece of the Clergy who met at Woodbury, addressed the letter of remonstrance to Bishop White about his pamphlet which proposed the temporary abandonment of the Apostolic Succession and the creation of a spurious Episcopacy; and although this correspondence probably did call forth some feeling between them, it never prevented friendly intercourse. And it is only by reading between lines that one can discover in the letters of Bishop White, to him and to my father, the evidence of a mental reservation in his expressions of friendship, suggestive of his inability to forget the criticism of his Churchmanship.

My father told me that Bishop Jarvis was a remarkably fine reader, and that his reading of the Church Burial Office was most solemn and impressive. While he was probably slow and deliberate, Bishop White was criticized as being too rapid in his reading. Bishop White tells in his "Memoirs" that once when Bishop Jarvis was his guest he asked him to read family prayers, and then remarked that if they could

be mixed together they would be pronounced two very clever fellows.

My father told me that when Bishop White and Bishop Jarvis met in Convention, Bishop White proposed that Bishop Jarvis should preside in virtue of his being the Bishop of the Primal See. To this Bishop Jarvis replied saying, "God forbid that I should preside over my Consecrator." The principle of presidency by seniority was happily adopted, and the door was closed against the machinations of ambition, and the strife for preëminence. Owing to the infirmities of old age, the principle has no doubt a disadvantage; but its advantages to the peace and quiet of the Church, and the preservation of equality among our Bishops, have far more than counterbalanced it. It has also closed the door to the wrangling of religious parties. Should the Church in the future unhappily seek to change this wise and good policy, it would be well to consider whether it would not be wise and safe to adopt the suggestion of Bishop White and make the senior Diocese of the American Church the center of its unity rather than to subject it to the dangers of an elective primacy.

Bishop Jarvis lost his wife in 1801. My grandmother was a lady of rare gentleness and sweetness of disposition. The Bishop lived in loneliness for five years, but in 1806 he went to visit a widow in her affliction. She was a woman of great beauty and loveliness of character, and in his efforts to console her, he found consolation for himself as well. They were married by Bishop Moore in Trinity Church, New York, surrendering independence on the Fourth

of July. His happiness was needed to sustain and comfort him in the severe attacks of asthma which came upon him with increasing frequency and power. The end of a long life came in 1813. The Rev. Henry Whitlock, on the 30th of April, wrote to my father at Bloomingdale in part as follows: "Yesterday your Rt. Rev. and dear Father was seized with a tremor, faintness, and other symptoms which give us alarm. The danger to be apprehended from a sudden seizure at his time of life you will yourself well understand. He may be much better, but the apprehensions of his physician, Dr. Munson, are unfavorable." Dr. Munson in his letter, after attending to the physical symptoms, added as follows: "On Saturday morning he (the Bishop) voluntarily observed to me, that he had lived to a comparative great age; but reviewing life it was short and for himself as nothing; and looking forward it was only on the great atonement and sacrifice made for him by our Blessed Lord that all his hopes were founded." This was delivered in a broken, sententious manner, and from sundry broken sentences it appeared that he was filled with great abasement and humbleness of spirit. Thus died the second Bishop of Connecticut, as befitted a Priest and an Apostle of the Lord Jesus Christ.

The Rev. Mr. Wheaton, afterwards the President and benefactor of Trinity College, wrote thus to my father on the 19th of May, 1813. "Your letter, my dear Jarvis, containing the unwelcome intelligence of your father's decease, filled my heart with sorrow. Had I no interest in the venerable Bishop than as the beloved father of my friend, I could have sym-

pathized with you most sincerely in the irreparable loss which you have sustained. But, in the death of Bishop Jarvis, I have other cause for grief than that of friendship for his son. I, too, have experienced a loss. The Bishop was my spiritual teacher, and my spiritual father. By The Putting On of his Hands I received the Gift of God which is in me, and under his episcopal jurisdiction for years dispensed the Word of Life. He also honoured me with his personal friendship, and his conduct towards me was ever that of kindness and esteem. His departure, therefore, as it relates only to myself, I cannot but deeply regret, and his memory will ever be dear to me.

As a Bishop of the Church of Christ, the death of

your father will be sorely felt. He was a disciple of the old school, a learned, pious, and decided Churchman. His zeal for God was according to knowledge. He loved the Church, delighted in its welfare and was desirous to transmit it to posterity free from innovations. But it has pleased God to remove him from this Militant Church, we trust, to the Church Triumphant, where among those who have died in the Lord he now rests from his labors, and his works do follow him."

25

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF THE SECOND BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT

BY

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27

ADDRESS

There was on May 5th, 1796, a notable gathering of the Clergy and Laymen of the then young Diocese of Connecticut in the first Trinity Church. They had come over roads then beginning to be fragrant with the blossoms of spring to this elm-shaded city, that they might mourn the departure of their head, the apostolic Seabury; that with wisdom and deliberation they might, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, choose some godly and well-learned man to be their Bishop.

From the pulpit high against the wall the preacher, a dear friend of Bishop Seabury, with deep emotion, with well-chosen words expounded the passage in the seventh verse of the thirteenth chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews, "Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God, whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation," and applied them to their first Bishop.

More than one hundred years have rolled by, years of effort and accomplishment, both in the State and the Diocese, and once more there gather in New Haven Clergy and Laymen of Connecticut. They have come with a desire to know something of the past and to forecast the future. There meet here

28

to-day the new and old. We look back to the time of slow and almost imperceptible growth and forward to the enlarged work and more onerous burdens which the Lord would lay upon us and upon him who is to be, in this Mother Diocese, the Coadjutor of that man whom we love for his learning, his modesty, his kindness, his gentleness, and in whom we recognize a

type of the true Connecticut Churchman, John Williams, our Diocesan and the presiding Bishop of the American Church. Many years may he live to guide us by his counsel and cheer us by his example. We are here to remember the way God has led us all these years; we are here that we may not idly and listlessly turn back the pages of our history

"Where, closely mingling, pale and glow
The characters of joy and woe,"

where we may find some events written large and fair, others faint and obscure; but that we may, by opening the book of the past, learn what were the motives, what the principles, what the actions of those who shaped the course of the American Church, when she was small, weak, despised,—when such taunts as "I did not know there was an Episcopal Church," were common in some parts of our country.

Among the pioneers and founders, without forgetting many other honored names, Connecticut would place that of Abraham Jarvis, Doctor in Divinity, the second Bishop of this Diocese.

The honor justly due to the first Bishop of Connecticut, the heroic Seabury, has partially obscured the fame of his friend and successor.

29

Concerning Bishop Seabury much has been written; very little has been said of Bishop Jarvis. Bishop Seabury was an author of acknowledged ability and attractiveness; two sermons and one Episcopal charge are the only publications of Bishop Jarvis.* Bishop Seabury was a pioneer; to Dr. Jarvis fell the task of sustaining and strengthening the work his predecessor had begun.

It seems to be fitting that the American Church should, in this one hundredth year after his election and Consecration to the Episcopate of Connecticut, know what manner of man he was, and why for nearly fifty years he was a power among his brethren. They always recognized his sound judgment and the great executive ability which fitted him for the many delicate duties they laid upon him. He was, by both inheritance and conviction, a Churchman, and knew the full strength of the Church's position.

Abraham, the sixth son and ninth child of Captain Samuel and Naomi (Brush) Jarvis, was born in the pleasant shore town of Norwalk, Connecticut, on May 5, 1739. His father belonged to a well known and highly esteemed family of Huguenot descent, which had been for many years settled at Huntington, Long Island. In 1737 he had conformed to the Church of England, and never faltered in his allegiance to her scriptural and Catholic principles. His muscular and sturdy churchmanship is shown in this incident preserved by his grandson, that elegant scholar, Dr. Samuel Farmar Jarvis.†

* See Note I, page 65.

† See footnote, page 36.

When the earnest and persuasive Whitfield was arousing and electrifying New England by his eloquence, he visited, among other towns, Norwalk. Captain Jarvis had forbidden his sons to attend any of the meetings. One night, disregarding their father's command, two of his elder sons went. When Captain Jarvis knew where they had gone, horsewhip in hand he sought them, and found them in the very center of the throng, kneeling among the rapt and entranced worshippers nearest the great preacher. Making his way through the large audience and vigorously applying the whip to their shoulders, he ignominiously drove them home, the laughing stock of all who saw them.

With such a father it can well be imagined that the young Abraham would be early brought to the minister to receive Holy Baptism, and called upon "to hear sermons" in the small structure that then served for St. Paul's Parish, Norwalk. Undoubtedly he listened with childish interest to the Rev. Henry Caner, who, from his home at Fairfield, journeyed periodically to Norwalk to minister to the little band of Church people.

His secular education was the best that could then be obtained. After a course in the schools of Norwalk, he was sent to the home of a brother, a prosperous farmer at Stratford, and placed under the care of the Rev. Noah Wells, the Congregational minister of the town, whose ability as a teacher and tenacity as a controversialist are still remembered. His delight in study was intense. Mr. Jarvis, during his school boy days, always rose before daylight, and lighting a pitch-

31

pine torch, for candles were then expensive, he would eagerly learn his assigned lesson in the dry text-books of the period, Lilly's *Grammar* and the *Colloquies* of Corderius and Erasmus.

By the fall of 1757 he was well prepared to enter Yale College. He was a diligent student, and, like the few Churchmen who were his classmates and associates in other classes, was compelled to suffer for his faith. One anecdote of his college life still survives.

As Mr. Jarvis went one day to the Dean Berkeley Library,* he met coming from it a classmate with a large folio under his arm. Addressing him by the title which his superior age had given him among his associates, Mr. Jarvis said: "What have you there, father?" "I thought I would like to read a little about Ecclesiastical Polity, and I have found a book upon it written by Mr. Richard Hooker." "Have a care, father, as sure as you live he will make a Churchman of you." "Oh, dear, will he?" and the young man returned the dangerous volume to its shelf.

Mr. Jarvis graduated in 1761, and immediately commenced to prepare for the Holy Ministry. Soon

after his graduation, Mr. Jarvis was invited to become lay reader in the mission at Middletown, an important center for a large and growing work, which was then vacant by the unexpected resignation of the Rev. Ichabod Camp, its first resident missionary, and his removal to North Carolina.

The Churchmen of Middletown had received the scholarly ministrations of the Rev. James Wetmore,

* See Note II, page 65.

32

the friend of Johnson and Cutler, who from his parish at Rye, New York, came at least annually to his native town during the years from 1725 to 1745 to hold for relatives and friends the services of the Church of England. It became one of the stations in the wide missionary circuit of the Rev. Ebenezer Punder-son, of North Groton, from 1745 until Mr. Camp took charge in 1752, under whom, in 1755, the first Christ Church was built near the South Green.

Mr. Jarvis did with faithful energy his work at Middletown, and soon strongly attached the people to him. He studied theology assiduously, and when obliged to leave the town to be inoculated for the smallpox, that dread of our forefathers, resided for some time in the family of that acute theologian and defender of the Church's polity, Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, of Elizabethtown, New Jersey.

Living in a household loving and united, with a wise and prudent head, Mr. Jarvis would learn many useful lessons in addition to the more formal instruction in theology which no one in the colonies, with the exception of President Johnson, of King's College, (now Columbia University,) was more competent to give the young student than Dr. Chandler.

Mr. Jarvis seems to have been fully prepared for Ordination in the Spring of 1763, and had evidently "received leave" from the Society to go to England. On March 21, 1763, at a meeting of the parishioners of Christ Church, Middletown, it was voted: "That a rate of three pence on the pound on the list of 1762, shall be forthwith collected and paid to the Wardens, to be applied to defray the charges of Mr. Abraham

33

Jarvis, in his going to England to take Orders." Doubtful whether this assessment would yield the full sum of "forty pounds sterling, to be advanced to Mr. Jarvis," the Wardens were authorized to borrow, "from some person that will lend it," whatever amount might be necessary to make up the deficiency.

In the fall of 1763 Mr. Jarvis sailed for England, accompanied by his life-long friend, Bela Hubbard, afterward for many years the honored Rector of Trinity Church, New Haven, and William Walter, afterward successively Rector of Trinity Church, and Christ Church, Boston. The young men arrived safely in December. Their first duty when they reached London was to pay visits of ceremony to the aged Bishop

of London, Dr. Osbaldiston, then spending the closing months of his life in strict retirement, and to Dr. Burton, the Secretary of the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Arrangements were soon made for their canonical examinations by the Chaplains of the Bishop of London. When these examinations had been successfully sustained and while the candidates were awaiting Ordination and before they sailed, they visited some of the famous places of the Mother Country.* At length the Bishop issued his commission to Dr. Frederick Keppel, Bishop of Exeter, who, in the "Royal Chapel of Saint James, Westminster," on Sunday, February 5, 1764, admitted to the Holy Order of Deacons, William Walter, Bela Hubbard, and Abraham Jarvis. They were ordained to the Priesthood in "the Parish Church of Saint James, Westminster," on Sunday, February 19, by the Rt. Rev.

* See Appendix I, page 74.

34

Charles Lyttleton, Bishop of Carlisle. They were licensed by the Bishop of London to officiate in the Plantations, on February 28, 1764.*

The friends sailed in April and arrived at Boston in June. Mr. Jarvis journeyed to his parish by way of Hartford, which, says his son, he reached on "Election Day." On that day, when the new Governor was inaugurated, it was long a Connecticut custom for the Governor and his staff to attend in state a service in which a sermon was preached by some eminent divine. This was followed by an elaborate dinner for the officials, the Clergy and invited guests. The ceremony always drew together the most prominent people in the Colony, both Clerical and Lay. The preacher, noticing Mr. Jarvis in the congregation, paused in his discourse, and pointing at him the finger of scorn, said in a tone of angry contempt: "What do they not deserve who cross the Atlantic to bring in Episcopal tyranny and superstition among us?" Mr. Jarvis, finding himself the observed of all observers, quietly rose from his seat, and with calm dignity looked around upon the assemblage, in which was gathered the power, wealth and beauty of his native colony. Stung to the quick by this insult to the Church and Crown, the burly captain of a man-of-war, then lying at the mouth of the Connecticut, sprang up and shouted impetuously: "The infernal rascal, let us pull him out of the pulpit." One may look in vain for this interpolation in the printed sermon, or in any periodical of the day. It created a profound sensation, and among

* For copies of Mr. Jarvis's letters of orders, see Note III, page 66.

35

Churchmen was a topic of animated discussion. Mr. Jarvis proceeded without further incident to his parish, where he was warmly welcomed.*

A committee was appointed by a parish meeting held August 1, 1764, to wait upon Mr. Jarvis and "to

acquaint him that, exclusive of the sum of twenty pounds sterling, what the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts allowed to this mission, the Church has agreed to raise seventy pounds sterling, for his support as minister of Christ Church in Middletown, he officiating as minister; to which he returned an answer that he accepted said offer."

For some reason, which no available records, either of the venerable Society or of the parish of Middletown explain, the sum previously given by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to Christ Church, Middletown, was withdrawn. Mr. Jarvis was never enrolled among the missionaries of that "truly Christian organization," which did so much for the upbuilding of the Colonial Church. His whole clerical income was from the salary pledged by the parish, which was seldom paid in full. The Society sent him, at the solicitation of the clergy of Connecticut, "gratuities" of ten pounds each at various times during the ten years from 1765 to 1775.† This did not discourage him in his good work, which was extended into the country surrounding Middletown for a distance of ten or twelve miles. We learn from a

* This is told by Dr. Jarvis as happening in the year of his father's arrival, but as the dates conflict, must have been in some other year. give the story as found in Dr. Jarvis's "Memoir."

† See Note IV, page 67.

36

memorandum made by him, that there were at one time three hundred and sixty-five souls under his pastoral care, of whom one hundred and fifty were communicants. The general neglect by the ministers of the Standing Order to urge upon the members of their congregations the necessity of infant Baptism led many Congregationalists to bring their children to Church of England clergymen for Holy Baptism. It is said that on a certain Sunday evening Mr. Jarvis baptized eighty-seven children and ten adults. His readiness to minister to those destitute of religious privileges led him to undertake extensive missionary tours in the remoter parts of the county. In the vigorous parish organized by energetic Churchmen at Hartford he had a great interest. He frequently officiated there, and in every way encouraged them in their good work. The suggestion had indeed been made to unite Hartford and Middletown into a mission under the care of Mr. Jarvis. This, however, did not seem feasible to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which at this time was unwilling to organize any new missions in New England.

On May 25, 1766, in Trinity Church, New York City, Mr. Jarvis was happily married to Ann, daughter of Mr. Samuel Farmar,* a well known merchant of New York, by the Rev. Dr. Auchmuty. Mrs. Jarvis was a woman of superior accomplishments, and made for her husband a pleasant home, to which his friends were ever welcome. Members of Christ Church

united in July, 1768, to purchase a glebe of one acre

* The present representative of the Jarvis family has reverted to the original spelling, Fermor.

37

of land with a dwelling-house and other buildings upon it, situated upon the southwest corner of Church and South Main streets, from Andrew Johnson, for \$200. In this house Mr. Jarvis lived more than thirty years. He dispensed a generous hospitality and became known far and wide as a man of mark among his brethren. On September 14, 1779, his first child, a son named Samuel Farmar, was born, who died in infancy. His second son, also named Samuel Farmar, was born on January 20, 1786, and became the distinguished scholar and historiographer of the Church, whose memory is still precious.

While his marriage had relieved him from any financial anxiety, he still felt that it was due to himself to receive an adequate support: he knew that many of his brethren were suffering. He had no other reason than that for writing to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel this letter, which has never before been published in full. It shows that he had a due regard for the proper maintenance of those who were doing the Lord's work in a new country. He is careful to show that the members of the parish did all they could; but, without condemning the Society for withdrawing the stipend, he urges the serious need of the amount they had promised. It is the letter of a man who is determined to do his full duty, and who wishes that those to whom had been given the charge of the maintenance of the missions in America should know the exact state of the case.

MIDDLETOWN, Nov. 21, 1767.

Rev^d. Sir: I beg leave in this, particularly to acknowledge the Favour of your Letter of April 26, 1767. Your expressive

38

Benevolence and the entire Goodness of the Society towards my indigent Station demand my unfeigned Thanks and warmest Gratitude. If in the Freedom of my last Letter, my Solicitude suggested any Expressions that hinted but a Doubt of these, I am really sorry, and can only rely on your Indulgence and Discernment to allow them no Sense but that of speaking the Desire I felt. I apprehend it is well consistent with the Dignity of the Office I have the Honour to sustain in the best of Churches, to be anxious that the Character may be supported above Contempt: which in these Times will hardly be without some such convenient Degree of external circumstances as may command Respect: For alas! Such is the Corruption, that the Excellency of Holy Things and Offices, is little attended to when destitute of a competent Aid from the World. Clothe the Office of Christ in Rags, and it will sink in Neglect and Dishonour, and be as undesirable as he himself was.

Experience gives but how melancholly a Proof of this, exemplified in the Church among us, as more or less respected in particular Congregations according as its Maintenance is reputable. That Respect gives Advantage to its Growth, and removes a great Disadvantage its Adversaries improve against it.

Therefore it is I venture on such Importunity to serve the

Church in this Place, which is very sensibly done by every Favour that promotes its competent Maintenance. To show you how deficient that is at present I most cheerfully follow your Requisition in the detail of what the Gentlemen of my Parish allow me annually. I never yet have received above fifty Pounds Sterling annually from the Parish as their Tax for my Support and the Profits otherways are to inconsiderable to deserve mention: and even that Sum is diminished in its Value by the Manner of Payment, as I usually receive but part of it in Money, and that paid in small Sums at different Times: the rest in Necessaries for my Family's use at a Disadvantage, as I could get those supplies cheaper and to greater Convenience with the Money. It is true they engaged from the first to give about twenty Pounds more and the reason of their

39

Failure is rather because it overreached their abilities, than any neglect of doing what they could, as many poor people can do little, in Reality Nothing more than to provide a few slender Comforts for their own Families.

Could their Burden be alleviated, I should be in good Hopes they would be enabled to purchase a Glebe House, thro' the want of which I at present undergo many Inconveniences. This I believe would have been accomplished had they not been disappointed of the Assistance promis'd by Mr. St. George Talbot, deceased. Their Aim in Soliciting him was to improve what he should please to give for that purpose.

To the Superior Discretion of the Venerable Society, and the Consistancy of it in their very extensive Attention to the Interest of Religion in general, I must however, submit our urgent Need: and also the Importance of supporting the Church in this Place as the only one on Connecticut River, and the Communication the Town has in its Commerce with a number of the most populous Towns in the Colony, that lie above on the same: cherishing Hopes in the good Providence of God that some happy issue may attend us. With ardent Prayers to God for his Blessing on the Society's Labours and their and your Prosperity and Welfare, I am Revd. Sir,

Their and your most Obed't hum'le Serv't,

ABRAHAM JARVIS.

To the Reverend Dr. Burton,

Secretary to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign Parts,

Abingdon Street, Westminster.

As the Revolution approached, as the calm that followed the peace of 1763, when England became master of North America, was rudely disturbed, and the true loyalty and love of a united British empire which had grown out of the serving together of Regulars and Provincials in the forests of New York and Canada,

40

sharing danger and achieving triumph for British valor, were succeeded by the oppressive measures of the ill-advised ministers of the Crown, the condition of the Clergy of the Church of England became a critical one. The same love of freedom was in the hearts of many, as it was in the hearts and on the lips of the men led by Samuel Adams, in Boston, or aroused by Patrick Henry's impetuous speech in Virginia. In Connecticut the greater number of Clergy were natives, and knew what it had cost to found and maintain the colony. They were sensible

that those who lived across a wide sea could not always judge wisely of the needs of the Colonists, could not administer affairs with the same prudence as those who were intimately acquainted with the varying dispositions and abilities of the thirteen colonies.

The right of remonstrance and petition these sons of Connecticut fully conceded, and they thought that measures of conciliation would in the end redress all abuses and heal all breaches. The Connecticut Clergy, as well as those in the other colonies, had taken a solemn vow at their Ordination to support the Crown. They dared not break that; they would not allow that it could be violated without sin. Open revolt they, as men of peace, as sincere lovers of their country, in which they included Great Britain, could not countenance.

We may say they were mistaken, we may say that those who like William White of Pennsylvania became patriots were right; but we cannot condemn them for inconsistency or lack of proper respect for

41

constituted authority. The Clergy of Connecticut, when to words of petition succeeded the clash of resounding arms, when the Congress had declared the Colonies free and independent states, met in solemn convention at New Haven, on July 23, 1776, with Mr. Jarvis as President, and determined that, since the prayers for the Royal Family could not be used, and they would not mutilate the service, to suspend the public use of the Book of Common Prayer.*

One brave man however, the noble confessor, John Beach, at Newtown and on Redding Ridge determined, as he said, "to pray for the King until the rebels cut his tongue out." He was cruelly treated, but did not live to see the close of the war, to behold Connecticut devastated by Continental and British soldiers, and to welcome the return of peace and prosperity to the land. He died in 1782, after more than half a century of effective work. The bullet, still to be seen, that was fired at him as he was preaching, attests the courage and the sincerity of his convictions of right and duty. He may serve as an example of the Clergy in this Colony.

Mr. Jarvis continued his ministrations in private, his visits to the sick and to the whole within his cure. We may well believe that in his own home he offered up prayer and praise. Early in the Revolution he incurred the bitter opposition of the "Sons of Liberty," and in the correspondence of Silas Deane we can read several slighting allusions to the "Tory parson, Jarvis." Several times the life of the Rector of Middletown was in danger. Friends who did not

* See Note V, page 68.

42

share his opinions shielded him from the violence of the mob. The story that is told of his visiting a dying parishioner at Durham, six miles from his

home, and meeting on his return a well-mounted horseman who engaged him in conversation and tried to secure from him some words whereby he might be accused, shows the caution and skill with which he held his opinions. His companion, who was a well-known patriot, said afterward, "The old fox was too cunning for me, for if I could have got anything out of him I would soon have had him off his horse."

Mr. Jarvis was very careful in his ministrations to all who needed them, even if it brought to himself discomfort or peril. Moses Dunbar, a parishioner, was compelled to leave his family and seek refuge on Long Island for his Tory sympathies. Returning to visit his loved ones, he was arrested and condemned as a spy to be hung. Mr. Jarvis, at his request, visited Mr. Dunbar in the jail at Hartford, and when he was hung accompanied him to the scaffold. He was violently assailed for this act of Christian duty. A letter he wrote in his calm, dignified style to the Connecticut papers allayed the excitement. At another time a forged letter full of invective against the American cause, signed Abraham Jarvis, was sent to New London for publication. Mr. Green refused to publish it and it came back to Middletown. It remained for a long time in the window of Mrs. Bigelow's tavern. One day Mrs. Bigelow called in Dr. John Osborn, who was passing, and said, "Here is a letter which has been lying some time and the

43

seal is partly broken; it is some plot against Mr. Jarvis and I desire you to open it." Dr. Jarvis says in his "Memoir" that Dr. Osborn did so, and recognized the handwriting under an assumed name. "In this providential manner the wicked design was defeated."*

As the weary contest drew to a close, Mr. Jarvis, Mr. Tyler of Norwich, Mr. Hubbard of New Haven, opened their churches and read the service, omitting the prayers for the King and Royal Family. The exact date cannot be known, but it was before April, 1781, as in that month the vestry of St. James, New London, resolved "to call on some Rev. gentleman to officiate in the Church of St. James as Rev. Mr. Jarvis or Mr. Hubbard does."†

In July, 1780, Mr. Jarvis officiated for two or three Sundays in King's Chapel, Providence (now St. John's). He was urged to accept the rectorship of that parish, but declined, preferring to remain with those who had been under his care for nearly twenty years.

The Connecticut Clergy, though much troubled and hunted by minute men, still maintained their Conventions and met as frequently as practicable. When the issue was no longer doubtful, when the United States had begun to put on the form and semblance of a nation, then the determination that they must provide for themselves an ecclesiastical head became

fixed in their minds. They knew all the risk of the voluntary system; they knew that their salaries

* The Evergreen, III, page 98.

† Hallam's Annals of St. James, page 58.

44

would be small and precarious, but they also believed devoutly in the apostolic ministry of Bishops, Priests and Deacons.

Mr. Jarvis, as Secretary of the Convention, had much to do in arranging for the meeting at Woodbury, on the feast of the Annunciation, 1783. Its happy result was undoubtedly largely due to him, for he was a leader, and to him was entrusted the mission to New York, and the long and possibly fruitless interviews with Clergymen who might think the action of Connecticut precipitate. With the venerable Jeremiah Leaming, whose sufferings in the war are well known, he renewed a pleasant intercourse. He had already prepared in duplicate the papers necessary to be given to the English Archbishops by the Bishop-designate. The original draft was altered by his hand to make it apply to the case of Dr. Seabury, who undertook the journey. The minutes of the Convention at Woodbury were probably in existence among the Bishop's papers fifty years ago, when Dr. Jarvis wrote his "Memoir."

One act of the Convention at Woodbury has sometimes been overlooked. The Rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, had put forth in the summer of 1782 a pamphlet in which, considering it doubtful whether England would consent to confer the Episcopate upon the United States, he devised a plan for district assemblies of "Episcopalians," as he styled them, and the election of some suitable presbyter to be President in each one of them, who, with the permission of the assemblies, was to set apart men for the ministry until Bishops could be procured. A declaration upon

45

Episcopacy was to be made, stating that it would be adopted whenever possible. The alarm aroused by this pamphlet among true Churchmen was intense, and nowhere was it received with greater apprehension than in Connecticut. It was the work of the Secretary of the Woodbury meeting to draw up, in the name of his brethren, their solemn protest and remonstrance, and send it to Mr. White. The paper is strong and dignified, and sets forth clearly what the Church had always held as of faith concerning the Episcopate. Mr. White soon after saw that the difficulties in obtaining the succession were not insuperable, and lived to be Bishop of Pennsylvania, to preside at the consecration of Dr. Jarvis, and to be for nearly fifty years the revered patriarch of the American Church.*

While Dr. Seabury was vainly imploring the English Episcopate to rise superior to statecraft and political considerations, it was with the Secretary of the Convention that he maintained a correspondence. From the Rector of Middletown he received letters of

friendship and of business. To him that man, wearied but not downcast, turned as to a dear friend and brother.

It was the work of Mr. Jarvis and Dr. Leaming to secure from the Legislature an act for freedom of worship which was passed at the session of 1784. The letters describing the manner in which their design was obstructed are delightful reading.

When Bishop Seabury reached New London in July, 1785, he at once informed Mr. Jarvis, and to

* This paper of Mr. Jarvis is printed in Bishop White's Memoirs, edition of 1880, in Appendix III to page 102, on pages 336-340.

46

him was left the duty of summoning the Convention, of informing the candidates for Deacon's Order, and inviting such staunch and tried men as Dr. Parker and Dr. Moore to be present. To his parsonage came on that August day, one hundred and twelve years ago, the Bishop of Connecticut to be received with the honor due to his office, and the affection due to a beloved friend. The contemporary account of the Convention, Ordination, and Convocation, is from the pen of Mr. Jarvis. Could it be found it would be an invaluable document.

In all the stirring and perplexing events of the years when uncatholic principles were prevailing in the States to the southward; when there seemed to be no plan of union, or agreement in sound doctrine; when Arianism erected itself above the truth as it is in Jesus, and attempted to invade the household of God, the Churchmen of Connecticut were brave, resolute and united. They knew the faith, they defended it and would not willingly allow one iota of catholic and primitive doctrine to be lost.

Bishop Seabury and the Clergy of this Diocese were so doubtful of any "Continental union" of the Church, that in January, 1787, they selected Dr. Jarvis to go to Scotland for consecration, that a valid succession might be obtained. It was hoped that Dr. Parker would accompany him. But the wise moderation of Bishop White and the sagacity of Provost Wm. Smith made that unnecessary; and when on October 2d, 1789, the amended constitution of the American Church was signed by the New England representatives, those from Connecticut were Abraham Jarvis and Bela Hubbard. *Par nobile fratrum.*

47

The death of Bishop Seabury in February, 1796,* while it saddened, did not discourage the Church people of Connecticut. It was to them an occasion of sincere grief, for they knew what he had wrought for the upbuilding of the Church; how he had wisely and earnestly imbued the whole body of Clergy with his spirit. When the special Convention to elect a successor was held in Trinity Church, New Haven, on May 5, 1796, it was the Rector of Middletown who in suitable and touching words told the story of the first Diocesan Bishop in America. It was to Abraham Jarvis that

the members of the Convention turned as one qualified by learning, by the regard of his brethren and by his intimate knowledge of the needs of the Diocese to accept from them an election as their spiritual Father. The records only show the fact of the election, they do not detail the circumstances. For some reason not now apparent, Mr. Jarvis was unacceptable to some influential Laymen, and even the Clergy were divided in their preference. It is stated on the authority of the letter of the Rev. Abraham L. Clarke to Dr. Parkér, of Boston, that there were several ineffectual ballots. The choice of a large majority was the Rev. John Bowden, a scholar of the nicest accuracy, a gentleman of the most polished manners, a controversialist of the most scrupulous courtesy, and a theologian deeply read and apt to impart his knowledge clearly to others. A native of Ireland, the son of a British officer, Mr. Bowden had been most carefully educated, both at home and at Princeton (then the College of New Jersey) and King's College, from which

See Note VI, page 68.

48

he was graduated in 1772. He studied for the ministry under the Clergy of Trinity Church, New York, and in 1774 was made Deacon by Dr. Keppel, Bishop of Exeter, and ordained Priest by Dr. Terrick, Bishop of London. He became assistant minister in Trinity Parish, New York, under Dr. Auchmuty and Dr. Inglis, his colleague being Dr. Benjamin Moore. He suffered for his loyalty to the Crown while living in retirement at Norwalk, and after the Revolution, when the new Trinity Church was opened for divine service, found it impossible for him to retain his position, as his voice was weak. He settled at Norwalk again, becoming rector of St. Paul's Church in 1784. His weak lungs compelled him in 1789 to accept a parish at St. Croix, West Indies. This not proving altogether beneficial, Mr. Bowden returned to the United States and took up his abode at Stratford, where he opened a classical school of high grade.

It was this friend of Seabury, this pleader for a pure and catholic religion for the American people, that many of the Connecticut Clergy and Laity wished to be their Bishop. To one of Mr. Jarvis's delicacy of feeling, whose only desire was the good of the Church in his native State, it was both unpleasant and distressing to be the subject of vigorous debate and heated conversation. He was finally elected by a majority of the two houses of the Convention, and Mr. Bowden, Mr. Baldwin, Col. Joseph Drake and Philip Nichols were the committee to announce to him his election. Evidently Mr. Jarvis was hurt and troubled by the long balloting and want of unanimity and immediately declined the honor. There had been after his

49

election no provision made for his support. There had been no effort to begin an Episcopal Fund, and the Bishop-elect would be obliged to depend entirely

upon his private means. At the Annual Convention held in St. Peter's Church, Cheshire, on June 1, 1796, which considered specially the interests of the recently established Episcopal Academy, Mr. Bowden was elected Principal, and a special Convention for the election of a Bishop was appointed to be held in New Haven in October. Meeting again in Trinity Church, New Haven, on October 19, 1796, there was no hesitation seemingly as to whom all the clergy and laymen wanted for their Episcopal head. The election of Mr. Bowden was unanimous. Mr. Bowden requested time for consideration and was allowed to defer his answer until the Annual Convention of 1797, when in the old town of Derby, adorned and blessed with the presence of good Dr. Mansfield for so many years, and under his presidency as senior presbyter, the Clergy and Laymen came together in those perfect days of June, of which our New England Lowell sings. Mr. Bowden was forced to say that his health forbade the acceptance of the heavy duties of the Episcopate. The Convention then chose for the second time, without a dissenting voice, the Rev. Abraham Jarvis, D.D., to be their Bishop. Dr. Jarvis was not present and no committee seems to have been appointed by the Convention to notify him of his election.* The President and Secretary of each house were instructed to prepare the proper credentials for the Bishop-elect, and thankfully the Convention separated, glad that they could soon

* See copy of the Secretary's letter, Note VII, page 69.

50

expect the vacant Episcopate to be worthily filled. At the Convocation of Clergy held immediately after the Convention, it was agreed that Mr. Baldwin be the attending Presbyter if Dr. Jarvis should go to Philadelphia for Consecration, and that collections be made in the various parishes for defraying their expenses, to be sent to Mr. Hubbard before "the first Sunday in August next." Bishop White, with that gracious and cordial readiness to please others which distinguished him, was willing to come to Connecticut for the Consecration, as was the preference of the Church people of the State, and appointed Trinity Church, New Haven, as the place, and the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist as the day when the second Bishop of Connecticut should be admitted to his high and holy office.* It was in the old Trinity Church that the Bishops of Pennsylvania, New York and Massachusetts, with a large number of the clergy assembled, and an interested congregation witnessed a service then celebrated for the first time on the soil of Connecticut.† The arrangements for the service seem simple, as we read them in the printed record. There was first a special meeting of the Convention, after which divine service was attended, Morning Prayer was read by the Rev. Mr. Ives, and a sermon adapted to the occasion was delivered by the Rev. Dr. Smith.‡ After the Consecration the Bishop was "recognized by the Convention," the address being made by the Rev. Bela Hubbard, of Trinity

*See Appendix II, page 82, for contemporary accounts of his election and Consecration, and Appendix III, page 83, for copies of original documents concerning the Consecration.

† Note VIII, page 70. ‡ Note IX, page 71.

51

Church, New Haven. Bishop Jarvis's reply is said to have been "suitable."* He then, following the precedent of Seabury, delivered his first charge. This was published and bears out the encomiums of those who heard it.

Bishop Jarvis had a high ideal of his duty as Bishop, although retaining for two years his parochial charge, he knew the needs of a diocese that for nearly two years had been without any oversight, and immediately commenced a thorough visitation. His son, the finished and profound student, Dr. Samuel F. Jarvis, tells us that his father's method was to spend a day or more in each parish. For the larger and more important parishes he chose Sunday as the day of visitation, for the smaller a week day. The service was always in the morning. The afternoon was used for travelling. In the evening there would gather around him the members of the parish, visiting Clergy and others, with whom the Bishop would have pleasant and important interviews, not merely the chat of the day, but the discussion of biblical, theological, and ecclesiastical topics. Bishop Jarvis suffered severely from asthma, and it is said that after thus bearing well his part in these discussions he would spend the night sitting in his chair supported by pillows, in the greatest pain, but he bore all with patient submission and a sweet cheerfulness which brought tears into the eyes of all who were witnesses of his sufferings. There were few parishes to visit. There was not the hurry, confusion and excitement as to the necessity

* See for the Bishop's address and that of the Clergy, Appendix IV, page 87.

52

for keeping the next appointment which seems to be the accompaniment of modern Episcopal visitations. Time then was not the sole consideration. It was not thought to be wasted if spent in the service of God, in learning the actual condition spiritually, financially, and otherwise of the various parishes. A Bishop was a novelty, but his character, his office, was fitly appreciated, and by the longer sojourn in the parishes there grew up that love and devotion for the Bishop which has always distinguished Connecticut. The progress during Dr. Jarvis's Episcopate was slow. It was, however, of a permanent character, as the organization of St. Michael's, Litchfield, and the revival of the parish at Hartford show. The better support of the Episcopate was among the subjects which engaged the earnest attention of many Conventions. The tax of a half-penny in the pound which had been recommended in the early days of Seabury's administration was again urged, and after 1801 a tax of one and a half mills on the dollar was substituted. There was,

however, no full response to this recommendation, and although in 1792 "Trustees for receiving and holding donations for the support of the Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this State" had been appointed and incorporated, Bishop Jarvis quaintly says in his address to the Convention of 1812: "And as if nothing more was intended by the zeal that was shown to procure it, there it rested." The income of Bishop Jarvis from the Diocese was very small. The Convention records seem to pass over entirely the question of any stated salary to him.

The affairs of the Episcopal Academy, which had

53

been suggested in 1793, and formally authorized in 1794, and which in 1796 had received its first principal and pupils, occupied much of the time and thought of Bishop Jarvis. He knew well the power it might be made in moulding the character of the men who ought to be the strength of the Church in a few years. He was very anxious for its prosperity: besides the formal recommendation that was made of it in the Convention and the appointment of Committees to look after its prosperity, the Bishop considered the Academy the nucleus for diocesan institutions, and in 1799 removed to Cheshire and personally watched the growth of the school under its brilliant principal, Dr. Bowden. His only son was a pupil in the Academy, and his parents watched with gratified solicitude his rapid moral and mental development under the careful instruction given there. Surely the Academy should be as carefully and lovingly maintained by those who have seen the benefits it has conferred upon the Diocese in the one hundred years and more of its existence.

When the Prayer Book had been finally adopted in 1789, and used after October 1, 1790, throughout the American Church, the Bishop and Clergy of Connecticut did not think that their authority to set forth services for special occasions for which the Prayer Book did not provide was taken away. It was from the consideration that with the new order of things, without any wealthy corporation, such as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to pay their salaries, there would be restlessness and uneasiness under

54

the method of self-government and voluntary subscriptions instead of guaranteed salaries, that the permanence of the pastoral relation was emphasized by the office of Induction of Ministers, discussed and set forth by the Convocation of Clergy at Derby, November 20, 1799, and now under the title of "An office of Institution of Ministers into Parishes or Churches," a part of our Book of Common Prayer. Prepared by the preacher at Dr. Jarvis's Consecration, the eccentric but accomplished William Smith, it shows the prevalence of correct views of the tie between minister and people in this the Mother

Diocese of the American Church. The Bishop by his advice and liturgical knowledge may possibly have aided in its preparation; certainly, he, at the request of the Diocese, circulated it among the Bishops and Clergy in the other dioceses; and by its merit as well as by his influence it was finally adopted for general use. Alas! that in practice we fall behind our theory, and seldom have that solemn bond of union emphasized by insisting upon Institution.

Whether the Bishop was specially concerned in the steps which led to the publication of *The Churchman's Magazine* does not appear. This was a Connecticut project, meant to promote the sound and Christian principles of the Church. As we look now at its faded pages, as we think of those who with their care of several parishes widely separated could still give money and thought to its preparation and circulation, we are again amazed at the audacity of their faith. They were not afraid to show plainly what they believed and why. What the Academy was

55

doing for the boys the magazine hoped to do for the men. Tillotson Bronson and his co-editors deserve high praise. It was the very first periodical of the Church, and while its subscription list was never large in Connecticut, while its editors, as editors often do, had to shoulder a great financial burden, it was a real power. Transferred in 1808 to New York City and edited by Dr. Hobart, it did not lose its character. What Bishop Jarvis wrote for it cannot now be identified, but that he aided in its support with both money and articles is quite certain. *The Churchman's Magazine* preserved the correspondence of Dr. Johnson, it gave the letters of Dr. Seabury and the Connecticut Clergy, and is the authority for many items of our early history that otherwise might have been absolutely forgotten. With the anxiety that a very moderate support gave, with all the care that a growing diocese required, Bishop Jarvis's heart and mind were full. It is sad to think that he had to bear the ill will of some who cruelly and harshly misjudged him; that by contrast with his predecessor his Episcopate is not as fully known as it should be, and his real excellence, his very strong qualities, almost forgotten. The material for a complete history of the seventeen years of the second Bishop of Connecticut is still in manuscript. Some events that are not clearly or fully understood could be elucidated from documents which may be in existence but have never been printed or examined.

The action taken by the Bishop of Connecticut and his Clergy regarding Ammi Rogers has been often misrepresented. The case was in many respects

56

remarkable. Ammi Rogers, claiming descent from John Rogers, the martyr, had been a student in divinity with Mr. Jarvis at Middletown. He was talented, witty and pleasing in his manner. He

seemed to have many of the qualities of a true minister of Christ, but it was only in appearance; for he was morally worthless. There was in him no honor or integrity. His breaches of the seventh commandment were notorious. For one specially aggravating instance of his lust Mr. Jarvis refused to allow him to remain under his roof. This excited the young man's anger and revenge, and from that day vindictiveness and cruelty of every sort were heaped upon the head of the Rector of Middletown by Mr. Rogers. Removing to the western part of the Diocese, he studied for a short time under Dr. Mansfield. Again the would-be candidate set forth upon his travels and in the vicinity of Saratoga, N. Y., at Ballston, whose springs were beginning to be celebrated, he read the service and preached with much unction. The work he did there seems marvelous. It is a proof of the neglect of the Church that no lay reader or clergyman had ever before settled in that region. It was a part of the vast mission field which Dominie Ellison, of St. Peter's, Albany, traversed as he had opportunity. Mr. Rogers, by his reports, which were written in an inflated style, fascinated the Clergy of New York; and he was received with applause, admitted as a candidate for Holy Orders, and about to be ordained when Dr. Beach heard the rumors affecting his character, and refused to sign his testimonials unless he could bring a written certificate that he had not been rejected in

57

Connecticut. As he had sense enough to forbear applying, such a certificate was easily procurable. He went among his friends and relatives in Branford, where he had not lived for at least five years, and received from them certificates of good character. The Rev. Philo Perry, of Newtown, the Secretary of the Diocese of Connecticut, not being at home when he called, a young man of his acquaintance, Isaac Davis, wrote in Mr. Perry's name a certificate, covering not only the fact but also testifying to his moral character. With this proof of his integrity, he was made Deacon by Bishop Provoost, and ordained Priest in due time. Chosen Deputy to the General Convention of 1799, and two years later leaving his work in Saratoga County, which had spread over a large area, he came to his native town of Branford and began to hold services. With his fascinating way he gathered large congregations. When Bishop Jarvis knew what he was doing, he inhibited him from officiating in Connecticut until he could produce proper testimonials from the Bishop and Standing Committee of New York. There was then no canon regulating removals, and several of the Clergy thought he should be received because he was Rector of a parish. When finally he procured letters from New York they were not satisfactory. Mr. Rogers delighted in the sensation he was creating, and still claimed the right of a seat in the Convention. Finally, after laying the matter officially before the Bishop of New York, the Bishop

of Connecticut, with the advice and consent of the Clergy, and at their request, suspended the Rev. Ammi Rogers from officiating in any parish of the Diocese.

58

The disgraced Priest was furious; he had been chosen Rector of St. John's, Stamford, where he was supported by many influential laymen. He carried his case to the General Convention of 1804, which met in New York City. It occupied much of the time of the House of Bishops. Bishops White, Claggett, Jarvis, Moore and Parker composed the House. Bishop Jarvis, with that nicety of conscientious scrupulousness which he had, was not present when the question was considered. The decision of the other Bishops found "the conduct of the said Ammi Rogers in the State of Connecticut since he left New York has been insulting, refractory, and schismatical in the highest degree, and were it tolerated would prove subversive of all order and discipline in the Church." They declared that he was amenable to the authority of Connecticut. The Bishops also proposed the "Canon of Removals," which was the first to cover such cases. Under what Bishop Jarvis and Connecticut Churchmen thought was the "decision" of the House of Bishops, there was a session of Convocation at Cheshire, October 3, 1804, when, in the presence of the presbyters of the Diocese, the Bishop pronounced a sentence of degradation against Ammi Rogers. The accusations of the degraded man were now redoubled, some of the Clergy sympathized with him, thought the Bishop had been harsh and tyrannical, was a Lord Bishop, not a meek and lowly shepherd of the people. Mr. Rogers, with his ingenuity of language and facility for influencing the passions of men, turned it to account both politically and ecclesiastically. He defied the authority of the Bishops, he ridiculed and

59

slandered every one concerned in the sentence of degradation, and still officiated in defiance of law and order. A civil suit for slander, a citing the Bishop before a New York court to pay damages, were among the least of the malicious acts of this unprincipled man. Of his work at Hebron, into which he intruded, of his making men, who were undoubtedly sincere in their love and regard for the Church, aid him, we need not now speak particularly. It is enough to know that, while technically Mr. Rogers had civil law upon his side in some respects, he had openly and maliciously broken every bond of unity and order, and had exalted the individual above the Church in its constituted authorities.

It was very hard for Bishop Jarvis to think that any were ready to attribute to him qualities he did not possess. It was exceedingly bitter to find those once friends cold and distant. A man of peace, he disliked controversy and debate. A man of the purest and noblest morality, he could not tolerate the slightest

approach to immorality. The Church in Connecticut was still in the experimental stage of her existence. She had not those sure and unfailing traditions and customs which now serve as precedents. She had not fully recovered from the effect of the Revolution, and had no precedent to guide her. Her Bishop acted, as he thought, upon a "decision" of his peers. Others, and among them Bishop White, regarded it as an opinion. It was while smarting under a sense of this injustice that he said in an address to the Convention of 1807: "The false tongue of the transgressor has found listening ears, and minds disposed to credit

60

his tales. By them the Bishop's character has been loaded with obloquy and reproach, and Korah (though thus to use the name is degrading even to Korah) in the eyes of his company has become the saint, and the Bishop the sinner."

Bishop Jarvis had the pleasure of assisting at the consecration of Dr. Benjamin Moore, of New York, in 1801; of Dr. Samuel Parker, of Massachusetts, in 1804; of Dr. John Henry Hobart, as Assistant Bishop of New York, and of the Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold, as Bishop of the Eastern Diocese, in 1811; and of Dr. Theodore Dehon, of South Carolina, in 1812. Dr. Hobart and Mr. Griswold, afterward so marked for their wonderful work in the Church, would have been consecrated in New Haven when the General Convention met here in May, 1811, but the small attendance of Clergy and Laity, and the presence only of the senior Bishop, Dr. White, with Bishop Jarvis in the House of Bishops, compelled the two Bishops to journey to New York; and there in Trinity Church, with the presence of Bishop Provoost, who came from his sick room for the service, the Consecration took place on May 29.

It was two years later, in the pleasant home he had made for himself in New Haven, in the presence of his wife and son, after having with great devotion and reverence received from the Rev. Henry Whitlock, of Trinity Church, the Holy Communion, that he gently passed from earth in the seventy-fourth year of his age. He was buried beneath the chancel of the new Trinity Church, and upon the walls of the Church may be seen the appropriate tablet with an

61

elegant Latin inscription which filial piety and correct taste prompted.*

The four Bishops of this Diocese have been men of marked and strong character. As we know the second Bishop better, we shall the more highly esteem him, and enroll "Abraham of Connecticut" among those whom the American Church deem worthy of high praise for the work they did, for the sufferings they endured, and for the manner in which they triumphed over many difficulties. Courage, endurance, firmness, characterize him, and thankfully do we unite in

this joyous and loving tribute to a man who, in the days of the Church's weakness, did his full duty.

* See Note X, page 72. See Appendix V, page 90, for Dr. Bronson's character of Bishop Jarvis from the memorial sermon before the Convention of 1813.

65

NOTES AND APPENDICES

TO ADDRESS OF THE REV. JOSEPH HOOPER, M.A.,
PAGES 25-61.

NOTE I.

The following is a complete list of the publications of Bishop Jarvis:

A Discourse delivered before a Special Convention of the Clergy and Lay Delegates of the Episcopal Church in the State of Connecticut, in Trinity Church, New Haven, on the Fifth Day of May, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, occasioned by the death of the RIGHT REVEREND SAMUEL SEABURY, D.D., Bishop of Connecticut and Rhode Island. By Abraham Jarvis, A.M., Presbyter and Rector of Christ Church, Middletown.

12 mo. pp. 20.

New Haven: Printed by T. & S. Green.

Bishop Jarvis's charge to the Clergy of his Diocese, delivered immediately after his Consecration in Trinity Church, New Haven, on the Festival of St. Luke, October 18, 1797. Together with the Address of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Connecticut to their Bishop and the Bishop's Answer.

12 mo. pp. 30.

Printed at Newfield, by Lazarus Beach, 1798.

A Sermon delivered at Danbury and Ridgefield on a Visitation by the Right Reverend Abraham Jarvis, Bishop of Connecticut, and printed at the request of a number of the Members of the Churches.

12mo. pp. 16.

Danbury: Printed by John C. Gray. Dec., 1809.

NOTE II.

The residence of Dean Berkeley in Rhode Island from 1729 to 1731, had important results for religion and learning in America, although the main purpose of his coming to this country, the establishing the College of St. Paul for the edu-

66

cation of young Americans, could not be accomplished. At the suggestion of his friend, Dr. Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, he deeded his farm at Whitehall to Yale College as an endowment for a Berkeley scholarship in the classics. After his return to England, with subscriptions he could not return and the gifts of friends, he sent for the library of Yale a collection of standard works in theology, philosophy, classics and general literature. "By far," says a contemporary account, "the best collection that ever came to America." It was long kept in separate cases. Some of the volumes are still in Yale Library.

NOTE III.

The originals of these letters of Orders as Deacon and Priest are in the possession of the Rev. Samuel Fermor Jarvis.

By the Tenor of these presents, we Frederick, by Divine Permission, Bishop of Exeter, do make it known unto all men, That on Sunday the fifth Day of february in the year of Our Lord one Thousand seven hundred and sixty-four, we, the Bishop before mentioned, solemnly administering Holy Orders under the protection of the Almighty in the royal chapel of St. James's, Westminster, did (at the request of our Reverend Brother Richard, Lord Bishop of London) admit our beloved in Christ Abraham Jarvis, B.A. of Yale College in Connecticut, New England (concerning whose Morals, Learning, Age and Title the said Lord Bishop was well satisfied) into the holy order of Deacons, according to the manner and form prescribed and used by the Church of England, and him the said Abraham Jarvis, did then and there rightly and canonically ordain Deacon. He having first in our presence freely and voluntarily subscribed to the thirty-nine articles of religion, and to the three articles con-

tained in the thirty-sixth Canon, and he likewise having taken the Oaths appointed by Law, to be taken for and instead of the oath of supremacy. In testimony whereof we have caused our Episcopal seal to be hereunto affixed the day and year above written and in the second year of our Consecration.

FREDERICK

EXON.

SEAL.

By the Tenor of these presents, we, Charles, by Divine Permission Bishop of Carlisle, do make it known unto all men That on Sunday the nineteenth Day of february in the year of our Lord one thousand seven

67

hundred and sixty-four, we the Bishop aforementioned, solemnly administering holy Orders under the protection of the Almighty in the parish Church of St. James, Westminster did (at the request of our Reverend Brother Richard, Lord Bishop of London) admit our beloved in Christ Abraham Jarvis, B.A. of Yale College, Connecticut (concerning whose Morals, Learning, Age and Title, the said Lord Bishop was well satisfied) into the holy Order of Priests, according to the manner and form prescribed and used by the Church of England and him the said Abraham Jarvis did then and there rightly and canonically Ordain Priest. He having first in our presence freely and voluntarily subscribed to the thirty-nine Articles of Religion and to the three articles contained in the thirty-sixth Canon and he likewise having taken the oaths appointed by Law to be taken for and instead of the Oath of Supremacy. In Testimony whereof we have caused our Episcopal Seal to be hereunto affixed the day and year above written and in the second year of our Consecration.

CHA:

CARLISLE.

SEAL.

NOTE IV.

The courtesy of the Keeper of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts furnished the writer with the letter in the text, and these interesting items of the relation of Mr. Jarvis to the Society:

SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.

19, DELAHAY STREET, WESTMINSTER, S. W.,

Nov. 3, 1896.

Dear Sir:—The Society in 1761 gave the Rev. Mr. Leaming "leave to chuse a proper person to be sent over to England for holy orders according to the request of the people of Middletown" (Journal, May 15, 1761, p. 88) but on learning from Dr. Johnson in 1763 that Messrs. Jarvis and Cutting intended waiting on the Society, it desired the Dr. to inform them that they must not have expectation of being provided for by the Society immediately, there being no vacant Mission to which they can be appointed, nor any thoughts at present of establishing any new one in New England" (Jo., 15 July, 1763, p. 393.)

Mr. Jarvis himself and the Connecticut Clergy in Convention appealed for assistance on his behalf in 1765, when the Society replied that it did "not think it proper to make any addition at present to their Missions in

68

New England—that if Mr. Jarvis and Mr. Hubbard are determined to leave their Parishes, the Society gives them a recommendation to North Carolina, where a good provision is made for the clergy." In the meantime (17 Jan. 1766) it voted them "each a gratuity of £10" (Jo., 17 May, 1765, and 17 Jan., 1766, pp. 364, 509-10.)

In reply to his letter of 21 Nov., 1767 (a copy of which is enclosed), a second gratuity of £10 was voted to Mr. Jarvis on 17 Feb., 1768 (Jo. of that date, p. 451.)

The appeals of the Clergy of Connecticut on his behalf on Sep. 26, 1773, and Sep. 25, 1774, resulted in a further gratuity of £15 to him (Jo., Jan. 21, 1774, and Feb. 17, 1775, pp. 62-3, 303.)

Yours faithfully,

C. F. PASCOE,
(Keeper of the Records.)

The Rev. JOSEPH HOOPER,
Durham, Conn.

NOTE V.

Among the papers of the Reverend William Clark, Rector of

St. Paul's Church, Dedham, Mass., 1769-1777, now in the archives of the Diocese of Massachusetts, there was recently found by the Rev. Dr. Edmund F. Slafter, Registrar, the following curious and interesting document. It is here printed from the copy furnished to the Rev. Dr. Hart, Registrar of this Diocese, by his kind permission :

" At a Convention of the clergy of the Chh of England in the Colony "
 " of Connecticut, at the house of Mr. Hubbard, in New Haven, on "
 " "Tuesday, the 23d day of July in the year 1776 "
 " It was voted, that the following mode of public worship should be carried out in their respective churches. "
 " 1st Singing. 2dly a chapter out of the old Testament. "
 " 3rdly Psalms of the Day, out of the Old Testament. "
 " 4thly Some Commentary—5thly a Psalm, 6thly a Sermon, " —
 " and lastly, Part of the 6th Chap'r of St. Math'w, ending with " "
 " the Lord's Prayer, all kneeling.—The Blessing."

NOTE VI.

Late in the month of February, 1796, " Mr. Jarvis of Middletown was sitting before the fire " so says an eye-witness, his 69

wife near him engaged in some domestic employment, and his little son playing about the room. A messenger entered with a letter sealed with black wax, and handed it to Mr. Jarvis in silence. He opened it and his hand shook like an aspen leaf. His wife in great alarm hastened to him, and his son crept between his knees and looked up inquiringly into his face. He could not speak for some minutes. At last he said, slowly and convulsively, " Bishop Seabury is dead."—*Beardsley's History of the Church in Connecticut, Vol. I, p. 438.*

NOTE VII.

The only official document concerning the election of Dr. Jarvis is the following letter from the Rev. Philo Perry, Secretary of the Convention, and Rector of Trinity Church, New-town, 1787-1798. The original is among the valuable documents in possession of the Rev. Samuel Fermor Jarvis :

DERBY, June 7, 1797.

Rev. & Dear Sir :—I have the pleasure of giving you official information, that the Convention held this day in this place, has unanimously, in both its branches, appointed you to the office of Bishop of this Diocese. I am authorized to assure you, that the Nomination was made by your brethren the Clergy, without a dissenting voice & that the Lay Delegates were not less unanimous in their concurrence.

In behalf of the Convention—I am,

Rev. & Dear Sir, your affectionate
 Brother and humble servant,

Rev. Mr. JARVIS.

PHILO PERRY.

70

NOTE VIII.

This extract from Dr. Hubbard's *Notitia Parochialis* contains an exact transcript of the Letter of Consecration, and has been carefully compared with the original in the possession of the Rev. Samuel Fermor Jarvis :

On the 18th day of October
 a Consecration was held in Trinity Church of whh the following will Inform

Know all men by these presents that we
 William White D D
 Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the
 Commonwealth of Pennsylvania
 presiding Bishop
 Samuel Provoost D D

Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Chh in the
 State of New York
 Edward Bass D D
 Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the
 States of Massachusetts & New Hampshire
 under the protection of Almighty God
 in Trinity Church
 in the City of New Haven
 State of Connecticut

in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & ninety seven, on Wednesday the Eighteenth of October being the Festival of St. Luke, did then and there, rightly & Canonically consecrate our beloved in Christ Abraham Jarvis D D, Rector of Christ's Church in the City of Middletown State of Connecticut of whose sufficiency in good learning soundness in the faith & purity of manners we are fully ascertained into the office of Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the said State, to whh the said Abraham Jarvis hath been elected by ye Convention of ye sd State.

In Testimony whereof we have signed our names and caused our Seals to be affixed given in the City of New Haven, State aforesaid, this Eighteenth day of October in the Year of our Lord one thousand Seven Hundred & Ninety Seven.

WM WHITE D. D. (Seal)

SAMUEL PROVOOST D. D. (Seal)

EDWARD BASS D. D. (Seal)

71

NOTE IX.

The sermon of Dr. Smith was from Ephesians IV, 11, 12. The thanks of the Convention were given to the preacher by a special Committee, the Rev. Ashbel Baldwin and Eli Curtis, Esq., who were also charged with the duty of publishing the sermon. It bears the following title :

DISCOURSE

DELIVERED ON THE 18TH OF OCTOBER, 1797.

[Being the Festival of St. Luke.]

IN TRINITY CHURCH, IN NEW-HAVEN,

BEFORE THE

Ecclesiastical Convention,

OF THE STATE OF

CONNECTICUT;

ASSEMBLED THERE TO WITNESS THE CONSECRATING OF THE RIGHT REV.
 ABRAHAM JARVIS, D. D. TO THE EPISCOPAL CHAIR OF SAID STATE ;
 AND TO RECOGNIZE HIM AS THEIR ECCLESIASTICAL SUPERIOR.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM SMITH, D. D.

RECTOR OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, NORWALK.

NEW FIELD :

PRINTED BY LAZARUS BEACH,

FOR THE CONVENTION.

12 mo. pp. 20.

72

NOTE X.

The monument of Bishop Jarvis is upon the rear chancel wall to the left of the altar. It is Gothic in design, and the

inscription is cut deeply upon a slab of black marble, the letters being gilded.

Mr. Budd, the writer of the sketch, was probably an English friend who accompanied them :

MINUTES OF A JOURNEY TO WINDSOR, &c.

A P Q
*
SVB. ALTARI. SITAE. SVNT.
MORTALES. EXVVIAE.
ADMODVM. IN. DEO. REVERENDI. PATRIS.
ABRAHAMI. IARVIS. S.T.D.
ECCLESIAE. CONNECTICVTENSIS.
EPISCOPI. SECVNDI.
QVI. NATVS.
III. NON. MAIL. EX. KAL. IVL.
ANN. CIOIOCC. XXXIX.
LXXIII. ANNOS. PROPE.
VIXIT.
QVOR. XV. MENS. VI. DIEB. XIII.
EX. CATHEDRA. EPISCOPALI.
GREGEM. CHRISTI. PAVIT.
OBIIT.
V NON. MAIL. EX. KAL. GREG.
ANN. SALVTIS. CIOIOCCC. XIII.
PARIETI. HVIVSCE. TEMPLI.
QVOD. VT. EXTRVCTVM. ADSPICERET.
EHEV. NON. OCVLIS. MORTALIBVS.
MAGNOPERE. SPERABAT.
IN. MEMORIAM.
PRAESVLIS. VENERATISSIMI.
PATRISQVE. OPTIMI. ET. B. D. S. M.
HOC. MARMOR. ADFIGEND. CVRAV.
FILIVS. LVGENS.

73

The inscription is thus elegantly translated by Bishop Williams :

Under the altar are placed,
the mortal remains of the
Right Reverend Father in God,
Abraham Jarvis, Doctor of Divinity,
Second Bishop of the Church in Connecticut,
who being born on the 5th of May, 1739,
lived nearly seventy-four years ;
of which, fifteen years, seven months and
fifteen days, he fed the flock of Christ
from the Episcopal chair.
He died the 3d of May, 1813.
On the walls of this church,
which he earnestly hoped to see erected,
alas not with mortal eyes,
a mourning son
has caused this marble to be affixed
in memory
of the most revered Prelate, and of the
most excellent father who merits his gratitude.

74

APPENDIX I.

The kindness of Mr. Samuel F. McCleary, of Brookline, Mass., enables the writer to present this account of one of the journeys taken by the three friends while in England for ordi-

"Monday 2nd of April 1764. Set out with Mr. Walter, Jarvis, and Hubbard at 3 o'clock, P. M. and walked through the Park to Kensington, Hammersmith, and Turnham Green, to Kew ; stop'd awhile at Kew Green to refresh ourselves, and then went to visit Kew gardens ; but it being near six o'clock, the Gardener told us, it was too late to see them, accordingly proceeded on to Richmond gardens, where also we could gain no admittance, and so went on to the foot of Richmond Hill, where we arrived just before dusk, and put up at the Dog, which is called ten miles from London ; where we supped and lodged this night ; Mr. Walter much troubled with the headache, and obliged to go to bed before supper.

Tuesday 3rd, rose at six and went to the top of the hill, where we breakfasted at the Star and Garter, and had a fine prospect of the country, Mr. Pope's seat, (now possessed by Sir William Stanhope) with several others. The meandering of the river thro' fine fields and lawns, and distant prospect of Windsor Castle, afforded us much satisfaction, from thence, we walked in a foot path, by the borders of the river till we came oposite to Twickenham, and then crossed the ferry thither, went through the Church yard, and saw the monument erected by Mr. Pope and affixed to the outside of the Church, in gratitude to his Nurse, who attended him from his infancy, above 40 years ; from thence, to Mr. Pope's Garden, on entering which Mr. Walter broke out into the following poetical rhapsody.

75

Thrice hail this ever bless'd abode
Where Pope with sacred ardor trod,
Fired with the Muse's happiest flame
He taught Mankind their wisest aim.
Then set the example, and in peace retired,
Repleat with virtue, and by all admired.

We walked round the garden, and viewed the monument erected by Mr. Pope to the memory of his Mother, which is a lofty stone Obelisk on a pedestal, standing on a Mount at the upper end of the garden, with this inscription round it. 'Ah! Editha matrum optuma malierum Amantissima Vale.'* From thence we went into the grotto ; over the top of the arch, as you enter is this line

Sacratum iter et fallantis Semita Vile.

The Grotto is composed of a number of arches of rockwork plastered, and a variety of chrystal, spar, and glass, &c. stuck into the plastering, which strikes the eye very agreeably, and at one end is a bath room (this latter made by Sir William) wainscotted round with white chimney tile, as is also the bath, and looks extremely neat ; the Grotto extends itself from the garden under the road, and comes out over, even with the front of the house, which faces the river, with a fine lawn before it of about an hundred feet. Being told by the Gardener, 'that there was a monument erected to his memory by Dr. Woolaston, Bishop of Glocester, in the Church,' we enquired out the Clerk, who went with us, and opened the Church. The monument is placed on a side wall over the gallery, with the following inscription.

Alesandro Pope
M. H.

Gulielmus Episcopus Glocesteriensis Amicitiao causa fac cur.
Poeta Loquitur

of one who would not be buried in Westminster Abby.
Heroes and Kings your distance keep

In peace let one poor Poet sleep,
Who never flattered folks like you,
Let Horace blush, and Virgil too.

* The incorrect Latinity of these inscriptions is probably the error of the writer of this account.

76

Near this Monument, is also one erected by Mr. Pope himself to his father and mother, with the following inscription.

D. O. M.
Alesandro Pope.
Viro innocue, probø, pie
Qui vixet Annos 75. ann. 1717.
Et Edithera Conjugi inculpabiti pientissime
Qui vixet annos 93. ob. 1733.
Parentibus bene marantibus
Filius facit
Et sibi
Qui Obiit Anno 1743. Ætat 57.

Mr. Pope, with his Father and Mother, were all buried under the middle Isle of this Church, the spot was shewn us by the Clerk, and we walked over it. Here is a handsome monument likewise erected to the memory of Admiral Sir Charlemain Ogle, who defeated Angria the Pirate, in the East Indies and performed sundry acts of valour as set forth in the inscription. (Lord Clives in conjunction with Admiral Watson subdued Angria the Pirate in the East Indies, and became Master of Geria, his Capital with all his accumulated treasure in 1755.) 'Life of Lord Clives in the Biographical Dictionary. American Edition.' From hence, we proceeded on to Hampton Court, passing a very odd and curious house belonging to the Walpole family; and going through Busby Park, where is a large basin of water, with an elegant statue in the middle of it, on a lofty pedestal of stone surrounded by Tritons, Mermaids, &c., but we could not find out who's statue it was. After bespeaking a dinner at the Joy, adjoining to the Palace gate, we went to view the Palace and gardens, for an account whereof I refer you to the 'delicie Brittanica.' After dinner, we walked on to Stains, drank tea just over the bridge and thence proceeded to Egham, where we put up for the night at the Red Lion supped and went to bed.

Wednesday 4th. rose a little before six, breakfasted and set out for the Belvidere (a building of the Duke of Cumberland, about 4 miles from Egham) before reaching which we came to a place called 'Virginia Water,' whence is a curious and

77

beautiful cascade, and a geometrical bridge, built by the Duke; we were informed here, that the Woman who shewed the house, lived just by, we accordingly applied to her, and she accompanied us through a large iron gate, which opened into a fine lawn, about 20 feet wide enclosed on each side with evergreens and shrubbery, the walk was like a velvet carpet, which extended for miles up the hill and brought us to the house; the land on each side is a heath, and where this improvement is made, is a part of it, the house is built three square, and on each angle a large and lofty tower, which makes it appear like a Castle. The ground floor is formed into an octagon, and has a few chairs round it. From thence, by a geometrical stone staircase winding up into one of the towers, we ascended into the room above, which is also an octagon, one tower (as before observed) containing the staircase, another the library, and a third a closet for china, glass, &c. in the middle of the room is suspended a most beautiful Chandelier made of chelsea china, and containing a vast variety of the most beautiful flowers, in their proper colours, with Flora sitting on the top holding a small basket of flowers, with Cupid and other figures surrounding her; the sockets for the candles are a sort of Tulip, the flowers are fixed on wires, and

the body of the Chandelier is of metal, gilt, and suspended by a cord of silk and gold interwoven, the whole strikes with admiration and cost £500 sterling. There are several stands with branches and sockets, placed in the different angles of the room, adorned with figures of monkeys, dragons, owls &c &c. Over the doors are festoons of fruit of all kinds, the ceilings stucowork, and those of the library, & china closet, adorned with vines and clusters of grapes.

The furniture, settees, chairs &c of blue damask. The prospect from hence is exceedingly fine, and we were told that in a clear day we might, through a glass see all the spires in London, and tell what o'clock it was by Saint Pauls, though near twenty miles distant. This room has no fire place, but by touching a spring like that of a ball, it opens a flew which communicates heat into the room from a fire below, and could

78

be stopped again at pleasure; in short this place is beyond description delightful. From hence we went over another way, like that we came in, and came to a fine large geometrical bridge thrown over part of the Virginia Water, which when we had crossed, our eyes were struck with some beautiful buildings, which led us out of our way to see them; there was a grand chinese summer house, eight square, with two lesser ones on the back angle, the side of these buildings are of copper japanned, and appeared like white chimney tile; the top are cupolas, with a sort of Umbrella over them; the small ones painted blue, and frosted, and the large one, red striped with white. There are also canopies over the windows, with bells in the chinese style, and the whole beyond description beautiful. These buildings stand on an Island, and a geometrical bridge thrown across to enter them. After feasting our eyes awhile here, we proceeded on to the Duke's lodge which is a neat, elegant building, and the apartments very nice, though not magnificent, a fine basin of water fronts the house, with a chinese barge lying in the middle of it, and on one end of the house a fine vista, and gravel walk; the stables are elegant, and the Deer feeding all around, makes this a very delightful place. From hence, we went on to Windsor, and met the Duke on our way, driving himself in a chair, with two Horses and two Servants on horseback attending him. Great part of the road from the Lodge is perfectly straight between a walk of lofty elms, on each side, and Windsor Castle facing you all the way, bounds the prospect. This walk is very delightful, and when you enter it, it does not appear half so long as you find it to be. We put up at the Mermaid near the Market about half past one, and after dinner, went to view the Castle, for which I refer to the "delicia Britannica," on going in we found the Chapel service begun and were conducted into very elegant seats appropriated for the Knights of the Garter, and called "Stalls." After service, which is performed in the Cathedral way, we regaled ourselves with a view of the Palace, terrace, walks, &c. and then returned to our quarters, spent the evening, supped and went to bed.

79

Thursday, 5th, rose between six and seven, and set off in the Stage Coach (which we had engaged the night before) with a gentleman, who was very facetious and good company; and a gentleman's servant, who behaved very modestly, as he did not open his lips the whole way, stopped at Eaton, and got out, just to view the Colleges, which makes a double quadrangle, and the Chapel which forms one side of the square is a venerable old gothic stone building, and makes a very noble appearance. The Colleges are built of brick and have nothing very striking, there is a Statue of Henry 6th (the founder) in one of the squares. The revenue of this College is about £5,000. pd—per annum, which maintains 70 King's

scholars, with their proper instructors, who when fitted for the University, are elected into King's College, Cambridge, where they are provided for by Scholarships and Fellowships. Besides these 70 scholars on the foundation, there are about 400, more, who are also educated here at their own expense. There is a noble library here. From hence we proceed on, in the stage through Slough, Colebrook, Longford and part of Hounslow-Heath to Cranford Bridge, where we and the Gentleman breakfasted, the Servant did not make his appearance. After breakfast we went on through the remainder of Hounslow-Heath, where were several gibbets with malefactors suspended, then through Hounslow and Brentford to Kew bridge, where we alighted and went to see the Princess Dowager's gardens, having not been able to view them as we went out. The house, which is all white, appears very neat and elegant; before it, is a large court yard, and the back part with a large basin of water, toward the centre filled with Swans, Geese and Ducks, the lawn is covered with sheep, which makes the prospect from the house, very delightful, round the gardens are serpentine gravel walks enclosed with trees and shrubbery, and on the borders next the alley are flowers of all kinds scattered along, in going through these walks you are led to several buildings in form of foreign temples, such as gothic temples, a turkish mosque, an egyptian temple, the temple of victory, and many others, but the grand-

80

est structure lately finished is a chinese temple, called the pagoda; built of brick, eight square and ten story high, each having a kind of umbrella projecting over the windows, on each corner of which are placed dragons with their heads projecting over, they are painted in divers colours, and frosted, and their eyes made of glass, so that when the sun shines upon them, they seem all on fire. This building is 175 feet high, and about 80 feet round the base; there is also a temple of the Sun, which is said to have been constructed by his Majesty when Prince of Wales, it is a round building, with pillars of corinthian order, supporting the cornice, which between each pillar forms a semicircular arch, the building is covered with a Cupola, and windows all around, and likewise a flight of steps. In the centre of the ceiling is represented the Sun and on the lower edge of the rotunda are painted the twelve signs of the zodiac. From hence, we passed to a Chinese building, near a bridge, over the place where the water comes in to supply the basin; and then to the Aviary which is enclosed with apartments made of lattice work, and in which, were Chinese pheasants, and other beautiful fowls. There is also a lawn, in which were some American wood ducks. From hence, we went into a large room, part of which is made of lattice work and wired, where there were a vast number of birds of all kinds flying about and singing, there were perches for them to rest on, and nests to build in, besides glass basons of water suspended for them to drink, and places for their food, we were conducted next into a small flower garden, where were pots ranged on slabs on one side filled with all kinds of flowers in bloom; in the middle, a bason of water with Chinese fish, and the rest of the garden laid out, in beds of flowers, the front of the Aviary makes one side of this garden. The next thing we saw was a garden lately laid out for exotic plants, with a noble hot house of great length and height, the whole glazed on the top, which stands obliquely to the Sun, there are flews behind, which by means of fire, keeps this place in any degree of heat. After viewing this, which is filled with a great variety of curious flowering plants, we went

81

to the green-house, which stands not far from the dwelling house, and is a very handsome building, glazed in front containing Oranges and Lemons, and many other trees and plants.

We then went to view the house, and was admitted to see, all the Princesses apartments, which are very neat, with good paintings, tapestry and organ, harpsicord and billiard table, and very elegant furniture. There are some exceedingly fine paintings in the gallery, of very beautiful Women painted on the wall, and paintings on glass of india figures, the best I have ever seen, and we were told cost £500 a piece, they were done in India. In one of the chambers is a family piece with all the Princesses' children drawn together when young, which is very pretty, and the traces of their present countenances are to be found in them. After viewing the house we went to dinner in Kew gardens, and then went to Richmond gardens and got admittance. There is nothing very striking here, but fine gravel walks, lawns and vistas, with a view of the river on the side and the lodge, a neat pretty building with an elegant garden before it. From hence we went back to Kew, crossed the river over the bridge, and came by the side of the river, and turned off to Chiswick, and passed the Earl of Burlington's house, which is very magnificent, with fine garden and walks, there is also a seat of Col. Eliot's, and several other elegant buildings. We went into the Church yard, looked into the Church, and thence to the river side where we took a sculler for Westminster bridge, as we passed Ranelagh we were greatly pleased with the lights in the gardens, which made a splendid appearance, as also those in the rotunda, which was opened for company this evening. We landed at Westminster bridge about half past eight, having been about an hour and half coming down from Chiswick, above ten miles, for which we paid 2/6, and then finished our tour, during which we had fine weather, saving a sort of drizzling rain, which we passed in going from Twickenham to Hampton Court."

These minutes were copied from the original paper in the possession of Rev. Dr. Jarvis. They were written by a Mr.

82

Budd, who accompanied Mr. Walter, and Mr. Jarvis (afterward the venerable Bishop of Connecticut) and a Mr. Hubbard to England in 1764, to receive from the Bishop of London, Holy Orders. Dr. Jarvis, finding it among his father's papers, loaned it to Mrs. Walter, who took a copy of it in 1823 for her children.

The foregoing is a correct copy from the family record book of my late mother, Maria Lynde (Walter) McCleary, now in my possession.

SAM'L F. MCCLEARY.

March 17, 1897.

384 Harvard st., Brookline, Mass.

APPENDIX II.

The contemporary accounts of the election and Consecration of Dr. Jarvis are found in these extracts from *The Connecticut Journal*. The same account of the Consecration is also in *The New York Magazine* for October, 1797, p. 558.

CONNECTICUT JOURNAL, June 14th, 1797.

On Wednesday the 7th inst the Episcopal Convention of this State Met in St. James Church at Derby.

Divine Service having been performed an Excellent Discourse adapted to the Occasion was delivered by the Rev^d Mr. Marsh. The Convention then went in Procession accompanied by the respectable Lodge of Freemasons and a numerous Train of the Ladies of the Town to lay the foundation Stone of a new church. (then gives account of proceedings of laying the corner stone and adds) The Convention after this Animating Scene went in order to St. James Church where they entered upon the Business for which they had met. The most important Point which Engaged their Attention was the Election of a Bishop—The Rev^d Doctor Bowden by Reason of bodily Infirmary having declined that Office, The Rev^d Mr. Abraham Jarvis Rector of Christ Church Middletown was Unanimously

elected by the Clergy and Unanimously approved by the Laity. His Amiable Character and respectable Abilities afford Ground to the Friends of the Church to hope for Unity Peace and Happiness.

83

CONNECTICUT JOURNAL, October 26th, 1797.

SAME ACCOUNT IN CONNECTICUT COURANT, Oct. 26th, 1797.

Wednesday the 18 inst The festival of the apostle and Evangelist St. Luke being the day appointed for the Consecration of the Rev Abraham Jarvis D.D. to the Episcopate of the State of Connecticut: the Convention of the same consisting of the Clergy and Lay Delegates assembled at half past nine in the morning in Trinity Church in the City of New Haven from whence they walked in procession, Lay Delegates in front and the Clergy in the rear to the house of the Rev Bela Hubbard Rector of the Church where Doctor White Bishop of Pennsylvania, Doctor Provost, Bishop of New York and Doctor Bass Bishop of Massachusetts and New Hampshire were waiting in their Episcopal Habits to Join the procession, which then returned to the Church. The Rev Mr Ives read prayers and a sermon adapted to the occasion was delivered by the Rev Doctor Smith.— The Right Rev Doctor White was the officiating Bishop—and the Bishops Provost and Bass assisted on this grand and interesting occasion. The Act of Consecration being Completed Doctor Jarvis was admitted within the rail of the Altar in his Episcopal Character & Habit, where he was recognized as the Ecclesiastical Superior and received the Congratulations of the Convention in a very affectionate Address delivered by the Reverend Bela Hubbard Rector of the Church. To this Address, Bishop Jarvis returned a very becoming and pathetic Answer: after this he delivered a charge to the Clergy & Laity of his Diocese: a charge truly Apostolic & Evangelical.

The Scene was highly grateful to every person in it, every part of it being conducted with the most perfect solemnity and propriety, in the presence of a numerous and respectable assembly. May it please the gracious & Merciful Head of his church the Great Bishop of our Souls to preserve our Episcopacy precious in his sight: and May peace harmony & Love ever preside over the United States of America.

APPENDIX III.

Through the kindness of the Rev. Dr. Hart, Secretary of the House of Bishops, these copies of documents in the archives of the House of Bishops are here inserted:

STRATFORD, July 6th, 1797.

Right Rev^d. & Dear Sir.

We the Committee of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Connecticut are directed to address the Right Rev^d. Bishops White, Provost & Bass

84

upon the subject of consecrating our worthy Brother Jarvis, Bishop Elect, to the Episcopal chair.

We verily sensibly feel the want of an ecclesiastical Center of unity—our rising generation is destitute of the Apostolic rite of Confirmation, and Candidates for the Ministry are discouraged from coming forward to supply our vacant churches, by beholding the Episcopal chair empty. These & many other reasons unite to render both the Clergy, & Laity of the Church in Connecticut verily desirous to have the sacred Hierarchy established among us as soon as may be conveniently done. We have been indirectly informed that Bishops Provost & Bass have no objections of meeting in Connecticut this Autumn, provided it meets with your approbation.

It would be verily agreeable to our Brethren the Clergy to attend the Consecration, and should it be agree'd on by the Bishops to meet in this State; We beg leave to mention the City of New Haven as the Place, on S^t Luke's Day the 18th of October next. Previous to our consulting the other Bishops on this subject, we shall wait your answer, which we wish may be as soon as is convenient. Should our request be complied with by our Father in Christ we should consider ourselves under the highest obligations to do every thing in our power to render him happy whilst among us.

May God preserve our Episcopacy precious in his sight, and prosper the pious labors of his servants.

With every sentiment of respect
and esteem, we are,

Right Rev^d. Father in God.

Your most obedient

And dutiful Sons

in Christ.

Please to Direct
to the Rev^d.
Ashbel Baldwin,
Stratford.

ASHBEL BALDWIN.
WILLIAM SMITH.
PHILO SHELTON.

The Right Rev^d. Doctor White, Bishop of the Prot. Episcopal Church in the State of Pennsylvania.

P. S.

Right Rev^d. Sir. If you cannot make it convenient to gratify us, by convening the Bishops in Connecticut, We wish you to inform us the Time and place you shall appoint to consecrate the Bishop Elect.—

85

STRATFORD, July 20th. 1797.Right Rev^d. Sir.—

Your obliging favour has been duly received. Agreeable to your directions I have wrote to Mr. Smith the President of the Committee, it is enclosed, which I will thank you to forward. Testimonials for the Bishop Elect have likewise been forwarded to Doctor Parker Boston, we expect a return in a few days when they will be sent to New York, & from thence to Philadelphia. The standing Committee meet again this week, to make some arrangements for the Bishops Consecration, you will hear from us soon. In the mean time believe me

Right Rev^d. Sir to be with sentiments
of great respect

Your Most Obedient

Humble Servant

ASHBEL BALDWIN.

Right Rev^d. Doctor White.Right Rev^d. Sir.

We had the pleasure of receiving your favors of date the 17th inst.—informing that it was agreeable to you to accede to our wishes expressed to you concerning the consecration of the Bp. Elect for the State of Connecticut—for which be pleased to accept of our thanks. The necessary Testimonials are already made out and forwarded to D^r Parker for the purpose of acquiring the signatures of the Committee of the Eastern States. Also, agreeable to your direction, Testimonials have been sent to the President of the Standing Committee to be signed by the Committee in Pennsylvania & N. Jersey. Howsoever soon we receive these Testimonials properly authenticated, we will do ourselves the pleasure of giving you timely information.

We have the honor to be

Right Rev^d. SirYour most obed.^t &Very Hum^l. Servants

WILLIAM SMITH.

PHILO SHELTON.

ASHBEL BALDWIN.

Norwalk.

July 25, 1797.

STRATFORD, August 8th, 1797.

Right Rev^d. Sir.

Yours of the 31st Ultimo is now before me, & I beg to mention the circumstances that lead to the mistake refer'd to in your Letter. When I wrote to the Honob^l. William Smith, the Committee were not together, &

86

upon looking over the list of the Standing Committee, I did not find Doctor Smith's name as a Member from Pennsylvania; therefore concluded hastily, that it must be the Honorable William Smith, who was the President. I gave the Letter under cover to you, to one of my Neighbors, who expected to set out in a few Days for Philadelphia. Three days after the Committee were together at Norwalk, who were made acquainted with what I had done; upon examination we discovered the mistake, & immediately wrote another Letter to yourself, & one to Doctor Smith, intending to stop the Stage, take out the Testimonials from the Letter addressed to the Honorb^l. Wm. Smith & inclose them in the one directed to Doctor Smith. But when the Stage came on, we found the Gentleman had put up the Letter in the bottom of his Trunk, & that it would take up so much time, that the passengers would not patiently wait; accordingly all the Letters went on, which has occasioned some delay & given unnecessary trouble. The next morning to prevent any further delay in this business another letter was addressed to Doctor Smith enclosing the Testimonials, requesting his assistance in procuring the necessary Signatures: That Letter was put immediately into the Mail, & I presume it must have reach'd Philadelphia before this Time. I have received the Testimonials sent to the Eastward, which have been signed by the Standing Committee in New England. They are forwarded to Doctor Moore in New York,

with a request that he would have them sign'd by the Committee in that State, give them a speedy conveyance to the Committee in New Jersey & from thence to Bishop White. But in case the last Letter to Doctor Smith should not arrive, I have presumed to enclose the Testimonials again, will you be so obliging as to hand them to Doctor Smith or some one of the Committee. I hope Sir the necessary business for the consecration of our Bishop elect is in a fair train to be completed agreeable to the Canons of our Church.

Be pleased Sir to excuse this long Letter and believe me with best wishes for your happiness.

Your Friend and humble Servant

ASHBEL BALDWIN.

Right Rev^d. Doctor White.

To the Right Rev^d. Doctor White Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal church of the State of Pennsylvania.

The Committee in the Name and by the desire of the Convention of this State beg leave to present their most affectionate and grateful acknowledgments for the polite and Christian attention you have manifested toward the Protestant Episcopal Church in Connecticut.—Be assured Rev^d. Father the favour you have done us will ever be gratefull in our

87

remembrance and we pray that the pleasure of the Lord may ever prosper in your hands and that your Apostleship and Episcopacy may be always precious before God and acceptable to Men.

PHILO SHELTON	} Committee
WILLIAM SMITH	
ASHBEL BALDWIN	
JOHN CANNON	
PHILP. NICHOLS	
ELI CURTISS	

Newhaven }
Oct 19th 1797 }

APPENDIX IV.

ADDRESS

Of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the state of Connecticut, to the Right Rev. Doctor Abraham Jarvis, Bishop of the Diocese.

REVEREND FATHER,

We, the Presbyters and Lay Representatives of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the State of Connecticut, avail ourselves of the earliest opportunity, that could have been presented to us, to congratulate you, upon your elevation to the dignified station of a Bishop, in the Church of Christ. Most cordially, Sir, do we recognize you in that sacred character, and most readily do we receive you, as our Superintendent and Guide;—promising with cheerfulness and from a sense of duty to pay you all that respect and obedience, to which your office entitles you; and which, we are assured from the word of God, and the testimony of antiquity, was ever deemed to be due to the sacred Character with which you are invested.

Joyful, Sir, as is the present occasion, which fills the Episcopal Chair, yet, the solemn scene that has just been performed, irresistibly leads back our minds, in sad remembrance to him, whom, we have often seen, from that Altar breaking the Bread of Life, and have often heard from that Pulpit,

88

uttering the words of Peace. But, Sir, portentous to the Church, as was the moment, when the great disposer of events called to his reward, our late much revered Bishop, yet we trust, nay are confident, that your best abilities will be exerted, to mitigate the loss of that wisdom and zeal, for which, he was so highly distinguished. Whatever depends upon us to lighten the burden, which your office imposes upon you, shall be cheerfully contributed. Esteeming your personal character, as we unquestionably ought, and revering

the Authority, with which you are clothed, as we assuredly do, your Episcopate opens with a prospect of Peace and harmony throughout your Diocese. This state of the Church is, at all times, devoutly to be wished; but perhaps, never more than at present, when unity is so necessary to render fruitless, all the attacks of infidelity and vice. May that divine spirit, who is the source of unity and love, continue to preserve this Church, under your Episcopate, in the most perfect Concord; And may zeal for promoting virtue and religion, ever distinguish the Bishop, the Clergy, and the Laity of the Church of Connecticut.

New Haven, October — 1797.

BISHOP JARVIS'S ANSWER.

MY REVEREND BRETHREN,

Beloved in our Lord Jesus Christ.

I return you my sincere thanks for your affectionate address. Permit me to request you and the lay Gentlemen of the convention to accept my assurance of the warm and grateful affections, with which I receive your declarations of personal regard and friendship.

Your sentiments of the sacred office of a Bishop, perfectly accord with my own, and compel me to observe the restraint they lay upon me, from gratulating myself on being promoted to that dignified station. Your united judgment of the circumstances, and situation of our church; and an unequivocal

89

assurance, that in your opinion, her exigencies, in a pressing manner require it; were the prevalent reasons that overruled me, to acquiesce in your election to the office, with which I am now invested.

Distinguished as our late revered Bishop was, for his eminent abilities; and amiable for the ornaments of the christian; the recent act performed in your sight, of consecrating a successor to the vacant chair, could not fail to recall *him*, with vigour to your remembrance. So interesting a life, justified the strongest apprehensions, that his death was an omen of unhappy import to our church. Known unto God are all his works, in wisdom doth he dispose them all, and that unerring hand, which directeth the whole to his own glory, often strikes away all other props, to convince men, that in him alone is their unfailing strength.

May a wise and gracious providence so order events, as to evince the rectitude of our intentions, and that our proceedings may be for his honour and the good of his church.

Next to the guidance and protection of our all gracious head, I do, and must, rely on your friendship and benevolence, to prevent or remove, those difficulties and impediments, which, contemplated in prospect, filled me with diffidence, and caused a reluctance, which, even as yet, I have not been able wholly to surmount. Sensible I am that in me emphatically this treasure is lodged in an earthen vessel; from the divine aid and support, and the constant united assistance, of you my brethren, it is, that I can hope, in any measure, to do the duties of the office committed to my trust. Altho solicitude and anxious doubts abide me, yet while strengthened by these helps, I may solace my heart, that the important interests of that part of the church of christ, over which I am appointed to preside, will not materially suffer, so long as, by divine permission, the charge shall rest on me to superintend her weighty concerns.

That the redeemer's kingdom may flourish, the spirit of the Gospel prevail, and its laws be obeyed, is ever to be the object of our desires, and the subject of our prayers. To promote

so great a work, much depends on the exertions, and pious labours of the clergy. The assurance you give of these, and that you will ever study to cultivate the strictest harmony, and be ever ready with your best advice, as they are expressive of a well directed zeal, so are they satisfactory, and minister grounds of confidence, not to be drawn from any other source.

Charity is the bond of perfectness: It is the cement which knits together the church; in every member perfects the child of God, and completes the family of christ.

As this virtue is the summary, and crown of christian graces, by cherishing it in our own breasts, and exercising it among ourselves, we shall shew, that we are the true disciples, and faithful ministers of christ, his peace, which passeth knowledge, shall keep our hearts and minds; it will give energy to our labours & render us examples to our flocks.

My future conduct, I trust, will manifest my real respect and sincere affections for you, and all, whom we serve in the Gospel of our Lord. In addition to your advice, and assistance, in our respective sacred labours; let our prayers be mutual for each other, that God will continue us, and his church, in his holy keeping; and enable both you and me to fulfill our ministry; and that the people, especially committed to our charge, may be a mutual blessing, and a crown of rejoicing to us, and to each other, in the day when the Son of God shall appear in glory, to judge and to reward.

A B R A H A M, Bp. Epl. ch. Connect.

New Haven, Oct. 18, 1797.

APPENDIX V.

The Rev. Dr. Tillotson Bronson preached at the Convention on Wednesday, June 2d, 1813, in Christ Church, Stratford, a sermon upon "The Divine Institution and Perpetuity of the Christian Priesthood," in memory of Bishop Jarvis. It thus sums up his character:

91

To those who were intimately acquainted with Bishop Jarvis, it is well known, he possessed a good share of common human science, acquired in his youth; to which he added, which was of more importance in his station, as a Minister of Christ, a copious fund of theological knowledge. Few eminent divines of the Church of England, who lived and wrote in the last and preceding centuries, escaped his reading. He read them, not as a matter of amusement, but he thoroughly studied and digested their matter. In such a school, he was deeply impressed with all the great and fundamental doctrines of Divine truth—the fall and original corruption of man—his consequent need of a Saviour, and the operations of divine grace, to revive the image of God in the soul, and quicken the spiritual life, were, with him, first principles in Christian theology. To these he added a Trinity of persons in the Godhead, and the divine institution of the Church, its ministers and ordinances, as means of grace. These he firmly believed were the doctrines of the Bible, of primitive Christianity, and of the early reformers.

Thus settled in his faith, he listened not to novelties. He believed that whatever was new in Divinity, was, for that very reason, false. To improvements in human science, he was a friend; while he believed that God had long since revealed everything necessary for man to know, believe, and do, in order to obtain salvation. Hence, nothing new was to be expected in theology. This rendered him an undeviating advocate for primitive usage and discipline in the Church. This he was, to such a degree, as to be thought by some too unyielding, too little disposed to accommodate the feelings of others. But those who knew him well were convinced, it was the pure

effect of principle, and a sense of duty. He well knew the pernicious consequences of needless innovation, and the imposing air with which novelty too often captivates the unwary, and therefore wished to meet them on the threshold, and shut them out of the Church.

The truth was he deliberated long and thoroughly, before he formed opinions; and when they were formed, they became

92

principles of action, and were not readily changed. This is a trait of character that is of great worth, in the present state of the world, when innovations in civil polity are attempting to make their way into the Church of God. At such a time, persevering decision of character is of eminent use, to preserve order and regularity, and hence peace on earth and good will to men. Such, in the fullest sense of the word, was the character of Bishop Jarvis. His object, when settled, was ever in view. It was steadily pursued in his conduct. Convinced of its worth and importance, and trusting in the wisdom of Providence, he ever went on, undismayed by difficulties and obstructions that might come in his way.

He entertained a becoming sense of the dignity of the clerical character, and studied to promote it, in his words, in his actions, and in the measures he proposed and followed. He was indignant at meanness; at anything which might lower the sacred office, in the view of the world. As the ambassadors of the most high God, it was his sentiment that they should respect themselves; and so conduct, that they might command the respect of others.

As a man, his talents were rather solid than showy. His discourses in the pulpit were marked by good sense and sound divinity, rather than fine conceits, or tricks of rhetoric. And as was his matter, so his manner of delivery—always grave, solemn, earnest, and frequently impressive, in a high degree. In proof of this, permit me to cite his address delivered to this body, at its last meeting.

The venerable appearance, the grave and solemn manner, in which these reflections were delivered, can but be remembered.

Though the Bishop, according to the direction of an Apostle, in doctrine, showed uncorruptness, gravity, and sincerity, both in public and private, in the Church, and in the friendly circle; yet was he affable, polite, and ready to converse on common topics, according to his company, and suited to occasions. We, my brethren of the clergy, can witness, that he was always fond of seeing us at his house; that we were

93

there hospitably entertained. Few men enjoyed society more than he. His hours were distributed, as we well know, between domestic concerns, conversation, study, and acts of piety. Fond of the family circle, formal visits were infrequent. Correct in the matters of economy, he was domestic in his manners. He was resigned to the will of Providence; patient under afflictions, of which he had his share in life; not too much elated by prosperity; always preserving a well-tempered equanimity. In fine, as a clergyman, he was correct in his sentiments; as a member of society, a well-wisher to its order and peace. A tender husband, and an affectionate parent. Thus he lived, and at length, in a good old age, he has gone to that world from whence none return.

NOTE BY THE REV. S. F. JARVIS.

Other Reminiscences of my grandfather have come to mind since the delivery of the Address. One has, I believe, been already published, but I may introduce it as showing his tact. A young, vain and ambitious preacher asked Bishop Jarvis for his permission to omit the Ante-Communion Service, so as to allow him more time for his sermon. The Bishop replied, "If you can write anything better than the Ten Commandments

or the Gospel of our Lord and the Epistles of His inspired Apostles, do so by all means."

Among the articles in the Centenary Loan Exhibit was a Snuff Box, owned by Miss Harriet Jarvis, formerly of Cheshire, who believed it to be, according to tradition, Mrs. (Ann) Jarvis's. The history of it was this: Bishop Jarvis was a great snuffer. On one occasion he was conversing with an intimate friend, who said, "Bishop, do you know how many times you have taken snuff since we began our conversation?" "Why—no," said the Bishop, "I am not conscious that I have taken it even once." "You have taken it so many times," said he, naming a large number. My grandfather was so surprised that he threw aside his box and, resolved not to be under the power of it, never used it again. In all probability Mrs. Jarvis put the box away, and as she died in Cheshire, one can account for its having descended to Miss Jarvis, of that town, with the tradition of its having belonged to the Bishop's wife.



RIGHT REVEREND ABRAHAM JARVIS, D.D., LL.D.

Second Bishop of Connecticut.

Consecrated Trinity Church, New Haven, Sept. 18, 1797.

From a water color painted by his son, Rev. Samuel F. Jarvis, D.D. Owned by his grandson, Rev. S. F. Jarvis.



TRINITY CHURCH, NEW HAVEN.

First Building, 1752.

EPISCOPAL ACADEMY OF CONNECTICUT

1794—1917

*By William A. Beardsley**

BETWEEN those dates lies the story of an educational institution, which, while general in the scope and character of its work, yet made a most valuable and timely contribution to the history of the Church in the early days of the nineteenth century, particularly in the diocese of Connecticut. Many of the clergy who helped to shape and guide the destinies of the Church in those formative days received a goodly portion, if not all, of their preparation for the ministry in this ancient school.

The colonial clergy who were left in Connecticut at the close of the Revolutionary War (there were fourteen)—upon whom rested the responsibility of laying the foundations of the Church, which, under the leadership of their recently consecrated bishop, they hoped to organize—rightly regarded as the great need of the moment the education of their children in the teaching and ways of the Church. To this end they felt the necessity of establishing an institution which would provide not only for their secular education, but their religious as well.

And beyond that they had in mind the preparation of their sons who might be led into the ministry. Their own experience would tell them of the value of proper preparedness for holy orders. They themselves were almost all educated men, that is, graduates of a college. More than two-thirds were graduates of Yale College. "It was a period of strong prejudice and no little intolerance." There was nothing strange in the fact that they wished their children to grow up in the more congenial atmosphere of the Church, and their sons seeking the ministry to be trained in the doctrines and practices which they were to represent and teach.

And so, aided and encouraged by Bishop Seabury, who, was a man of scholarly tastes and attainments, they early began to plan for the establishment of an institution of learning within the bounds of Connecticut, "which should serve the double purpose of a preparatory school and a university."

*The Rev. Dr. Beardsley is Historiographer of the Diocese of Connecticut.

What they had in mind, primarily, was a school under the influences of the Church for the education of their children, but the secondary idea was also in their minds. As a matter of fact, in the early days of the school's existence it did help to train young men for the ministry. If we compare the list of those ordained in the first three decades of the school's life, that is, down to 1826, the end of Dr. Bronson's administration, with such roster of the school's alumni as we have for that period, we find that forty-nine received all or part of their training at the academy. But this is by no means the whole story, for the record of those first years is known to be incomplete. However, it is complete enough to give to the school a place of importance in the educational life of the first days of the Church.

Now the earliest reference to anything definite in the matter of establishing a school appears in the records of a convocation "holden at East Haddam, on the 15th of Feb^y 1792."¹ At that convocation it was

"Voted; That the several Clergy make enquiry of their neighbouring Towns, & see what could be done towards erecting an Episcopal Academy; & make report to the next Convocation."

No report was made as directed, but at the convention of the diocese held June 4th, 1794, the following action was taken:—

"Resolved, that the Rev. Mr. Bowden, Rev. Mr. Baldwin, S. W. Johnson, Esquire, Eli Curtiss, Esquire, and Dr. Elnathan Beach, be a Committee to prepare an address to the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this state, pointing out the importance of establishing an Episcopal Academy in this state, and to provide Subscription Papers for the purpose of obtaining monies to effect such an establishment; and that they make report to this Convention to-morrow morning."²

The committee reported as it was instructed. The nature of the report was that more time was needed, and it was suggested that a standing committee should be appointed to carry into effect the purposes of the preceding resolution. That suggestion was adopted and a strong committee of clergymen and laymen, three of the former and six of the latter, was appointed. Their names were "the Rev. Dr. Mansfield, Rev. Dr. Hubbard, Rev. Mr. Baldwin, Hon. Jonathan Ingersoll, Esquire, Mr. Elias Shipman, S. W. Johnson, Esquire, Mr. J. L. Wooster, Mr.

¹The Records of Convocation, Diocese of Connecticut, p. 41.

²Journal of the Diocese of Connecticut for June 4, 1794, p. 11.

John Nichols, and *Mr. Ebenezer Baldwin*." Having done that much the convention adjourned. It is from this year 1794 that the academy dates its beginning, though it did not open its doors for the admission of pupils until two years later.

With this preliminary work accomplished what was the next step? It was to receive those subscription papers which had been authorized and issued, and it was also to receive "such Proposals as may be made to this Convention from any Town in this state for the purpose of establishing and supporting an Episcopal Academy in such Town." A town might jump at the opportunity for "establishing" an academy within its borders, but approach somewhat more leisurely the matter of "supporting" it.

At the morning session of the convention proposals came in from the towns of Wallingford and Cheshire, but at the afternoon session a committee was appointed to receive proposals from the "Towns of Cheshire, Wallingford, and Stratford only, for establishing an Episcopal Academy in one of said Towns, and that proposals be received by them till the first day of July next." At that time the committee was to meet at Major *Belamy's* Tavern in Hamden, and then and there "establish the Academy in that Town, which by them shall be considered the most eligible."

Cheshire was the town chosen. We do not know what were the deciding factors in making that choice. It was the smallest of the three towns, having a population in 1790 of 2,337. Perhaps that was one of the factors. But if that committee, upon whom was placed the duty of making the choice, had any sense of the beauty of location, we need not be surprised at the choice. Cheshire was on high ground, encircled by the stately hills of Prospect on the west, the mighty Sleeping Giant on the south, the beautiful Hanging Hills of Meriden on the north.

Dr. Bowden, the first principal, in his prospectus³ of the school written in 1796, sensed this beauty of location as well as other advantages. He says:—"To those who are not acquainted with the Town of Cheshire, it may be expedient to observe, that it is situated in a pleasant and healthful country, about fourteen miles from New Haven. The road to it is good—the Necessaries and Conveniences of life are abundant; and the Manners of the People afford as few Temptations to Vice, as can be reasonably expected, when the Population is considerable." Allowing for any tendency to hyperbole, which is apt to creep into a prospectus, yet that is a fair statement of the advantages of Cheshire as the location for a school.

However, we do get another picture of Cheshire, which is certainly

³*The Churchman's Magazine*, vol. III, p. 440.

interesting, though not to be taken too seriously. It is from the pen of Samuel Farmer Jarvis (1786-1851), a sixteen year old schoolboy, whose youthful judgment should not be regarded, perhaps, as infallible. He was the son of Bishop Jarvis, who had removed from Middletown to Cheshire to be near his son whom he had placed under the care of Dr. Bowden at the academy, for whom he had a very high regard. The lad kept a diary⁴ and this is the entry for Friday, October 22nd, 1802:—

"Went to Parson Hubbard's⁵ after breakfast, and staid with papa till 11½ when we set out for Cheshire where we arrived about 2 O'Clock P. M. Cheshire is a pleasant little inland town about 12 miles from New Haven it contains houses and inhabitants, the general character of them is, they are deceitful, rude, ignorant, dishonest and not more civilized than the aboriginals."

For those who know and love Cheshire that is altogether delightful. This question of location having been settled, the convention pushed forward to the matter of organization, and on May 6th, 1796, adopted the following constitution:⁶—

"ARTICLE 1. The Academy established at Cheshire, by the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, shall be known by the name of the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut.

ART. 2. The government of the Academy, shall be vested in the hands of twenty one trustees. Of which number shall be the Bishop of Connecticut, and the President of the Academy, *ex officio*, the other trustees shall be chosen by the Convention, some of whom shall be Presbyters of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the remainder shall be laymen, and may be elected from any denomination of professing christians.

ART. 3. The trustees shall continue in office during good behaviour, and upon complaint, may be displaced by a vote of the Convention.

ART. 4. Nine of the trustees shall form a board, who shall meet at the Academy four times in each year, which shall be at the quarterly examinations. The President, or Vice-President, may call a meeting of the trustees at any other time, when they shall judge proper, or when a majority of the trustees shall request it; public notice thereof being given in one, or more news-papers in this state, at least two weeks previous to said meeting, by an advertisement signed by the Bishop, who shall be President, or the principal of the Academy, who shall be Vice President of the board of trustees.

ART. 5. Every vacancy among the trustees, shall be filled by the Convention.

⁴Now in Yale University Library.

⁵Bela Hubbard (1739-1812), Missionary of the S. P. S. in charge of Trinity Church, New Haven, Connecticut, and rector of same, 1767-1812.

⁶Printed in the *Journal of the Diocese of Connecticut* for June 1, 1796.

"This Seminary is properly denominated *Episcopal*, having had for its original founders the convention of the *Protestant Episcopal Church* in Connecticut; and being by constitution immediately superintended by a Presbyter of that Church; yet no distinctions are made among the students except between the diligent and the idle, the sober and the profligate, or the virtuous and the vicious. To say, however, that none of the studies pursued are calculated with a particular view to the doctrines and tenets of the Episcopal Church, would be something worse than an affectation of a liberality which no where in reality exists; it would be a culpable disregard of truth, inasmuch as the primary object for which this Institution was founded, was to be a nursery to that Church, and to prepare young men for her Ministry. Of this none have a right to complain; while the wise and good, the candid and truly liberal, must unite in wishing success to whatever is designed for the promotion of science, morality and religion."

That is a delightful declaration of liberality, tempered with the caution that there are limits to it, and that truth must not be disregarded, in making claims for it.

When the constitution had been adopted, the convention proceeded to the election of a board of trustees, which was to consist of seven presbyters and twelve laymen, who with the bishop and the principal made up the required number of twenty-one. The men who constituted that first board of trustees were among the most influential in the diocese. All the presbyters were graduates of Yale College, as were seven of the laymen

REV. JOHN BOWDEN ELECTED PRINCIPAL

The organization completed, the convention proceeded to the election of a principal, as provided for in the constitution just adopted.⁸ The choice fell upon the Rev. John Bowden (1751-1817). He was one of the ablest men in the diocese, interested in educational matters, and thoroughly convinced of the importance of the project to establish an academy in the diocese, a project so dear to Bishop Seabury's heart. That he was not chosen as a trustee, was, in all probability, as has been suggested, that it was in the mind of the convention, from the first, to make him the principal. Mr. Bowden accepted his election.

And who was the Rev. John Bowden, unanimously chosen to the responsible, if somewhat dubious, task of starting this academic venture on its course? He was an Irishman, born in Ireland January 7th, 1751, son of Thomas Bowden, an officer in the British army. At the

⁸*The Churchman Magazine*, vol. III, p. 440.

⁹*Journal of the Diocese of Connecticut* for June 1, 1796.

ART. 6. The principal of the Academy, (who shall always be a Presbyter, in the Protestant Episcopal Church), shall be elected by the Convention, and the assistant, or assistants, by the trustees, and both shall be liable to be displaced by their respective electors, if convicted of immoral conduct, or great neglect of duty.

ART. 7: The English language, Philosophy, Mathematics, History, and every other science usually taught at Colleges; likewise the dead languages, such as Greek and Latin. And whenever the finances of the Academy will admit, the trustees shall procure an instructor in the French language, purchase a library and philosophical apparatus at their own discretion. Female education, may be attended to under this institution, by such instructors, and under such regulations, as the trustees shall direct.

ART. 8. The principal or in his absence the assistant, or assistants, shall examine and admit, all persons into the Academy, according to his or their discretion; provided no person be admitted but such as can read the English language intelligibly. And the principal may, after admission, class as he pleases. Any person wishing to pursue a particular study, such as the Mathematics in its various branches, Logic, Rhetoric, Geography, Philosophy &c. shall have an instruction of that kind, without pursuing any classic studies of a different nature. And the principal may at any time, with the advice of the trustees, procure any gentleman, eminent in Divinity, Law or Physic, to read lectures in those branches respectively, provided a fund be procured for that purpose.

ART. 9. No bye laws of the Academy shall compel the students to attend public worship, but at such place, or places as their respective parents or guardians shall direct.

ART. 10. Whenever the foregoing articles, shall be adopted, by a vote of the Convention, they shall become the Constitution of the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut, and be subject to no revision or alteration, but by a vote of two thirds of the members of the Convention."

The constitution is interesting as showing the broad foundations upon which the school was established. It was definitely a Church school, a diocesan institution, but some of the lay members of the board of trustees might be chosen from any denomination of professing Christians, and the pupils might attend public worship wherever their parents directed.

As a further indication of the broad intentions of the founders of the school, the following extract from an early prospectus of the school is of interest. It will be noted that from the first the founders had the vision of a seminary.

led him in 1817 to visit Ballston Spa, New York State, in the hope that he might be benefited; but it was a vain hope, and on July 31st of that year he died, and was buried there in Ballston.

When the clergy sought a successor to Bishop Seabury, who had died February 25th, 1796, it was to Dr. Bowden that they first turned, October 19th, 1796, with a unanimous choice. He asked that he might delay his answer until the next convention, and when he gave it the answer was in the negative. No doubt it was the great uncertainty of his health that was the decisive factor. Had he accepted and the strength been given to him, his would have been a worthy name in our American episcopate.

There is a fine portrait of him owned by the diocese, which hangs in the present school. The artist is unknown, as is the date of the painting, but as he is wearing his doctor's hood it must have been after 1796, when he received his degree from Columbia.¹⁰ He wrote numerous pamphlets, for the most part of a controversial nature, "more valuable in their day than now."¹¹

Let us proceed with the story of the academy. It had been established in Cheshire, but it was not expected that the people of Cheshire should bear the full burden of its support, nor did the people of Cheshire expect to do that. It was voted by the convention that an emissary should be dispatched to New York to solicit donations for the benefit of the academy. And it had visions of going farther afield than that, for at the convention of 1796 it was voted that "one or more Agents be appointed to go to Europe for the purpose of soliciting donations for said Academy, as soon as the Trustees shall be possessed of unappropriated funds, sufficient for defraying the expences of such a mission." Apparently the trustees could not find any "unappropriated funds", for we hear nothing more about that.

These Connecticut Yankees were tapping every possible source of supply, and so when they were still expecting Dr. Bowden to accept his election to the episcopate, and to go to Philadelphia for consecration, they voted to request him "to solicit aid of such pious & charitable persons, or societies, as may be convenient for him to make application to, in his Tour to Philadelphia, for the encouragement, support, & benefit of the Episcopal Academy in Connecticut." That was perfectly legitimate, for while at first the trustees may have had only a limited conception of the patronage of the school, and certainly the people of

¹⁰It has some characteristics of Ralph Earle's (1751-1801) work, who was painting portraits in Connecticut about this time.

¹¹For a fuller account of him, and for a complete list of his works, see *The Christian Journal*, vol. II, pp. 1, 2, 3. Also, Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, V, 304-308; Dr. William Berrian's (1787-1862) *Historical Sketch of Trinity Church, New York*, pp. 154-160.

time of his birth his father was stationed in Ireland. He came to America to take part in the French and Indian war, and his son soon followed him, under the guardianship of a Church of England clergyman. He was shaping his studies with the intention of entering Princeton College, and he did enter it, but remained there only two years, for at the end of that time he returned with his father to Ireland.

In 1770 he returned to America and entered King's (Columbia) College, from which he graduated in 1772. Now began his preparation for holy orders. Of course for those he had to return to England. There he was ordained deacon in 1774 by the bishop of Exeter, Dr. Frederick Keppel (1728-1777), and priest by the bishop of London, Dr. Richard Terrick (1710-1777). Upon his return to New York he became an assistant minister in Trinity Parish. His associate was the Rev. Benjamin Moore,⁹ afterwards the bishop of New York. Their engagement was dependent upon the success of the committee appointed to solicit subscriptions for the payment of their salaries.

In the light of our knowledge of the present financial strength of Trinity Parish, it is interesting to read that the committee in extending the call to Mr. Moore and Mr. Bowden felt constrained to "acquaint them that such was the state of the funds of this corporation, that they had resolved not to be answerable for any deficiency that might happen in collecting the said subscriptions and other sums upon verbal engagements." But that was one hundred and seventy years ago.

He had scarcely entered upon his duties in Trinity Church when the Revolutionary War broke out, and Mr. Bowden retired to Norwalk, Connecticut. When the British came to New York he returned to Trinity, but owing to the weakness of his voice he did not venture to preach there. Upon the withdrawal of the British from the city, he went again to Norwalk, and from 1784 to 1789 he had charge of the church there. The trouble with his voice, occasioned in part apparently by the weakness of his lungs, persisted, and he was led to accept a call to the church at Saint Croix in the West Indies. The hoped-for benefit did not materialize, and after two years he returned to Connecticut, settling in Stratford, giving up preaching altogether.

But if he could not preach he could teach and write, and when the call came to him in 1796 to take charge of the newly-established academy in Cheshire, he did not hesitate to accept. There he remained until 1802, when he was made professor of moral philosophy and belles lettres in Columbia College. The precarious condition of his health

⁹Benjamin Moore (1748-1816); graduate of King's College 1768; bishop coadjutor of New York 1801-1815 (and *de facto* bishop during that time); bishop of New York, 1815-1816; president of Columbia College, 1801-1816.

once assumed a place of importance in the diocese, being called upon to preach the sermon at the consecration of Doctor Jarvis, a distinction rarely accorded a presbyter.

There were other ways in which the convention showed its high regard for him. He served as its secretary for two years. And then at the convention of 1798 it was voted that "he be desired to prepare an Office for inducting and recognizing Clergymen into vacant Parishes." That action would never have been taken if his brethren had not appreciated his ability. But they had confidence in his knowledge of ecclesiastical and liturgical matters, and unreservedly committed the task to him. He was ready with his report in the following year, and after examining the proposed office "paragraph by paragraph", its adoption was voted. The original title was "Office of Induction." It was adopted by the General Convention of 1808 and the title changed to that which it still bears in our Book of Common Prayer, "An Office of Institution of Ministers." And thus the second principal of the academy has the distinction of being the author of an office in our Prayer Book.

Dr. Smith did not leave a large body of writings, but what he did leave shows a keen mind. The Rev. Samuel Blatchford, pastor of a church in Stratfield, Connecticut, ventured to write him a letter on the validity of Presbyterian ordination, which was brought out by his sermon at the consecration of Dr. Jarvis. Dr. Smith answers with a pamphlet of one hundred and forty-five pages, which displays something of his Scotch ruggedness and satirical humor. He was also a strong advocate of chanting and wrote a book on *The Reasonableness of Setting forth the Most Worthy Praise of Almighty God according to the Usage of the Primitive Church*, a book which ran to two hundred and ninety-seven pages.

In the library of Yale University there is a letter signed by Dr. Smith and five others, written of course by Dr. Smith, which shows keen regard for the moral welfare of his pupils. It is written to David Daggett,¹³ at the moment a member of the State Legislature.

"David Daggett, Esq
At Hartford
in Assembly

Sir.....

Whereas in various parts of the State & in this vicinity in particular, Pedlars are in the practice of selling and circulating books and pamphlets highly calculated to destroy every sense of

¹³David Daggett (1764-1851), U. S. Senator from Connecticut 1813-1819; Judge of the Connecticut Supreme Court, and Chief Judge till his retirement in 1834.

Cheshire saw in it the opportunity for the education of their children, yet it soon began to draw pupils from all parts of the country, and from the South American countries in time.

Originally the school had received girls as well as boys. Did not the constitution say that "female education may be attended to under this institution, by such instructors, and under such regulations, as the trustees shall direct"? The catalogue, which can make no claim to be complete, lists one hundred and seventeen girls. In 1836 a new constitution was adopted, making the school exclusively a boys' school.

Under Dr. Bowden the school prospered. We are unable to give the enrollment of those first years, for no complete catalogue exists.¹⁴ In such catalogue as we do have there are very few names which appear on the list prior to 1814, and only five before 1800. And yet when the trustees petitioned the General Assembly for a charter in 1801 they made the statement that "since said month of June, 1796, the Academy has been open for the reception of students, and has generally had in a course of education about sixty persons, from that period to the present." Of course that does not mean that there were sixty different persons each year, but it does mean that we have not the names of some who received wholly, or in part, their preparation for holy orders.

REV. WILLIAM SMITH (1754-1821), SECOND PRINCIPAL OF THE ACADEMY

When Dr. Bowden accepted his appointment as professor in Columbia College it was necessary for him to relinquish his position at the academy. Consequently he submitted his resignation to the convention, which was held April 12th, 1802, and a ballot was taken immediately for his successor, which resulted in the election of Doctor William Smith of New York. He had been prominent in the affairs of the Church in Connecticut, and only recently had gone to New York where he had opened a grammar school. He is not to be confused with Dr. William Smith (1727-1803), the first provost of the College of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania.

He was a native of Scotland, and was educated there, and when he had received holy orders he came to this country in 1785. He was soon settled in Stepney Parish in Maryland, where he remained for about two years. And then in 1787 he accepted a call to the rectorship of St. Paul's Church, Narragansett, Rhode Island. On January 28th, 1790, he became rector of Trinity Church, Newport, Rhode Island. In 1797 he removed to St. Paul's Church, Norwalk, Connecticut. He at

¹⁴The first and only *Catalogue of the Officers, Teachers and Alumni* of the School was published in 1916.

was most disheartening, yet the convention refused to be disheartened. The institution, which, under the inspiration of Bishop Seabury, it had labored to found, was still very much in their hearts, and so it lost no time in choosing a successor to Dr. Smith. On October 8th, 1806, it made unanimous choice of the Rev. Tillotson Bronson to be the principal of the academy.

THE REV. TILLOTSON BRONSON (1762-1826), THIRD PRINCIPAL OF THE ACADEMY

Tillotson Bronson was born in Northbury, Connecticut, as it was then known, Plymouth now, January 8th, 1762. Whence came the name *Tillotson* we do not know. So far as the family genealogy discloses it could be said, "There is none of thy kindred that is called by this name." He was the eldest son, the sixth child in a family of twelve. He was known among his contemporaries as "Tilly", and apparently Bishop Seabury must have thought that that was his name, for he so enters him in his *Registry* of deacons' ordinations. But when it comes to the entry of his ordination to the priesthood, a year and a half later, the bishop is less familiar.

Bronson's father was a farmer, and was earnestly desirous that his eldest son should likewise be a farmer. But the son had different ideas about that, and aided and abetted by his mother he prepared himself for Yale College, graduating in the class of 1786.

It may be of interest, in passing, to note that he was the uncle of Amos Bronson Alcott (1799-1888), Transcendentalist, who in his own right could lay claim to distinction, but also to the added distinction of being the father of Louisa May Alcott (1832-1888). Alcott taught the district school in Cheshire from 1825 to 1826, living for some time with his uncle at the academy.¹³ Apparently he never taught in the academy. His methods would hardly conform with those of his uncle.

Tillotson Bronson was ordained deacon by Bishop Seabury September 21st, 1786, and priest February 24th, 1788. The first years of his ministry were spent in Vermont and New Hampshire, and in temporary charge of Christ Church, Boston. He then returned to Connecticut, where he served one or more parishes, before taking charge in 1797 of St. John's Church, Waterbury, where he remained until 1806.

While serving there, in October of that year, he was called to the principalship of the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut. For a while about this time he was editor of *The Churchman's Monthly Magazine*,¹⁴

¹³*Pedlar's Progress, Life of Bronson Alcott*, by Odell Shepard, p. 75.

¹⁴For an account of this Magazine, see Clifton H. Brewer's *A History of Religious Education in the Episcopal Church to 1835*, p. 129. Also, *Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church*, XI, 211 ff.

modesty and virtue—to exterminate the distinctions of right and wrong—to habituate juvenile minds to idleness, drunkenness and every species of dissolute conversation and conduct:—as Friends to Order and Youth in general, as Guardians of the innocence & morals of the students of the Academy in particular:—

We hereby solicit your representing to the Hon^{ble} House of Assembly in this present session, this infraction upon the Virtue of Our rising Youth, and that you will endeavor to obtain some Act of Legislation, which may in future protect the Public from the promulgation of such books pamphlets or prints as at once shock the eye and ear of Decency, and ultimately lead to debauchery and ruin.—

The Delegates from this Town will show you, Sir, some of those Books, and give you some information concerning others which are in circulation, but kept more from the eye of detection.—Squire Hall will likewise shew you a paper signed David Welman, from which no mean arguments may be drawn against this daily increasing evil.—

It will be perfectly consistent with that prudent care which the Legislation of Connecticut hath uniformly taken to suppress vice and encourage Virtue, that the Hon^{ble} Assembly issue such Law or Laws, as shall hereafter protect the Virtue of our Youth by preventing the spread of 'firebrands, arrows, and death' among them.

We are most respectfully
Your hu^{le} serv^{ts}

Cheshire
11th May, 1803."

Brilliant and versatile as Dr. Smith was, careful as he was of the morals of his boys, yet the management of a school was not in his line, whether viewed from the point of instruction or administration. We are told that "his judgment was not equal to his quickness of comprehension, and his opinions and language were often carried to extremes." There is plainly a suggested source of trouble there.

In the convention of 1805 a committee was appointed to enquire into the state of the academy, and report at that convention. The committee reported as instructed and the picture it gave of the situation was a sad one.¹⁵ But we need not go further into this story. Dr. Smith sent in his resignation to the convention meeting June 5th, 1806, to take effect on the first of October following. After that he had no settled work, but officiated as opportunity offered. It was during this period that he published his book on psalmody. He died in New York City, April 6th, 1821.

While the picture drawn in the report on the state of the academy ¹⁵*Journal of the Diocese of Connecticut* for 1805, p. 9.

such movement as that. "There was a fair majority in the Lower House for granting Collegiate powers, but the bill was lost in the Senate." That is the report regarding it.¹⁹

The Church people were, naturally, greatly disappointed at the refusal of the legislature to grant their plea. But they kept at it with a persistence worthy of their cause. Letters which came to Dr. Bronson, and are preserved in the archives of the diocese, show the deep interest felt in the matter. One man wrote: "Many of the Episcopalians are much displeased to think that the Assembly bear so hard against the Episcopalians; as you know, the men who compose the Upper House are quite *Blue*."²⁰ That has a theological rather than an academic implication. However, in fairness it should be said, if we may judge from some of the letters in the files, that the friends of the petition were not as aggressive and unanimous as the cause demanded. Of course, as might be expected, politics played no small part in the matter.

An extract from a letter from a future principal of the school will give us an idea of some of the questions involved. It says:

"From your account of the situation of our College Petition there appears to be two evils, the one regards the location of the College, the other certain political motives which influence certain *Trimmers*—You know that I am very willing the College should be at Cheshire, but when so many object to it, would it not be advisable to petition for an Episcopal college, and leave the discussion of place to the Trustees? I think it will amount to the same thing, for if a Charter is obtained for the College at Cheshire and the Trustees should afterward petition for the removal of it to any other place the Legislature would grant them permission."²¹

It might and again it might not. There was objection to locating the college in Cheshire, whether sincerely made or not does not matter now. In the light of after events it would seem a valid objection. But all this was long ago, and is of interest to-day only as a matter of history. The Episcopalians got their college, but it was not the Episcopal Academy grown to manhood. It was a new institution altogether.

Connecticut remained under its charter of 1662 until 1818, when light began to dawn. In that year a new constitution was adopted. In the elections which followed new and able men were brought into the assembly, a few Episcopalians among them. The grip of the

¹⁹*The Churchman's Magazine*, New Series, vol. V, p. 263.

²⁰Manuscript letter of Samuel Johnston, dated June 2nd, 1812. Union College, 1815; deacon, June 17th, 1816; died May 22nd, 1833.

²¹Manuscript letter of Rev. Bethel Judd, dated December 28th, 1812. Yale College, 1797; deacon, September 30th, 1798; died April 8th, 1858.

a new publication sponsored by the convocation of the diocese,¹⁷ the first issue of which appeared in January, 1804.

Through the changing fortunes of the years it lived on until 1827, not always, however, under his editorship. In the last volume is this notice to subscribers:—"We now take final leave of this work, which has gone through a greater variety of vicissitudes, and has existed longer than any publication of the kind in our country. In bringing it to the close of the present volume, we feel gratified that we have been able to discharge a debt which seemed due to the memory of a much loved and valued friend." Dr. Bronson had died September 6th, 1826.

When he took charge of the academy in 1806 he was forty-four years old and twenty years out of college, just in the prime of his powers. He needed to be, because the task which he faced was a difficult one. The choice of Mr. Bronson proved a wise one, and soon the academy was entering upon a period of prosperity which abundantly justified the faith and courage of those who once having had the vision of a diocesan school never lost sight of it.

From the first it had been in the minds of the founders of the academy that it should develop into a college. Now, under the leadership of Mr. Bronson, its prosperity was such as to warrant the convention to make application to the legislature to grant to the academy the privilege and power to confer degrees. Consequently the following action was taken at the convention of 1810:¹⁸

"Whereas doubts have arisen whether the Trustees of the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut, which was established at Cheshire by this Convention, in the year 1796, are invested with power of conferring upon the students, the degrees and testimonials of literary proficiency, usually granted in Colleges; and whereas the great objects contemplated by the Convention cannot be accomplished, unless the Trustees are authorized to confer such degrees; thereupon

Resolved, That the Trustees of said Academy be requested to prefer a petition to the next General Assembly of the State of Connecticut, with all the powers, privileges and immunities of a College."

Nothing came of their petition, beyond the satisfaction of having preferred it. The Congregational Standing Order was still supreme in the political affairs of the state. Its grip would be broken a few years hence, but at the moment it was powerful enough to block any

¹⁷The Convocation was a meeting of the clergy to consult on spiritual matters in the diocese. The first, of which the minutes have been preserved, was held June 2, 1790, the last June 13, 1848. The Convention, organized in 1792, was composed of both clergymen and laymen.

¹⁸*Journal of Convention*, 1810, p. 16.

Standing Order was definitely broken. The persistence of Churchmen in petitioning for a college charter was rewarded in 1823 when Washington College was chartered, name to be changed in 1845 to Trinity College. And thus the status of the old academy remained unchanged, to go on its way as a preparatory school, undisturbed by any thoughts of collegiate grandeur.

At the convention held June 2nd, 1819, a committee was appointed to visit the academy and "investigate the state of the funds of that institution, and all the facts connected with its interest and prosperity." The report was made, and by request Dr. Bronson gave an abstract of it for insertion in the *Journal*.²² It was a full picture of the life and work of the school, ending with these statistics of the years covering Dr. Bronson's administration up to that time:

"The average number of students, during the last thirteen years, has been about 60 in each term, varying from 36 to 96. Of those educated at the Academy since its institution, 28 have taken Holy Orders—3 are now candidates—about 90 have been qualified to enter the various Colleges. The number of those who have been qualified for the professions of Law and Medicine is considerable; but cannot be correctly ascertained."

These are not large figures, but they show that the school was doing what it was established to do, train men for holy orders. Those figures do not give the full picture, for the years of Dr. Bowden and Dr. Smith are not included. We have no list of the pupils of those days. And yet we know that a considerable number were in attendance at the school during the ten years of their service.

Dr. Bronson served the school faithfully and well, and longer than any other principal, except Dr. Horton later on. He was a member of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, and Brown University bestowed upon him the degree of doctor in divinity in 1813. He was long honored with membership on the standing committee of the diocese. His death came September 6th, 1826. He was buried in the church-yard at Cheshire, his grave marked by a suitable monument placed there in grateful remembrance by his old pupils and friends.

²²*Journal of Convention for 1819, p. 40.*

The death of Dr. Bronson created a serious problem for the academy. Bishop Brownell in his convention address,²³ says: "It will be a matter of no small difficulty to find a person suitably qualified to fill this important station. If it should be hastily and improperly filled, the evil cannot be easily remedied; and if no candidate can be found, who shall receive the decided approbation of the present Convention, I would recommend that the Trustees of the Institution be requested to procure some proper teacher to supply the vacancy till the next Annual Convention." That was what the trustees did, acting on that recommendation.

The rector of the local parish was the Rev. Henry M. Mason (d. April 25, 1868). He was made provisional principal, and served in that capacity for about a year. This was the beginning of a practice, which, though resorted to for practical reasons was very unsatisfactory, the practice of combining the office of rector of the parish with that of principal of the academy. Aside from the fact that one man could not do justice to either office, the bishop raises what might be called a moral question when he says, "The funds of the Academy were raised for the education of youth, under the auspices of the Church, and it is obvious that they ought to be sacredly applied to this object. They cannot be diverted to the support of a parish minister, nor to constitute a sinecure for a nominal principal." The convention went so far as to vote that "it is inexpedient that the same gentleman should fill the offices of Principal of the Episcopal Academy at Cheshire, and pastor of the Episcopal Congregation in that place."²⁴ That might seem to be final, but it was not.

While the trustees were finding it difficult to select a successor to Dr. Bronson, yet they were not unmindful of their responsibility. They made two attempts to elect a principal but the men chosen were not available. One of those men was the Rev. William R. Whittingham (1805-1879), afterwards bishop of Maryland.²⁵ This was in the summer of 1828. He accepted and went so far as to make his plans

²³*Journal of Convention for 1827, p. 11.*

²⁴*Journal of Convention for 1829, p. 45.*

²⁵*Life of William Rollinson Whittingham* by William Francis Brand, p. 43. Also, *Record Book of the Trustees*, entry for October 8, 1818. This book is in the archives of the diocese.

John's Church, Waterbury, where he was serving as rector, when in 1836 he was called to the headship of the Episcopal Academy.

It seemed as if under his leading the future of the school was bright. He had all the qualifications to make it such, the enthusiasm of young manhood, the love for teaching, the proper regard for discipline, a well-stored mind. But it was otherwise ordered. On October 12th, 1838, he died and was buried in Waterbury where he had been rector. The Rev. E. E. Beardsley, his pupil at Norwalk, his rector and successor at Cheshire, preached a sermon commemorative of him, speaking of him as a *Man*, as a *Christian*, as a *Minister*, and as a *Teacher of Youth*.²⁷ It was a fine tribute to one, who, had he lived, would have made for himself, in all probability, an enviable record as a schoolmaster, and given to the academy an impetus which would have carried it nobly on its way.

The school was not long without a successor to Mr. Morgan. On November 8th, less than a month after Mr. Morgan's death, the Rev. E. E. Beardsley (1808-1891) became principal. This was easily accomplished, because he was the rector of the parish, and again there was resort to that unsatisfactory and somewhat discredited arrangement of having the rector and the principal one and the same person. It was contrary to Mr. Beardsley's better judgment, but expediency decreed otherwise. However, it was the last time.

Mr. Beardsley was a graduate of Washington, now Trinity College, in the class of 1832; rector of St. Thomas' Church, New Haven, 1848-1891; member of the General Convention, 1868-1889; president of the House of Deputies, 1880 and 1883; long a member of the standing committee of the diocese, 1859-1891; historian and author. He resigned from the academy November 6th, 1844.

Following him came the Rev. Seth B. Paddock (1795-1851), who died in office. He was a graduate of Yale College in the class of 1820.

He was succeeded by the Rev. Hilliard Bryant (1808-1880), who was a graduate of Amherst College in the class of 1831.

The Rev. Edward Ballard (1806-1870) came next. He was a graduate of Dartmouth College in the class of 1830. He resigned in April, 1857.

For six months now the School was again closed, but it reopened in October of that year under the principalship of the Rev. John H. Babcock (1826-1908). He was a graduate of Union College in the class of 1845. He resigned October 19th, 1861.

²⁷*Chronicle of the Church*, November 9th, 1838, p. 359.

to go to Cheshire, but he had only recently been ordained and was still a deacon. Bishop Hobart peremptorily refused to grant him letters dimissory, and he had to recall his acceptance to his great mortification. One may wonder, without profit to anyone, what would have been the effect upon the academy if he had accepted. He was a great bishop, but he might have been a poor schoolmaster.

The Rev. Mr. Mason continued in temporary charge of the school until 1829, but on June 2nd, 1831, the Rev. Christian F. Crusé (1794-1865), was elected principal. He was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania in the class of 1815, sometime librarian of the General Theological Seminary, described as "one of the most learned men in the Church." The convention had definitely voted that the same man should not be principal of the Academy and rector of the church at the same time, and yet they promptly disregarded that vote in the case of Mr. Crusé.

He remained at the academy until the winter of 1831. The school now somewhat resembled a doubtful summer morning, described as "opening and shutting." When Mr. Crusé left, the academy remained closed until June 2nd, 1832, when the Rev. Bethel Judd (1776-1858), became the principal. He was a graduate of Yale College in the class of 1797. He came to Cheshire from New London, Connecticut, where he had been rector of St. James' Church for fourteen years, a rectorship rich in its results, but not all that it might have been, perhaps, had he been free to devote all his time to the parish. To eke out his salary he did what many of the early clergy did, opened a school, which "so engrossed his time and attention, that he was never able to bestow upon the parish the amount of labor which its interests required."²⁸ During his administration of the academy the attempt was made to introduce the system of manual labor to aid needy students, but it was not a success. Dr. Judd resigned October 13th, 1835.

The school now remained closed for a year. It was in a very depressed condition and needed the guiding hand of just the right man to pull it out of the slough into which it had fallen. He was forthcoming in the person of the Rev. Allen Clay Morgan (1802-1838). He was a graduate of Yale College in the class of 1826, and from that year to 1831 taught schools in Norwalk and Hartford, Connecticut, and in Ulster, New York State. After his ordination to the diaconate, November 27th, 1831, he exercised his ministry for the most part in St.

²⁸*Annals of St. James's Church, New London*, by Robert A. Hallam, D. D., p. 93.

1862 to 1892

Thirty years had passed since Dr. Bronson died, and during that time nine principals had served the school. This was not a wholesome situation. It suggested a lack of stability. And yet the work of educating youths was going on all the time. The numbers were never large. There were no facilities for large numbers. Mr. Beardsley, giving an account of his administration, says: "We have had in the course of instruction, each term for six years, an average number of forty-two scholars, most of whom were from other towns than Cheshire, and many from extreme parts of the Union." That last statement is interesting because it shows that the old academy had lost much of its local character, and was drawing pupils from farther afield. This fact would become more conspicuous in the years to follow.

In the midst of the trying days of the war between the states it became necessary to appoint a new principal. On January 1st, 1862, the Rev. Sanford J. Horton (1817-1896) took charge of the school, and his tenure of office was as long as the nine who had preceded him. He was a graduate of Trinity College in the class of 1843. From 1852 to 1862 he was rector of St. Paul's Church, Windham, Connecticut, and in addition he conducted a school for boys. When he went to Cheshire he took some of his Windham boys with him, even as Dr. Bowden took some of the boys from his Stratford school when he went to Cheshire.

Because of the war the military spirit was rife, and military discipline was finding its way into the curriculum of many a school. There was the Russell School in New Haven which had a well-merited reputation.²⁸ Dr. Horton soon introduced the military system into the academy. The uniform adopted was of Confederate gray, chosen, perhaps, in contrast to the dark blue of the Russell School. But it may have been chosen because of its serviceableness. Dr. Horton was not one to overlook that fact.

The academy had now entered upon a new and prosperous era. In the report to the trustees for the year 1863 the enrollment is shown to be one hundred; eighty boarders and twenty day scholars, and the principal is calling for larger accommodations. A large frame building was erected at this time. It served its purpose until the morning of September 25th, 1873, when it was completely destroyed by fire. It was immediately replaced by a substantial brick building, which was

²⁸ Founded in 1836 by General William H. Russell (1809-1885), Yale 1833.

named Horton Hall by the trustees. This, too, was destroyed by fire. The original building erected in 1796 still stands, though it has endured severe evisceration to adapt it to modern needs. This is known as Bowden Hall, a name not given to it at first, however.

After a successful administration of thirty years, Dr. Horton resigned June 30th, 1892. He died June 7th, 1896, and was buried in Cheshire Churchyard.

The story of the remaining years need not hold us long, though it has yet a quarter of a century to go. Dr. Horton was succeeded by the Rev. James Stoddard (1849-1916). He was a graduate of Trinity College in the class of 1871.

When he resigned July 1st, 1896, he was succeeded by Eri Davidson Woodbury (1837-1928), Dartmouth, 1863. He had served in the Civil War with distinction, and bore the wounds of it. When he was mustered out June 21st, 1865, he went as classical teacher to the Episcopal Academy, and for many years served as headmaster under the principal. He was the first layman to act in the capacity of principal. The original constitution had been changed in 1836 to make that possible. Mr. Woodbury, "Professor," as he was invariably called, never forgot his military training. He was ever the soldier, erect in bearing, quick in action, stern in manner, but with a heart full of kindness, and always just in his dealings with the boys. He resigned July 1st, 1903. He died April 14th, 1928, and was buried in Cheshire Churchyard.

Roland J. Mulford (1871-) was appointed to the headship of the school on July 1st, 1903. He was a graduate of Harvard University in the class of 1893, and had received the degree of doctor of philosophy from Johns Hopkins in 1903.

But now a great change came over the fortunes of the academy. In 1904 an old academy boy, Joseph W. Harriman (1867-) of New York, leased the property, and overhauled and modernized the entire plant. The military feature, which came in with Dr. Horton, was abolished, "Episcopal" went from its name, and it became "Cheshire School." It ceased to be a diocesan institution. All this was recognized to be in trend with the times. With the strengthening of the financial set-up it seemed as if the day of larger things was at hand, and old boys and friends were exuberant with hope for the future.

Connecticut, the happy hunting ground for private schools, saw them springing up in almost every direction. Heavily endowed and lavishly housed they furnished a competition which the old academy could not meet. It was easier to establish a new school than to revivify an old one. Expectations were not immediately realized, and Mr.

Whence came the boys who, through the years, found their way to Cheshire? From what class, if we may use that term, did they stem? They came from all directions, even from Central and South America, from Mexico and the West Indies. So much for geography. As for class—well, they were thoroughly heterogeneous, whatever the standard by which class is determined. In the military period the gray uniform was always gray, and free from all embellishments save the insignia of rank, which the boy might win. In his closet hung, perhaps, a well-tailored Fifth Avenue suit. It was nice to have it there to wear home at vacation time. He had no need for it at the school. There was one class of boys there, so far as dress indicated.

At the school in 1802 to 1804 there was a lad, Jackson Kemper (1789-1870), who might have, perhaps, a somewhat different view of this matter of class. His biographer²⁰ tells us that he was not "happy in the academy at Cheshire, which was regarded, apparently, too much in the light of a house of correction by parents of unmanageable boys."

How much of the biographer is in that and how much of Kemper it is not easy to say. It may be that the boy was "somewhat fastidious, used as he was to refined, feminine environment," and not equal to the rough ways of a not too-well ordered school. But be that as it may, he picked up somewhere the rugged qualities which made him the great missionary bishop of well-nigh all the West. Personalities differ, and where one finds the going hard and unpleasant another takes it in his stride. Kemper's contemporary, Henry Washington Lee (1815-1874), the first bishop of Iowa, though at Cheshire some years later, had no complaints, so far as we are aware, of the rudeness and roughness of his fellow-students. And the same could be said of Edwin S. Lines (1845-1927), bishop of Newark, than whom the old academy had no more devoted son.

A study of the catalogue of those who received, wholly or in part, their scholastic training at Cheshire will disclose the names of many who have served well in their respective walks of life. If it is of the ministry we are thinking, the number of those, who, from first to last, have taken holy orders is large; if it is of statecraft, there is Gideon Welles (1802-1878), Secretary of the Navy in Lincoln's Cabinet; if it is of the Army, there is General Joseph Wheeler (1836-1906) of the Confederacy, of the Union in the Spanish-American War; if it is of the Navy there are Admiral Foote (1896-1863) and Commodore Hull (1802-1890); if it is of business, there are J. Pierpont Morgan, Senior (1837-1913) and William Gwinn Mather (1857-); if it is of the law there is DeLancey Nicoll (1854-1931); if it is of artists and architects, there

²⁰Greenough White, *An Apostle of the Western Church*, p. 10.

Mulford resigned April 20th, 1907, and became the founder and head master of Ridgefield School.

He was followed at Cheshire by the Rev. John D. Skilton (1867-), a graduate of Kenyon College in the class of 1888, who had had a wide experience as a schoolmaster. He retired from the academy in June, 1910.

His successor, and the last to occupy the position, was Paul Klimpke (1868-1935), a graduate of Yale in the class of 1892. He had been a successful master in Taft School. He resigned in June, 1917, and the old Episcopal Academy of Connecticut, after one hundred and twenty-three years of its existence, came to an end. On its site, and occupying the buildings with some new ones to replace Horton Hall destroyed by fire, January 8th, 1941, is a prosperous school bearing the corporate name Cheshire Academy, but it has no connection with the old diocesan school known as the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut.

The story of the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut ought not to come to a close without some reference to the body of its alumni, not necessarily those who went through the process of graduating, but those who spent a longer or shorter time there in their scholastic training. The school was established, as we have seen, for the education of the sons of Church parents, primarily perhaps, of Cheshire, but of adjoining towns as well. It is evident that in the earlier days many of the boys went to the academy for the winter months, working on the farm in spring and summer. Later they began to come in increasing numbers from farther afield.

The General Catalogue, published in 1916, the first and only general catalogue, lists something over three thousand boys and one hundred and seventeen girls, the girls coming in those early years when "female education was attended to." This is not a complete roster, but as complete as it can be under the circumstances, to be increased, possibly, as names are discovered from time to time. This paragraph from the foreword of the catalogue may be of interest here. It says:

"From 1839 down, the list is fairly complete, though probably there are some gaps in the period between 1839 and 1850. A little uncertainty hangs over the early sixties. Prior to 1839 there are doubtless a great many names which have not been recovered, though the period from 1814 to 1826 is nearly if not quite complete. Very few names appear on the list prior to 1814, and only five names of boys who were in the School before 1800."

THOMAS CHURCH BROWNELL—THIRD BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT

By William A. Beardsley

IN the archives of the diocese of Connecticut there is a little age-yellowing manuscript, of particular interest to the student of Connecticut church history. It is autobiographic as well as autographic, for it is the story of the early years of Thomas Church Brownell written with his own hand.

It bears the date of May 22nd, 1858, and is addressed to Bishop Williams, who at some time, apparently, had exacted from Bishop Brownell the promise to set down the record of the early years of his life. This little manuscript is the fulfilment of that promise. For what purpose Bishop Williams desired this narrative is not stated, but it is a fair assumption that, in view of Bishop Brownell's advancing years and failing health, Bishop Williams felt that the day was approaching, when to him would fall the duty of supplying those essential facts which are called for when a leader falls, and so he would be fore-armed against that day.

Much as one would like to quote freely from that manuscript, even to give it in full,¹ yet one could hardly do that in the limits of an article like this. But perhaps we may be permitted to let the bishop bring himself into the world, and he does so in these words: "I was born at Westport, in the State of Massachusetts, on the 19th day of October, in the year 1779. I am the oldest son of the late Sylvester and Mercy Brownell, and the first born of their eleven children—five sons and six daughters." That was a good orthodox number as families went in those days. It might even have been larger and still have been normal.

Brownell's boyhood days were spent on the farm. That goes far to explain him. The farm was a great training school for men in days gone by, as any reading of the records will reveal. Somehow the farm made for strength of character as well as of muscle. It wove a rugged and durable fibre into the composition of the man.

An early ancestor of Brownell had bartered with the Narragan-

¹Printed in full in *Beardsley's History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, Vol. II. p. 189.

are John Frederick Kensett (1816-1872) and Ernest Flagg (1857-) ; if it is of any of the professions, there are those too numerous to mention, worthy representatives of their calling.

Now we have not called this roll of some of the academy's boys, who have distinguished themselves, in any spirit of boastfulness, though we are justified in regarding them with pardonable pride, but to show in some measure what the academy has stood for, and to prove its place in the long line of scholastic institutions, which have played their part in the educational history of our land. No one who is at all familiar with the story of the founding of the school, and with its hopes and disappointments through the years, can fail to feel poignant regret that its work is done, and must henceforth live only in memory. This then is the history of the EPISCOPAL ACADEMY OF CONNECTICUT.



TRINITY CHURCH, NEW HAVEN.
First Building, 1752.

sett Indians for a "tract of land lying on the seacoast, extending westward from the Acoaxset River, to the border of the Rhode Island Colony". Within that tract lay the Brownell farm, and Westport, where the bishop was born. That farm remained in the possession of the Brownell family through several generations. But about thirty years before the bishop wrote his autobiographical sketch his father moved into Rhode Island where he owned a farm in the town of Little Compton. This change of residence did not carry him far afield, for Little Compton was situated about midway in that narrow strip of Rhode Island, lying between Massachusetts on the east and the Sakonnet River on the west, directly opposite and adjoining the region wherein was Westport.

It was in this home at Little Compton that his parents spent the last years of their life. His father died about 1840 at the advanced age of eighty-one, his mother equally old having preceded his father by three years. If length of life be hereditary then we have the explanation, in part certainly, of the bishop's longer life of eighty-five.

It was apparently about 1828 that the change was made from Westport to Little Compton. That would mean that the bishop's boyhood days were spent in Westport, and even some of his young manhood days. And so it would be in the district school at Westport that the foundations of his education were laid. And those foundations were such as the average country lad could get. It was in the district school that the initial construction began. And if the character of the foundation laid may be judged by the superstructures built thereon, then the old time district school has a fine bill of health.

Anyone who is at all familiar with the story of the little country school a century or more back knows the difficulties under which it labored. Not the least of those difficulties was the schoolmaster. Assuming that he could be procured, he was not always all that could be desired, either in point of character or erudition. Westport was not immune from this difficulty of obtaining a schoolmaster, and so one term it found itself without a teacher.

But there was a temporary solution to this difficulty. Young Brownell was a pupil in the school. He was fifteen years old, and clearly had given proof of his sterling qualities of mind and character, or else no one would ever have suggested that he assume, even temporarily, the roll of the village schoolmaster. But he was asked to fill the gap, and did so for several months, and with justifiable pride says: "I succeeded in securing the respect of my former school-mates." There is no boasting there, merely the statement of a fact, a fact which stood out clearly in the memory of the old bishop.

This youthful venture of his in the art of pedagogy is interesting, because it gives us a glimpse of what later became the outstanding feature of his life and work. Bishop Brownell was essentially a teacher. We shall see that as our story unfolds.

When Brownell was about eighteen he felt the need of greater educational opportunities than the district school afforded. The obvious and easiest thing for him to do was to turn to the pastor of the Congregational Church where the family worshipped. In him he found a sympathetic helper and adviser. Not only did he instruct him in certain elementary subjects, but he encouraged him to prepare for college.

Not far away in Taunton, Massachusetts, there was Bristol Academy, which at that time had for its head the Rev. Simeon Daggett or Daggett. Thither Brownell went and by the fall of 1800 was able to enter the freshman class of Brown University, then known as the College at Providence. At the head of this institution was the Rev. Jonathan Maxcy, a man of rare attainments and of strong personality, who at the early age of twenty-four had been placed at the head of the college. Young though he was, yet the success of his administration justified his choice.

But the College at Providence was not to retain its gifted young president long. In 1802, after an administration of ten years, Dr. Maxcy (he had received the degree of D. D. from Harvard the year before) was elected to the presidency of Union College. Ordinarily the departure of the president from a college makes no great difference with the individual student. He bears up under the change and goes on his way towards graduation, if that be his way. But here it was different. Thomas Brownell, the student, had formed such strong attachment to Dr. Maxcy, the president, that he packed his bag and went to Schenectady with him, and entered the junior class at Union.

Brownell's transfer of loyalties does not seem to have interfered with his scholastic progress. He completed the remaining two years of his college course and graduated at the head of his class in 1804. Brownell had now realized his ambition, entertained, no doubt, as far back as when, in the district school, he, a callow lad, had tried his hand at schoolmastering, the ambition of a collegiate education.

But now came the question, which comes to every sincere young man upon the completion of his college course, "What am I going to do with this sheaf of learning?" Perhaps that question came with greater force to the young men of older days, because a college edu-

But Mr. Brownell's problems were not solved by his appeal to Dr. Nott. He put into his hands certain books which Brownell read carefully, but when he turned from their perusal other difficulties had arisen, difficulties concerned more with the polity of the Church than with its theology. He frankly said to his mentor that it seemed to him, from the reading of these books, that the "first organization of the Christian Church must have been more like that of the Episcopal communion, than either the Presbyterian or Congregational denominations".

Evidently Dr. Nott failed to take the full measure of this young man. He was honestly trying to get his feet on the solid ground, and when Dr. Nott treated these questionings somewhat cavalierly, and added, "Go to Dr. Beasley; he can tell you", why, he just went. That was Dr. Frederic Beasley who was the rector of St. Peter's Church, Albany. To him he stated his difficulties, and Dr. Beasley gave him Archbishop Potter's "Discourse on Church Government".

When the aged bishop years later set down his recollections of those difficult days when he was feeling his way to the light, he says, with real enthusiasm, "The perusal of this work was like the opening of a new world to me. I read the whole with deep attention. It unfolded to me a new aspect of Christianity. The survey afforded to me unspeakable relief; but it was necessarily attended with many regrets. I had no near relation, and no intimate friend, belonging to the Episcopal Church; and I seemed to be left alone in the world, in regard to my religious sympathies".

There is a real pathos in that cry of the young man emerging into a clearer understanding of the difficulties which had beset him. He had reached the point now where he needed not merely intellectual guidance, but that sympathy which could come only from an understanding heart, which only one, keenly appreciative of what the transfer of his loyalties involved, could give. At the moment there was none to render that help.

Now began a period of incubation, or better, perhaps, to change the figure, a period of a settling of the ground which had been upturn. The next few years of his life were not necessarily planned for that purpose, but intentionally or unintentionally that was the purpose they served. The Rev. Dr. Nott had succeeded Dr. Maxcy as president of Union College, and Brownell's pertinacity in his quest for theological light had not alienated Dr. Nott's regard for him, for very soon after his induction as president, Brownell received the appointment of tutor in the Latin and Greek languages. He began his duties April 5th, 1805.

cation was so definitely and distinctly acquired as a preparation for the life work that was to follow.

The ministry at that time was the learned profession, which, if it did not receive the greatest consideration from young men coming out of the colleges, yet did receive sufficient consideration to carry many of them into its ranks. Of the sixty-six men, for instance, graduating from Yale College in 1804, twenty-one entered the ministry. Perhaps that may be above the average, but it is an indication of the strong claim which the ministry had upon the men who came out of the colleges.

We know that Brownell had a definite purpose in his academic career, for in his autobiography he says, "It had been, for some time, my intention to devote myself to the study of theology, at the conclusion of my collegiate course; and it was the earnest wish of my parents that I should do so". It would be the ministry of the Presbyterian Church, of course, for that was the church of his parents, and the church in which he had been reared. But he was not taking the step hastily, just as a matter of course, and without any adequate thought. And thought did not make his course any clearer through the dreary jungle of the Calvinistic system. He began to see bogies behind the trees, fearsome shapes which he did not like, spectres athwart his path.

Now did he wish to go that way? He was not sure, nor was he sure that he ought to turn back, or turn aside. Brownell was a careful man, never, apparently, guided by impulse. The things which he thought he had seen were perhaps only spectres, with no other existence than in his imagination. He would make no final decision until he had sought for further light, and, if possible, get a clearer understanding of the things that bothered him. That was as it should have been. Not lightly could a sincere man abandon the church of his fathers.

Over in Albany was a distinguished clergyman, pastor of the Presbyterian church there, the Rev. Eliphalet Nott, very soon to become president of Union College. Apparently Brownell appealed to him for help in his theological difficulties, and that help was freely and gladly given. Mr. Nott knew his theology, and knew how to explain it to a wavering soul seeking light. Brownell says of Mr. Nott's explanation of the doctrines that bothered him, "He had the faculty of presenting these doctrines upon a somewhat mitigated form", a rather quaint way of putting it, and delightful in its unconscious humor. So far as the presentation of these stern Calvinistic doctrines is concerned the work of mitigation can hardly be said to have ceased. It has certainly gone far since Dr. Nott's day.

For the next eleven years his work was academic, and in Union College. After two years as tutor in Latin and Greek, he was made professor of Belles Lettres and Moral Philosophy. In this department he remained for two years. But Union wished to keep pace with the times. Chemistry and mineralogy were beginning to receive proper recognition, and Union must have that department, and Professor Brownell was asked to take charge of it. Professorial specialization was not so much in evidence then as it is now. But then as chemistry and mineralogy were comparatively new sciences, perhaps Professor Brownell was at no greater disadvantage in attempting to teach them than any other man would have been. In any event the teacher must needs be the learner as well, and there was no reason why the professor of Belles Lettres and Moral Philosophy could not become the professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy. In the latter case he would at least be dealing with something tangible.

The college gave Mr. Brownell a year's leave of absence, and he was to spend the year abroad in preparation for his new task. He met distinguished scientists, visited their laboratories, attended their lectures, traveled on foot through the agricultural and mining districts of England and Scotland and Ireland, all the time gathering specimens to take back home with him. Of that year abroad he was able to say that it was "one of the most busy and eventful years of my life". At the beginning of the fall term in 1810, he began his work as professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy.

That year abroad may have been, as he said, one of the most busy and eventful years of his life, but on the strength of the record the year 1811 was even more eventful, and possibly just as busy, though along quite different lines. On the 6th of August, 1811, he was married to Charlotte Dickinson, daughter of Tertullus Dickinson, of Lansingburgh, N. Y.

Now that marriage had a remarkable influence upon his whole future life. Let us recall again that rather pathetic lament of his when he was uncertainly groping along the way which seemed to be leading to the Episcopal Church, a way which he was not averse to following: "I had no near relation, and no intimate friend, belonging to the Episcopal Church; and I seemed to be left alone in the world in regard to my religious sympathies". That condition was now in the process of being remedied, for Miss Dickinson was an ardent member of the Episcopal Church, as were nearly all of her immediate relatives.

Though for some time he had been convinced of the historical and scriptural grounds of Episcopacy, he had not felt hitherto that it

was necessary to transfer his church connections. But he was now "led to give a more particular examination to this subject". However great may have been the influence of his wife in helping him to make the change, yet it did not come at once.

There is a delightful passage bearing on this point in the reminiscences of Bishop Clark of Rhode Island, who, "after four years of mossy quietude as an assistant minister in Trinity Church, Boston", to use his own words, became the rector of Christ Church, Hartford, Connecticut, where he was brought into close associations with the Brownells. In speaking of Bishop Brownell's affiliation with the Presbyterian Church, he says, "his wife used to tell me how they would start off together on Sunday morning and walk on until they reached a certain corner, where they would separate, and he go one way to the Presbyterian church, while she wended her solitary walk to the Episcopal. It was not long, however, before he followed in her footsteps, as anyone might have predicted who knew Mrs. Brownell—a most attractive and winning woman, and as full of quaint and quiet humor as she was of goodness, and so continued to the very end". And then he adds a brief comment which is eloquent in what it suggests rather than in what it says, "Aged people would be more in demand if they were always as considerate and cheerful as those two persons were".

There is extant a quaint little photograph showing the bishop and his wife seated in their Victorian living room. For them the sun is near its setting. There may yet be a few more moments of twilight, but their work is done, their life is lived, and as they sit there in the sweet and confident placidity of old age, looking out upon a world which is theirs no more, and with which they have no longer to contend, one feels the truth and force of Bishop Clark's gracious summation of the character of this godly pair.

Professor Brownell was baptized September 5th, 1813, in St. George's Church, Schenectady, N. Y., and soon after confirmed. That he had not been baptized earlier he explains, was due to the fact that when, owing to a revival the other members of the family were baptized, he at the moment was away at school, and, as he says, "it was then considered almost an unheard of thing that a person twenty years of age should receive baptism, unless he was the subject of some prevailing *revival*".

Now as a member of the Episcopal Church he began to study theology as taught by that Church, not, as he tells us, "with a view to the relinquishment of my college avocations, but in the hope that I might add to my usefulness by receiving holy orders, and affording a Sun-

Rt. Rev. William White, D. D., bishop of Pennsylvania, the Rt. Rev. John Henry Hobart, D. D., bishop of New York, and the Rt. Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold, D. D., bishop of the Eastern Diocese, that is, of all New England except Connecticut.

Thus far in our story have we come, personally conducted, so to speak, as regards essential details, by the bishop himself. But with his consecration his autobiography ends. From now on we must find our own way. It presents few difficulties, and leads along pleasant and fruitful fields.

A word should be said as to the situation of the Church in Connecticut prior to Mr. Brownell's election and at the time of his accession to office. As is well known, the Congregational Standing Order had long been and still was supreme. To-day we boast of the freedom of the Church from the State. It was not ever thus. The early fathers left England, according to tradition, to escape the tyranny of the Church over the State, and the first thing they did here was to rivet on the fetters that bound the two, with the result that "Church and State were so closely united as ever they were in England". The people were free to worship, O yes, so long as they worshipped in the right way, but that did not happen to be the way in which the Church of England people wished to worship. Nor did they derive any pleasure in paying for something they did not want. And therefore taxes, which were not voluntary but obligatory, for the support of the Congregational Order were particularly obnoxious.

In 1817 the political complexion of the State changed with the election of Oliver Wolcott as governor, and Jonathan Ingersoll as lieutenant governor. Jonathan Ingersoll was a member of the Episcopal Church and warden of Trinity Church, New Haven. He was the first State officer since the founding of the colony to be other than a Congregationalist. Some of the ablest men in the State were in the General Assembly, and the Episcopal Church was well represented there.

The outcome of this political revolution was that a new constitution was adopted for the State, a constitution which gave to everyone equal civil and religious privileges. There was no longer any such thing as a state church. Theologians and politicians were sure that the State was headed for ruin.

In the year following the adoption of this constitution, that is, in 1819, Bishop Brownell entered upon the duties of his office. His predecessor, Bishop Jarvis, had died May 3rd, 1813, and for one reason or another the diocese had failed to supply his successor. It did go at one time so far as to elect the Rev. Dr. John Croes of New

day supply to some vacant parishes in my vicinity". Certainly that was a commendable purpose, but little did he realize how rapidly events were moving for him, and the direction they were taking.

On April 11th, 1816, he was ordained a deacon in Trinity Church, New York, by the bishop of New York, the Rt. Rev. John Henry Hobart, D. D., and on the 4th of August in that same year, in the same place and by the same bishop, he was advanced to the priesthood. His life was closely bound in with that of Bishop Hobart, a fact which will be more and more apparent as we proceed.

At first he did carry out his idea of being helpful to small and vacant parishes within easy reach of Schenectady, and this might have gone on for some time but for the fact that a troublesome disease affected his lungs, and on the advice of his physician he went south. His sojourn there brought about his recovery. On his way home he stopped in New York and preached both in Trinity and St. Paul's. Not long after his return to Schenectady he received an invitation to become an assistant minister in Trinity Church. Bishop Hobart was the rector. He was to fill the vacancy occasioned by the defection and deposition of the Rev. Dr. T. Y. How. The rector nominated him, and the nomination was approved, "in confidence that Mr. Brownell will relinquish the office if his health shall not be found so established as to enable him to discharge his duties". They were taking no chances you see. But Mr. Brownell was not to die for forty-seven years.

He accepted the invitation, and on August 11th, 1818, he entered upon the duties of Assistant Minister in Trinity Church, and as he says, "I supposed I had then entered upon the labors of my entire subsequent life", an altogether too modest view to take of himself, and of his chances for promotion.

But his connection with Trinity Parish was of brief duration. Within the year a deputation from Connecticut sought him out and informed him that the diocese of Connecticut had chosen him to be its bishop. No doubt Bishop Hobart's hand was in this. During his labors in Connecticut, as provisional bishop, he had come to know something about the diocese, and now he had come to know something about Mr. Brownell. He knew that Connecticut had had its difficulties in choosing a bishop, and he knew that difficulties still remained which needed smoothing out. Did he not see in Mr. Brownell the man who could do it?

Brownell accepted the election, and in due time was consecrated the third bishop of Connecticut. The consecration took place in Trinity Church, New Haven, October 27th, 1819. His consecrators were the

presumably intended to make that his permanent home. His predecessor had lived in New Haven. Perhaps that was why he went to Hartford. In size it was only a little way behind New Haven, and with New Haven it shared the honor of being the "semi capital of Connecticut". One would think that New Haven, as the home of Yale College, and therefore an educational center, would have had its appeal to one whose life had been so largely academic. But to Hartford he went, and there the first two years of his life as bishop were lived. During those two years he served as rector of Christ Church, Hartford, in addition to his duties as bishop.

But now here was where his disappointment came in. The establishment of an institution for the training of candidates for the ministry had been agitated in the Church for some time, and finally in 1817, the General Convention took definite action and voted that such institution should be established, and that it should be located in New York City. Professor Brownell had had this matter much in his heart and mind, and he never ceased to be interested in the subject of theological education, as even a casual glance at his charges and sermons will show.

Before the Church took any action regarding the establishment of a theological school he was apparently thinking seriously about it, for a student² in Union College, who had been a pupil at the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut, in writing to its principal, Dr. Tillotson Bronson, under date of September 16th, 1816, says: "Professor Brownell still continues desiring to have a theological school established in Schenectady—and he is willing to do all in his power to do it—He has been twice to N. York & has been sounding the clergy there—and they are all desirous to have it in the city—New York is not the place for it—I do wish & pray that it could be in Schenectady". That is of value to us, perhaps, only as it shows Professor Brownell's relation to the matter.

The school went to New York, but it did not thrive there. Dr. Samuel H. Turner, one of the professors, says in his autobiography,³ "the leading men in the Church there, did not take much interest in it", and that Bishop Hobart "treated it with comparative indifference", and then he adds this illuminating comment, "it is not to be questioned that, with the great proportion of Churchmen in his diocese, his word and practice were equivalent to law". Of course its funds were very limited, and that contributed much to its languishment.

The General Convention of 1820 felt that something must be

²Samuel Johnston. *Ms. letters in the archives of the diocese.*
³*pp.* 86, 87.

Jersey, but he had no desire to leave New Jersey, and New Jersey acted with dispatch to see that he did not leave, by electing him their own bishop.

Connecticut's deliberation in choosing a successor to Bishop Jarvis was due in part to their inability to unite upon a suitable man, but in larger part to the fact that the Bishop's Fund was deemed inadequate. The treasurer of that fund reported to the convention in 1817, "there can be but one sentiment in the Church, in relation to the episcopal office. All will admit its incumbent should be, if they desire the Church should flourish, a man of superior virtues and talents. The bishop of the diocese of Connecticut should, if possible, be inferior to no other man in it. Such a man is not to be obtained without adequate support".

No doubt the treasurer hoped to incite the convention to renewed efforts to increase the fund. But whatever may have been the state of the fund, in 1819 the convention proceeded to act. The diocese had been long enough without a head. True that for about three years Bishop Hobart had been serving as provisional bishop, and serving very acceptably, but still he was not the bishop of the diocese.

And so on June 2nd, 1819, the clerical members of the convention chose the Rev. Thomas Church Brownell to be their bishop, and on the following day that choice was unanimously confirmed by the laity. Let it be said that whatever hesitancy the convention may have felt regarding the adequacy of the fund for the bishop's support, that hesitancy was not shared in by the bishop-elect, for in his letter of acceptance he says, "with respect to pecuniary support, I do not feel any great solicitude. I have no doubt but the diocese will cheerfully take upon itself the maintenance of my family; and till the Bishop's Fund is adequate to this object, I think it proper to reserve to myself the right of deriving any necessary aid from the performance of such parish or missionary services as may not be incompatible with my duties to the diocese at large". His salary was to be fifteen hundred dollars.

And now Thomas Church Brownell, just turned forty, is a bishop in the Church of God, and bishop of Connecticut. His rapid promotion has no parallel in the history of the American Church, and probably not in the history of the whole Anglican Communion. Baptized in 1813, a bishop in 1819. But though he had been shot, as it were, into the office of bishop he was quite equal intellectually and otherwise, to carry the duties of that office. As Bishop Williams put it, "The Church in this diocese needed then the very man whom God in His gracious goodness sent to it".

At the very outset of his administration he met with a bitter disappointment. He had taken up his residence in Hartford, and

The seminary while still in New York had had its "night before Christmas", when Clement C. Moore, Esq., donated "sixty lots of ground at Greenwich", and now came its Christmas Day, when Jacob Sherred, Esq., left a legacy in his will for the establishment by the General Convention in the State of New York, of a "college, academy, school or seminary, for the education of young men designed for holy orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America". To get that money the seminary must go back to New York. Who shall say it did not act wisely? It is an interesting but futile speculation as to what would have been its history had it remained in New Haven. And would the students have cultivated "more moderate habits" in that land of "steady habits"?

This removal of the seminary back to New York was a sore disappointment to Bishop Brownell. He was a teacher, and here was an opportunity for him to exercise that gift in a way which was particularly agreeable to him. In his convention address in 1822 he refers to the matter in no bitter way, but in such manner as to show the real feeling of his heart, if one but reads between the lines. He says:

"It is well known to you, that at the late special General Convention referred to, the Theological Seminary of our Church was transferred from this diocese to that of New York. This measure was adopted that the Institution might avail itself of a munificent bequest of the late Jacob Sherred, for the advancement of theological education; and it was acquiesced in by the delegation from this diocese, from considerations affecting the peace and unity of the Church. I have often expressed my sentiments concerning the importance of a general theological seminary. I trust its present location will have a tendency to harmonize all discordant opinions on this subject, and that as it is an object of paramount importance to the Church, so it will now receive its liberal and united patronage."

And so the delegation from Connecticut acquiesced in this transfer from "considerations affecting the peace and unity of the Church". We may well believe that they did do at the earnest behest of their bishop. One writing of him says: "In his boyhood, the amiability and fondness for peace, which through life distinguished him, displayed themselves so strongly, that he became known as a peace-maker, and the boys of his acquaintance fastened upon him the sobriquet of 'Old Smoothing Plane'".⁶ Well, a smoothing plane is much pleasanter than a rasp.

⁶*Connecticut Convention Journal for 1822, p. 9.*

⁷*Church Review for July, 1865, p. 269.*

done. A committee appointed to consider the matter reported as follows:

"The committee are of opinion, that it is of great importance to the success of the institution, that it should be located in some place where the professors and students can have access to public libraries, enjoy the benefits resulting from literary society, and live comfortably at a moderate expense.

"Without detracting from the great advantages which the city of New York affords to students in the various departments of literature and science, the committee are of opinion that the city of New Haven offers inducements for the establishment of the theological school in that place (at least for the present, and while its funds are so limited) which ought not to be overlooked or disregarded".⁴

That was indeed flattering to New Haven. Well, the vote was taken, it was almost unanimous, and the seminary was transferred to New Haven, and reorganized on a somewhat different plan. It opened with ten students September 13th, 1820. Bishop Brownell was, of course, a trustee, as were all the bishops, and as it was now an institution within the confines of his diocese he felt a profound responsibility regarding it.

Consequently, in a letter dated November 11th, 1820, he wrote to the wardens and vestry of Christ Church, Hartford: "The establishment of the General Theological Seminary, has called upon me, by the duty which I owe to the church at large, to be near it during its infant state, that I may be the better able to render it such support and assistance as may not be incompatible with my permanent duties to the diocese". He forthwith moved to New Haven, and assumed his place on the teaching staff of the seminary. He gave instructions, which all the students attended, one day in each week, in the "department of pulpit eloquence, and the composition of sermons", and these instructions he gave gratuitously.

The seminary settled down to do its work amid the delightful advantages so graphically pictured in the committee's report, where the unmonied professors and impecunious students could "live comfortably at a moderate expense", and where the latter could cultivate "more moderate habits", when something happened which sent it scurrying back to New York. Almost in a moment, forgotten were the "strong objections" "in various parts of the Union" to its location in New York, forgotten were the attractions of New Haven, forgotten even the cultivation of more moderate habits among the students.

⁴*General Convention Journal for 1820, pp. 18, 19.*

Now that the seminary was lost they redoubled their efforts. Under the new State constitution their chances were better, and in 1823 their efforts were rewarded by the granting of a charter for Washington College, now known as Trinity College,¹¹ to be located in Hartford. In the fall of 1824 the college opened. Bishop Brownell was chosen president. He removed to Hartford, and in that city he made his home for the rest of his life.

It was only inevitable that as the college grew the work of administration would become more exacting. And the diocese was growing also. The convention was becoming a bit restive under the necessity of sharing the bishop with the college, and in a resolution passed in 1831 it ventured to "express the earnest hope that he will devote his labors exclusively to the pastoral care of the diocese, as soon as a suitable gentleman can be provided to fill the office of president of the institution, and a competent support for the bishop shall have been provided by the diocese".

Of course the bishop, realizing the justness of the hope thus expressed, retired from the presidency of the college, and on December 16th, 1831, in the college chapel, delivered a farewell address¹² to the students of the college. The opening paragraph of that address may be given here as it so fully sets forth what had been the bishop's relation to the college.

"Young gentlemen: The time is at hand when I am to retire from the immediate charge of this Institution. It is an event which I cannot contemplate without some emotion. Having made the first movements for the establishment of the college: Having been engaged, with great solicitude, in all the measures for procuring its charter; for raising the funds for its endowment; for framing the laws for its organization and government;—having presided over the instruction and discipline which has been dispensed in it, from its origin to the present time, it is naturally to be expected that my feelings should be strongly identified with its interests and its prospects."

The General Convention of 1829 met in Philadelphia. Bishop Brownell preached the opening sermon from the text, "But it is good to be zealously affected always in a good thing,"¹³ and his subject was "Christian Zeal". He did not scatter his fire, but aimed at two "good things", in which he felt that it was good for his hearers "always to be zealously affected", and they were, "our Theological Seminary,

¹¹ Name changed in 1845.

¹² Printed in pamphlet form.

¹³ Galatians iv, 18.

In the archives of the diocese of Connecticut there is an amusing letter in the Rudd¹ correspondence bearing on this matter of the transfer back to New York of the seminary. It is from Bishop Croes who is writing to Dr. Rudd from New Brunswick, May 26, 1821.

"* * * Dr Wharton² & Kemper³ came here on Monday evening, on their way to N. Haven, after being tossed, & toted, and jambled, all the way from Borden town to South Amboy, where they found no 'Olive Branch', or other conveyance to N. Y. and hired a hack, to bring them as far as this. The Dr was so worn down, that he gave up the jaunt & returned home, leaving K. to go on, and by his eloquence, (for I fancy no one else was there, on his side) persuade the good people of Connecticut to consent to have the seminary taken from them, and carried back to New York. He must have had a high opinion of their pliability & condescension. The Dr came from home, all in the dark, and, for the first time, learned, while here, that he was on a wild goose chase. For Kemper could not withhold letting out, to the Dr's astonishment, that he *himself*, & Mr Boyd⁴ *himself* & a certain friend of mine in New York, were the three persons who made the application to Bp. Brownell to call a meeting of the trustees. The Dr supposed it had originated at the seminary. He expressed his astonishment to me, and I soon shewed him, that his labour would be in vain, unless they could outvote the Connecticut trustees. I have not heard what was done. All this must be *inter nos*. The former Grand Master of the Lodge, is I am convinced at the bottom of all this.

"I shall in all probability set off for Newton, via N. Y. on the 4th or 5th of June.

"I have such a toothache, I can scarcely write.

"Yours affectionately,

"John Croes."

Thus ever in the last analysis do we find even among the dignified doctors a trace of politics.

Keen as was Bishop Brownell's disappointment at the loss of the seminary from Connecticut, yet he was almost immediately to have his compensation. The churchmen of Connecticut had long been trying to get a charter for a college of their own. They had succeeded in establishing the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut at Cheshire, but they were anxious to enlarge its charter so that it could confer degrees. But all their petitions met the same fate.

¹ Rev. John C. Rudd.

² Rev. Charles H. Wharton.

³ Rev. Jackson Kemper.

⁴ Rev. George Boyd.

tain cure in three months". How better could one taking a missionary journey arm himself than in that way?

That the bishop felt that the tour was in every way a success is evident from the closing words of his journal: "During a journey of about 6,000 miles, performed in four months and 9 days, I have been graciously preserved from every danger to which I may have been exposed. Nothing has occurred to mar the satisfaction of my journey, or to frustrate the benefits to be expected from it, and I have been permitted to join my family and friends again, under circumstances of the richest mercy. May I be suitably grateful for these unmerited favours, and may the great Head of the Church pour fourth abundant blessings on my unworthy labours."

Of course his labours were not "unworthy", but were of inestimable value in establishing the Church in that great field. The mere record of his official acts does not, perhaps, mean very much, but still it is interesting to note that he administered the sacrament of baptism to twelve adults and twenty-two children, confirmed one hundred and forty-two persons, consecrated six churches, and admitted one person to the holy order of the priesthood. He helped very materially in the organization of the dioceses of Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama. This journey of the bishop in 1829 forms an important chapter in the history of our early missionary endeavor.

In the fall of 1834 he went over some of the ground he had covered in his former journey, but not as the representative of the Missionary Society. This time he went at the request of the wardens and vestry of the parish at New Orleans, and also "with a view to the benefit of Mrs. Brownell's health". When he arrived at New Orleans he found the parish "much depressed and discouraged". They were in difficulties regarding the location of the new church, which it was imperative that they should have, they had no rector, they had no bishop. But he was able to write in his journal, "Before my departure, I had the satisfaction of seeing all these objects in a fair way of accomplishment, through the blessing of Divine Providence", and might not one add with the utmost respect and reverence, through the blessing of "Old Smoothing Plane"?

New Orleans seemed to like the bishop, for when their new church was completed they wanted him to consecrate it, and so in the fall of 1836 he made another journey to New Orleans, and this time he was absent from his diocese for five months. Connecticut then had about sixty-five congregations. It now has two hundred and seventeen places of worship.

The remaining years of Bishop Brownell's episcopate were years

and our Society for Domestic and Foreign Missions". He never lost an opportunity to emphasize the matter of theological education.

That this sermon had its effect in shaping the events in the course of the bishop's life which immediately followed is evident. If he emphasized the importance of theological education, with equal force he stressed the importance of the missionary work of the Church. The directors of the Missionary Society had become thoroughly aware of the great spiritual needs of that vast field to the south and southwest, which was quite unshepherded so far as our Church was concerned. They wanted a bishop to go and visit that field. What more natural than that they should turn to Bishop Brownell?

He could go, perhaps, better than any of the other bishops. There were only eleven from which the choice could be made, and he was one of the youngest, only Bishops Henry U. Onderdonk and Meade being younger, and if the eloquent words of his convention sermon meant anything he had the zeal. And so the choice fell upon him, and on November 5th, 1829, he left Hartford on his contemplated tour, "amid such demonstrations of respect and affection from the officers and students of Washington College, and others of our citizens, as must have been to him truly grateful".

And these were his marching orders: "I was requested to undertake a visitation through the states lying west and south of the Alleghany mountains, 'to perform such episcopal offices as might be desired, to inquire into the condition of the missions established by the Board, and to take a general survey of the country, for the purpose of designating such other missionary stations as might be usefully established'". The Rev. Francis L. Hawks was designated to be his companion and fellow-worker, but upon his withdrawal the Rev. William Richmond of New York was chosen in his place.

"The general direction of our tour," says the bishop in his report, "was from Philadelphia to Pittsburg; thence down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans; thence to Mobile; and from thence homeward, through Alabama, the Creek nation, and the Atlantic states. My episcopal duties were performed in the states of Kentucky, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama."

In the archives of the diocese of Connecticut is the manuscript journal of this missionary tour in the bishop's own handwriting. It is interesting to note that on the first page of this Journal, or the last, according to which end you begin to read, for it goes both ways, the bishop has written Dr. Cook's remedy for dyspepsia, which is a "cer-

referring to Bishop Brownell as Presiding Bishop very kindly says, "If the infirmities of age prevented him from being very active in that position, he had no unfortunate mistakes to mourn over, when he surrendered it at death into other hands".

Bishop Brownell did not leave behind much of a literary nature, and that is unfortunate because he wrote well. His Commentary on the Book of Common Prayer is, perhaps, his most pretentious work, and in its day served a useful purpose, and no doubt could serve a useful purpose to-day, if it were ever consulted. In his preface he says that "he is persuaded that many who habitually use the Book of Common Prayer, have a very imperfect apprehension of the full import of its several offices and catch but a faint inspiration from the spirit of piety which animates them". Well, probably the bishop's persuasion was well-founded. It might even have some significance today.

He left several other things of varying importance, but his charges and addresses to the clergy, a number of which were published, are fine examples of what such things should be, forceful but kindly, wise but understandable, "in a style of simple elegance and classic purity", to employ a phrase which is certainly full of dignity.

In this connection one may quote a passage from Dr. Harry Crosswell's dairy, which, while it illustrates the "unaffected humility" of Dr. Crosswell, also has its significance as regards the bishop. It is the entry for March 29, 1822. "The bishop called towards evening, with a prospectus for his Commentary on the Book of Common Prayer—wishing me to look it over and correct it! It is really a great trial to my feelings to have such a thing occur; but I endeavored not to discover anything of the kind. I took the manuscript, and actually suggested two or three verbal alterations, which the bishop readily adopted".¹⁴

The last decade of the bishop's life were days of weakened and steadily weakening powers. He could not do much, nor did he attempt to do much; a few duties in Hartford, and fewer outside. He died January 13th, 1865, three months before the close of that fratricidal war which had menaced the solidarity of the nation and of the Church, and which, so far as his failing powers permitted him to grasp it all, must have lacerated his gentle, sensitive soul.

Bishop Kerfoot,¹⁵ at the time president of Trinity College, in a letter to Bishop Whittingham¹⁶ gives an interesting account of Bishop Brownell's last moments, which may well find a place here. He says:

¹⁴F. B. Dexter, *Historical Papers*, p. 354.

¹⁵John B. Kerfoot, first Bishop of Pittsburgh.

¹⁶William R. Whittingham, Bishop of Maryland.

of steady quiet growth. Indeed his whole episcopate was one of steady growth. Perhaps a few figures at this point may not be amiss as showing that. The census of 1820, the year following the bishop's accession to office, gives the population of the State as 275,248. The communicants of the Episcopal Church, as near as can be determined, were 2,674, that is, about one to every one hundred of the population. Passing on to the year 1850, the year prior to the election of Dr. Williams as coadjutor, we find that the population of the State has increased to 370,792, while the communicants of the Church have increased to 9,360, that is, about one to every forty of the population. At the time of his death in 1865 there was practically no change in the ratio of growth. The figures to-day would show that the Episcopal Church has grown with the growth of the State, the ratio being about one in twenty-nine, but the disquieting feature of it is that it tends to remain static, as there has been very little change in the last few years.

Bishop Brownell does not seem to have become unduly excited, perhaps not excited at all, over the Tractarian movement. His own faith in, and loyalty to, the Church which he loved and served were too deeply rooted to be whipped about by any passing winds of emotion. In his convention address for 1850, he says with as much heat, perhaps, as his kindly soul could fan into flame, "What we most deprecate, is the treachery of perverting the doctrines of the Church, or the teaching of dogmas alien to her faith, while ministering at her altars. And this treachery is equally to be censured, in whatever direction the false teaching may tend;—whether to the superstitions of Romanism, or to the coldness and baldness of Rationalism". There speaks the man with a most exalted sense of loyalty to his ordination promises.

In his convention address for 1845 he had spoken of his bodily infirmities, frankly admitting that they were of a permanent character, and suggesting that the diocese might feel that for the better administration of its affairs it might desire to give him an assistant That would be satisfactory to him, and yet "whatever measure of health and strength may be vouchsafed to me by Divine Providence, I shall cheerfully devote to the service of the Church", if the diocese does not see its way to elect an assistant bishop. But it was not until June 11th, 1851, that the diocese gave him the help he needed, when it elected the Rev. John Williams, D. D., assistant bishop. At the time of his election Dr. Williams was president of Trinity College.

Upon the death in 1852 of Bishop Philander Chase of Illinois, Bishop Brownell became the Presiding Bishop. Until recent years it was the senior bishop in point of service who held that office. One



THOMAS CHURCH BROWNELL
 October 19, 1779—January 13, 1865
 Third Bishop of Connecticut, 1819-1865
 Founder and First President of Trinity College, Hartford, 1823-1831
 His statue, unveiled November 11, 1869, stands in the center of Trinity College campus

"Bishop Brownell is passing away. Early this week signs of failing strength set in, and now he may go any hour or day: he may last some days. He has no pain, but life is going out. I have seen him not seldom since I came. He has been very cordial, and he and Mrs. B. make a beautiful picture of aged married life. She came down to see me last evening when I called, and told me of the bishop's strong expressions yesterday about the college and its present prospects. Bishop Williams is with Bishop B., and gave him what we (Bishop B. and all) thought would be his last Communion. He was sitting up to receive it, and rose and stood erect in the Gloria Excelsis. The doctors say he cannot rally."¹⁷

And thus the good bishop, with the tide of life fast ebbing, still thinks of the college so dear to his heart, and of which he could truthfully say, "a great part of which I was". His own college, Union, honored him with the degree of S. T. D. in 1819, as did also Columbia in that same year, and from some source, apparently not known, he received the degree of LL. D.

If a monument to Bishop Brownell were anywhere to be set up where would be a more fitting place than the campus of Trinity College? On November 11th, 1869, with appropriate ceremonies a noble statue was unveiled, the gift of Gordon W. Burnham, the bishop's son-in-law. At that time the buildings of the college stood where now stands the State Capitol. Upon the removal of the college to its present beautiful site, the statue was removed, and placed in the center of the spacious new campus.

And there to-day stands on its lofty granite pedestal the majestic bronze figure of the bishop, "presenting with life-like fidelity the features of him whom it commemorates". The right arm is outstretched in blessing, the while he watches over his beloved college; the left hand grasps the Prayer Book which he presses to his side, the rich treasures of which, by spoken word and printed page, he sought to teach to men. About it all there is a strength which well befits the character of the man.

As we know, a certain allowance must be made for the generous and gracious things said of a man after his death, but when such allowance has been made in the case of Bishop Brownell, there still remains the noble figure of a noble man and bishop, who had a "wonderful serenity of temper; a judgment that was rarely at fault; a moral character without spot or stain, and a religion calm, equable, real, and sincere". This then is the story of the third bishop of Connecticut, THOMAS CHURCH BROWNELL.

¹⁷*Life of Bishop Kerfoot, Vol. II, p. 382.*

substantial, Stone Houses, Barns & other outhouses—everything white-washed, buildings and fences contiguous—picturesque, in contrast with green fields of Wheat, and the brown forests and pastures—numerous heavy Waggon, and fine horses, on the road, particularly the Stage Horses.

Frequent glimpses at the great rail-road, and the canals—Great Valley remarkably fine—rode through it obliquely 20 miles—Conestoga Valley near Lancaster, also very fine. Saw but one house of public worship between Phil. and Lancaster, and but one between that place and this. Characteristics of the German Countries.

Left Lancaster 13th noon, and arrived at Harrisburg at night. Called on Rev^d Mr Reynolds¹—Next morning, visited the Capitol—fine buildings, brick should be painted—Called on the Gov. (Shults)*—also on Mr Peacock, Mr Gallagher &c.—In the afternoon, went to Carlisle—staid at Mr Stiles’—Dickenson College in a bad state—dissensions among the Trustees—President and Professors resigned—only 36 students remaining. Judge Stiles’ Son fitting for College—probably come to Hartford.²

Started for Pittsburg monday morning—Grand view from Cove mountain, but getting dark before we crossed it. Lost a wheel going down Sideling mountain in the night. Splendid view to the east from the Allegheny ridge—arrived at the summit about sunset—saw a hundred mountains reposing beneath us—the Clouds hanging around their bases, gave the appearance of an immense sea studded with Islands. Rode three days and two nights to get to Pittsburg—broke down when within about 7 miles of the place, and had to mount the Carriage on a rail—intensely dark and rainy and no lanterns—bad pickle—arrived about 8 O’Clock, and found the Rev^d Mr Hopkins³ and his Vestry waiting for us at the Hotel. It was too late for the service notified in the Church, and Mr Hopkins had been obliged to officiate himself.—No boat going the next day, and as we had disappointed them by our delay, we felt bound to comply with their importunity to stay over Sunday—especially, as we must have otherwise have spent it on board the Boat. Took up our abode with Dr Moway—excellent family—has a Son at Emmetsburgh which he will send to W. College next year—two younger ones which may probably come to the High School.⁴—In Pittsburg, received the kind hospitalities of Mr Holdship, Mr Richardson, Mr Votes, Mr Davis &c.

¹Rev. John Reynolds.

²John Andrews Shulze, Gov. Dec. 16, 1823, to Dec. 15, 1829.

³The Bishop’s hopes regarding prospective students for his College at Hartford do not seem to have been realized.

⁴Rev. John Henry Hopkins, afterwards first Bishop of Vermont.

⁵Does he mean the Academy at Cheshire?

BISHOP THOMAS C. BROWNELL’S JOURNAL OF HIS MISSIONARY TOURS, 1829 AND 1834

WITH NOTES BY WILLIAM A. BEARDSLEY, D. D.*

THE Board of Directors of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society at their meeting in August, 1829, requested Bishop Brownell of Connecticut to undertake a visitation through the States lying west and south of the Alleghany mountains, “to perform such Episcopal offices as might be desired, to inquire into the condition of the missions established by the Board, and to take a general survey of the country for the purpose of designating such other missionary stations as might be usefully established.”

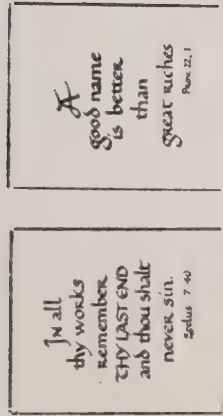
The Rev. Dr. Francis L. Hawks was designated to accompany him, but upon his withdrawal, the Rev. William Richmond, of New York, was sent in his place. Bishop Brownell kept a Journal of this tour, as well as of the one he made in 1834. So far as known it has never been published, though the Bishop made a rather full report of his journey, which was published in the Quarterly Paper of the Missionary Society, and republished in the *Episcopal Watchman*. The Bishop again went to New Orleans in 1836 to consecrate their new church. He was gone five months, but no mention is made of this visit in his Journal.

On the first journey he had thirty-four baptisms, confirmed one hundred and forty-two persons, consecrated six churches and admitted one person to the holy order of the priesthood. On his second journey he had ten baptisms, confirmed sixty-two persons and consecrated one church.

ITINERARY—NOTES 1829

Left Philadelphia Nov^r 12th and went to Lancaster, 64 miles. Country delightful—Soil fine for wheat and all other grain—everything

*Registrar of the diocese of Connecticut and rector emeritus of St. Thomas’ Church, New Haven. Contributor to Dictionary of American Biography and HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. Ed. Note.



James, afterwards joined us at Lexington. They were men of talents & worth.

Lexington is the Athens of the West. A fine medical school, excellent buildings, 200 students, and an able Faculty—Became acquainted with Dr^s Dudley, Cook, Caldwell, Short, and Richardson. The buildings of the Academical department burnt down—has 136 Students—80 of them collegians, and the remainder Grammar Scholars.—The country round, with a radius of 20 miles, the finest in the world—Hemp the staple culture, which is manufactured chiefly into cordage and Bagging.—The Society highly intelligent, yet plain and simple in their manners.—Dr. Chapmans¹¹ congregation embraces the most valuable part of it—Remember *Robert Wickliffe*, Dr Cook, Mr Hunt, Mr Morton, Mr Harper, Mr Smith Mr Smeads, Mr Warner &c.—Mr Clay, and Mr Wickliffe's Buffaloes.

Dec^r 7. Left Lexington, and in the evening arrived at Frankfort. Next morning, called on Gov. Metcalf¹²—received a visit from Mr Jn^o J. Crittenden,¹³ the most eloquent Lawyer in the State. Went with the Governor and Mr Herman to the House of Representatives—thence to the Senate, where we heard speeches from Mr Wickliffe and Mr Hardin, the two most distinguished members.—In the afternoon took the Steam Boat for Louisville, where we arrived the next morning. (9th Dec^r.)

At Louisville, I took up my residence at Mr J. S. Snead's—Pleasant family—Two Sons whom he will send to W. College in about 2 years. (Dr Cook's Son, of Lexington, will come next Spring)—Louisville the great Mart of the commerce of Kentucky—all the exports that go down the river, are shipped here, and all imports that come up the river are distributed from this place.—The merchants, are devoted to their *business*. Maysville has a portion of the trade carried on with the east, through Wheeling & Pittsburg.—Kentucky a noble State—fertile soil—fine run of men.

VISITATION OF 1829: NOTES

Left Hartford Nov^r 5th 1829, in the Steam Boat, and arrived at N. York next morning. Preached in St Johns Church morning of Sunday the 8th and made a Collection of 111 Dollars for the Mission. Afternoon preached at St Anne's, Brooklyn, and collected 110 Dollars. Evening, at St George's and made a collection of 184¹⁵—Dollars. Mon-

100

¹¹Rev. George T. Chapman, Rector of Christ Church.

¹²Thomas Metcalfe, Gov. of Kentucky 1829-1833.

¹³U. S. Senator from Kentucky, Gov. of the State, Attorney General in Fillmore's Cabinet.

Monday evening 23^d started for Cincinnati in the Pennsylvania, arrived in safety after a voyage of 3 nights & 2 days; distance 500 miles—Very agreeable & orderly set of passengers (Rev^d Mr Weller⁶ & Adderly⁶ of the Church, and Rev^d Mr Logan & Lyon, Presbyterians—Mr Brown & Lady, and Mess^{rs} Jenkins & Duffield & Mr^s Allen who had accompanied us from Lancaster) Not a word of profane language spoken, or a dram drank in our presence—Prayers every night, and Grace at Table—Run foul of by another Boat—alarm of *fire*!

At Cincinnati staid with Rev^d S. Johnston⁷—Visited and treated with great hospitality by many—e. g. Mr W^m Johnston, Mess^{rs} Saml^l & John A. Foote—Ch. Hammond, Dr Drake, Mess^{rs} Caswell, Starr, J. Butler of Ho. (sic), Smith of Derby, Maj. Gwinn, Longworth, Judge McLean &c.—Preached in the Church, and took a collection of 30 Dollars for the Mission—Advised Rev^d Mr Johnson to reunite his parish with that of Christ Ch.—Bp. Chase⁸ joined us in the morning of Saturday—we left in the evening for Louisville where we arrived the next morning at 10 O'clk (Sunday the 29th)—Cincinnati very beautiful Town—gradual ascent from the river streets as wide & regular as those of Philadelphia—extensive market. Likely to be the great place of reception and distribution, the *Sensory cum commune* of the State—Canal to Dayton—quite a manufacturing town, though inferior to Pittsburg, especially in manufactures of Iron.—The College⁹ abandoned, and the building appropriated to the accommodation of several common Schools.—A Medical College of some reputation—The range of Hills on the north of the City very fine—will become the country seats of the Gentry.

At Louisville, staid at Mr Robert B. Ormsby's—Preached on Sunday—Returned numerous calls on Monday—spent the evening at Mr G. S. Butlers.—Next morning at 10 took the Steam Boat Sylph for Frankfort, on our way to Lexington, the Road (like most others in the State at this time) being impassable for Stages. Arrived at Frankfort 1st Dec^r and the next morning at 4 A. M. took the stage for Lexington, where we arrived at 12. On board the Boat, we had a motley company—several members of the Legislature, half a dozen *black-legs*,¹⁰ and a corps of Actors & Actresses—the latter the best behaved of the company—constant gambling on board, and much gross profanity. The members of the Legislature had been introduced to us at Louisville, and treated us with great attention. Col. Tebbatts, Dr Declary, & Judge

⁶Rev. George Weller.

⁷Rev. John T. Adderly.

⁸Rev. Samuel Johnson.

⁹Bishop Philander Chase.

¹⁰Cincinnati College, of which Bishop Chase was President for two years. ¹¹"A notorious gambler." Webster.

Cornelia W. Butler—Matilda Anne Maressie (sic), daughter of Norman & Elizabeth Galt, born 19 Feb. 1829—and Edwin Robert Townsend, son of Tho^s H. & Elizabeth Armstrong, born Nov. 30, 1829.—

Started for Lexington Tuesday 1st Dec^r and arrived there Thursday 3^d. Preached Friday evening to a full congregation. Mr Richmond preached on Saturday evening. Sunday morning consecrated the Church, by the name of *Christ Church*, Mess^{rs} Chapman,¹⁷ Ward,¹⁸ Freeman,¹⁹ Richmond,²⁰ and Peers,²¹ being present and assisting. Being indisposed with a cold, Mr Richmond preached in the afternoon and Evening. During the evening service, I administered the Rite of Confirmation to three persons. A collection was also taken up for Missions in the west, amounting to 40 Dollars, and an order from Dr Cook for the avails of 96 copies of his Book (now in the hands of Potter of Philadelphia) estimated at 50 Dollars, and a promise of the like sum (for the society) annually, at Christmas, till withdrawn.—I gave the Rev^d Dr Chapman an Order on Mr Van Ingen (N. Y.) for 100 Prayer Books (of the 500 voted by the N. Y. Society) to be distributed by Missionaries in Kentucky.—Promised the Rev^d Mr Freeman to recommend him as a Missionary of the Society, if he would go to Shelbyville and Middletown. The Rev^d Mr Ward will perform occasional services in the vicinity of Lexington, and the Rev^d Mr Peers will officiate occasionally at Versailles. I should add that on my arrival at Lexington I received a communication from the Standing Committee of the Diocese, requesting me to perform such Episcopal services as I might find practicable.

Dec^r 7th left Lexington, on my return to Louisville—arrived at Frankfort in the evening, and the next day, at 1 P. M. proceeded on my journey in the Steam Boat—Arrived Louisville early on Wednesday morning.

Spent the time between that and the ensuing Sunday (13th) in visiting (in company with the newly arrived Rector²²) most of the Episcopal families in the place, for the purpose of preparation for the proposed Confirmation. I also administered the Sacrament of Baptism to four Adults (Mr Hancock, Mr Herié, Mr Thompson & Miss Peel) and seven infants (3 of Mr Strother, 3 of Mr Thompson & 1 of Mr Herié) making in all 4 Adults, and 11 Children baptized by me in Louisville. Saturday the 12th I delivered a Lecture in the morning, on the subject of Confirmation.—Sunday the 13th I consecrated the Church, by the name of *Christ Church*, and administered

¹⁷Rev. George T. Chapman.

²⁰Rev. William Richmond.

¹⁸Rev. John Ward.

²¹Rev. Benjamin O. Peers.

¹⁹Rev. Silas C. Freeman.

²²Rev. David C. Page.

day 9th Nov. proceeded to Philadelphia. Tuesday 10th met the Society's committee of correspondence at 12 O'Clock, and the Executive Committee at 4 O'Clock, and laid before them a general view of my proposed Tour, which was approved. In the evening (which was rainy) preached in St Stephen's Church, and made a Collection for the Society of about 60 Dollars. (Mr Richmond collected in Grace Ch. 231—.)

²⁵

I brought to Philadelphia, in addition to the sums collected in N. York, 100 Dollars from Mr Newton of Pittsfield, 80 Dollars from the Rev^d Mr Potter¹⁴ of Boston, and 220 from the Aux. Society of Christ Church, Hartford. All monies in my hands I paid to Mr Lex,¹⁵ Treasurer of the Society; and took, to defray the expenses of our journey, 500 Dollars, and requested the Cashier of the U. S. Bank to transfer to my credit 300 Dollars in the Branch at N. Orleans, which he promised to do, out of moneys deposited with him by the Treasurer of the Society.

Left Philadelphia Thursday 12 Nov. and arrived at Lancaster the same evening. Mr Richmond preached in the Church, and the next morning we paid our respects to the families of Mr^s Colman, & Miss Yates. Mr^s C. handed me 20 Dollars for the Mission, and Miss Yates expressed her wishes to contribute. The Rev^d Mr Bowman¹⁶ took charge of the 20 Dollars, and promised to collect from Miss Y. and others, and forward the amounts to the Treasurer of the Society.

Left Lancaster Friday 13th and arrived at Harrisburg in the evening of the same day.

Left Harrisburg Saturday 14th and arrived at Carlisle same evening. Preached at Carlisle twice on Sunday.

Left Carlisle 16th and arrived at Pittsburg the evening of the 18th. Staid at Pittsburg nearly 4 days—Preached on Sunday—Mr Richmond preached in the evening, and received a collection of 36 Dollars for our Mission.

Left Pittsburg Monday evening, Nov^r 23^d and after a passage of three nights and two days, arrived at Cincinnati Thursday morning 26th—Preached in Cincinnati (Christ Church) Friday evening, and received a collection of 30 Dollars for our Mission.

Left Cincinnati, Saturday evening 28th and arrived at Louisville on Sunday morning 29th. Preached in the Church on Confirmation and gave notice of the administration of that holy Rite a fortnight hence. Monday 30th Baptized 4 Children viz. Cornelia Anne born Apr 1, 1828, and Charles Henry, born Oct^r 19, 1829, Children of George S. and

¹⁴Rev. Alonso Potter, afterwards Bishop of Pennsylvania.

¹⁵Jacob Lex.

¹⁶Rev. Samuel Bowman, afterwards Bishop Coadjutor of Pennsylvania.

Sunday the 20th we had divine service on board the Boat, with all the passengers (60 or 80) for our Congregation. I read the service, and Mr R. delivered a discourse. On Tuesday the 22^d about noon, we arrived at Natches, and took up our lodgings at the public house of Col. L. Purnell. Notice was given for a lecture in the Church on Christmas-eve, but it was relinquished on account of a very heavy rain. On Christmas day, the Church was Consecrated, by the name of Trinity Church, and the holy Rite of Confirmation was administered to 19 persons. The Sacrament of the Lord's supper was also administered. On this occasion divine service was conducted by the Rev^d Mr Richmond,²⁶ and Rev^d Mr Porter,²⁷ and the invitation to Consecrate, and Sentences of Consecration were read by the Rev^d Mr Fox.²⁸

On Saturday the 26th I set out on a visit to Jefferson, and Port Gibson, accompanied by the above named Clergy, and Mr J. Foote. Went to the Plantation of Joseph Dunbar Esq. the first day. The next day (Sunday the 27th) consecrated the Church in Jefferson Co by the name of Christ Church, and Confirmed 13 persons. The Services conducted the same as at Natches.—

Monday the 28th proceeded on horseback to Port-Gibson, and lodged at the house of Daniel Vertner Esq^r. The next day we had public worship in the Court House. Mr Richmond read service, and I preached a Sermon, and administered Confirmation to 3 persons.

Wednesday the 30th set out on our return. Arrived at the house of Mr John Foster to dinner, and at 3 O'Clock had public worship again in Christ Church, Jefferson. Mr Porter read service, and Mr Richmond preached. Three Gentlemen of this Parish (Jos. Dunbar, Jn^o Foster, & Col. James G. Wood) gave us 10 Dolls. each, making a Contribution of 30 Dollars for the objects of our Mission.

Thursday the 31st we concluded our journey back to Natches, where we arrived about 2 O'Clock, P. M. In the evening we had divine service in the Church. Mr Richmond delivered a Missionary Sermon, and made a collection of 35 Dollars, to be applied to Missions in the West.

Friday Jan^y 1st. Started in the Steamboat for St Francisville at 6 P. M. and arrived there the next day. The following day (Sunday) I preached in the new Church in that place to a large Congregation, the Rev^d Mr Porter reading the Service. [The Rev^d Mr Fox & Rev^d Mr Richmond had proceeded to Woodville to perform public worship there]—The Church at St F. is of brick, a neat edifice, and finished, all

²⁶Rev. William Richmond.

²⁷Rev. John C. Porter.

²⁸Rev. James A. Fox.

the Rite of Confirmation to 31 persons. The Rev. Dr Chapman, Mr Richmond, and Mr Paige were present on this occasion, and the Congregation was very crowded. Dr Chapman preached in the afternoon, and in the evening, the Rev^d Mr (sic) Preached a Missionary Sermon, and made a collection, in behalf of the Mission, amounting to 40 Dollars. The arrival of the new Rector at Louisville, during our visit, was very opportune, and produced much animation in the parish. This spirit was evinced in an effort made to extinguish a debt which had long been thought to press heavily on the Parish. On our suggestion, a subscription was set on foot, and within a day or two upwards of 1,200 dollars was subscribed—a sum more than adequate to the object, a liberal individual (Mr John Bustard) besides subscribing 200 Dollars to this object, proffered 300 more towards building a Steeple to the Church. I think this object will shortly be effected. The Parish of Louisville was found by us in a cold and depressed state—owing to its having been for 15 months without a Clergyman, and to the divisions which had taken place in regard to Mr Shaw,²⁹ the last Rector. If the new Rector shall be able to infuse a little more zeal into the members of his Church, it seems likely soon to be the most flourishing Parish in the Diocese.

There are now six Clergymen in this Diocese, and it may probably be prepared to elect a Bishop by the next meeting of the Gen. Convention.³⁰ Kentucky presents a fine field for Missionary exertions. Many of the principal inhabitants, in its larger Towns, were educated in the Church, in their early years, and there are a great many intelligent men to whom the principles of calvinism, and the extravagances of Fanaticism are offensive, who would readily embrace the principles of the Church, if presented to them under favourable circumstances.

—*Mem.* while in Louisville I advanced to the Rev^d Mr Weller³¹ 50 Dollars from the Missionary funds collected for expenditures at my discretion.

Left Louisville the 15th Dec^r, in the Steam Boat Philadelphia, on my way to the Diocese of Mississippi. On the 19th the Boat run upon a sandbar, about 15 miles above Memphis, and was so badly grounded that we deemed it expedient to leave her. Fortunately the *Huron* came down the river, after we had been detained about 12 hours, and we availed ourselves of this opportunity to prosecute our voyage. We were fortunate in the character of our fellow-passengers in both Boats. There was no profanity or gambling, or other improper behaviour. On

²⁹Rev. Henry M. Shaw.

³⁰Rev. Benjamin B. Smith was elected. Bishop Brownell was one of his consecrators.

³¹Rev. George Weller.

Wood, Jos. Dunbar, John Foster, Mr Young, Mr Green, and Mr J. G. Wood Jr.

At Port Gibson there is no Parish organized, but several persons strongly attached to it. Mr Danl Vertner offered to pay 100 Dollars a year towards the support of a Clergyman, (say half the time) and to guarantee 500 a year from the place, provided he should be a man of talents & worth. Besides Mr V. the principal supporters will be Col. Jo^s Callender, Dr Magruder, Mr Greenleaf, Gen. Haring &c. It would be well that a Missionary should be sent, to divide his services between this place and Vicksburg.

At Vicksburg, the persons most attached to the Church, are Mr Turnbull, Mr Cameron, Dr Bay, Mr (sic) Smyth, & Mr Berriton.

The Parish of Woodville has a neat wooden Church, well finished, with good organ & good musick. A Clergyman should be settled between this place and Pinkneyville. Woodville could raise 400 Dollars for two thirds of his time, and P. 200 dollars for the other third. The situation of Woodville is peculiarly healthy. The principal members of the Church are Gen. Joor (sic), Judges Liddell, Randolph, and Prosser, Maj. Feltus, L. R. Marshall, Dr Eccleston, and Judge Posey.

At Pinkneyville the principal men disposed to support the Church, are Dr Young, Dr Carmichael, Capt. Mulford, Ja^s Wilson, J. T. Semple, Dr Metcalf, and Fra^s Evans.—

On our way from Jefferson to Port-Gibson, we paid a visit to the Rev^d Adam Cloud, whom we found in a very low state of health, and all united in the office of the Church for the visitation of the sick.

I should add, that on our first arrival in Mississippi, I received a communication from the Standing Committee, expressive of their gratification at my visit, and requesting that I would perform such Episcopal Offices as my stay might permit.

Arrived at New Orleans, in the Tigress, on the morning of the 8th of Jan^y in company with the Rev^d Mr Fox, and met Mr Richmond, who had proceeded from St Francisville the day before us. (Received an invitation from the Committee of Arrangements to attend the Mariner's Church, to hear an Oration in honour of Gen. Jackson and his victory—but found so few people there that it was determined to abandon the celebration.) The next morning received a visit from the Wardens and Vestry, who presented a written address expressive of their satisfaction at our visit, and requesting me to Consecrate the Church, administer the Rite of Confirmation, and perform such other offices as I might think expedient. On Sunday morning (the 10th) I consecrated the Church, by the name of Trinity Church, and delivered a discourse on the occasion. The Rev^d Mr Hull²² read prayers,

but plaistering. The Rev^d Mr Bowman²³ officiates here with encouraging prospects of success.

Monday the 4th Jan. proceeded to Woodville on horseback accompanied by the Rev^d Mess^{rs} Bowman and Porter, and arrived in season to attend service in the evening. Mr Bowman read the service, and Mr Richmond preached. Mr Fox and Mr Richmond had held two services in the Church the preceding day—all were fully attended. On Tuesday the 5th Jan^y the Church was Consecrated by the name of St Paul's Church, the Rite of Confirmation was administered to 9 persons, and the Rev^d John C. Porter was admitted to the Holy Order of Priests.—The Rev^d Mr Richmond & Mr Fox conducted the morning service, Mr Fox read the invitation, and sentence of Consecration, Mr Bowman presented the Candidate, and all joined in the laying on of hands.

On Wednesday the 6th of Jan^y we returned to St Francisville, to take passage to New Orleans.

The Church is probably regarded with less prejudice in Mississippi, than in any other part of our Country. A very large portion of the wealthy and intelligent Planters appear disposed to support its Ministry and institutions, whenever the appeal is made to them. Still the prospects of the Diocese appeared exceeding gloomy, on our arrival. The Rev^d Mr Muller²⁰ and the Rev^d Mr Wall,²¹ had just left the Diocese, and the Rev^d Mr Fox and Rev^d Mr Porter were preparing to take their departure, in company with us. But during our stay in Natches, that Congregation presented a call to the Rev^d Mr Porter, which he determined to accept.

The Parish of Natches is large, respectable, and liberal, and may pay a Clergyman 1,500 Dollars a year. It has been somewhat depressed during the difficulties in relation to the late Rector, but appears to be well united in his successor. The leading members are Dr Merrill, Dr Mercer, Mr Griffiths, Judges Turner & Quitman, Col. Huntington, Mr Ewing, Mr Purnell, Mr Merrick &c. The Church is a costly edifice of Brick, but badly arranged.

The Parish of Christ Church, Jefferson Co is made up of a few wealthy Planters and their families. They are well-established Churchmen, and will give about 600 Dollars a year to a worthy Clergyman.—Probably they would consent to his devoting one half his time to Port Gibson [neat brick edifice]. There is no other Church in this vicinity, and it is not probable that any other denomination would think of establishing one. The chief supporters of the Church are Col. Ja^s G.

²⁰ Rev. William R. Bowman.

²¹ Rev. Albert A. Muller.

²² Rev. Spencer Wall.

²³ Rev. James F. Hull.

taken to effect a meeting of Delegates from these Dioceses, to consummate the object.

The Rev^d Mr Bowman informed me while at N. O. that my visit to St Francisville had been attended with Salutary effects, and that at a meeting of the Vestry &c. the day after my departure, the sum of 1,100 Dollars was raised—a sum adequate to the payment of the debts, and the completion of the Church.

There is little doubt that Churches may be established at many places in Louisiana. The great portion of the intelligence and ability of this Country is in favour of it, and there are few prejudices against it. Judge Dutton of Plaquemine, desired me to send to his vicinity a Clergyman, (who would be willing to receive a few scholars) with an assurance that he would be liberally supported.—Mr Bradish, who lives about 40 miles below N. Orleans made to me a similar application, in his own name, and that of Mr & Mrs Osgood and others; offering himself to give 60 Acres of excellent land for a Glebe, and informing me that he and his neighbours would unite in building on it a good brick Church and a brick parsonage. The Rev^d Mr Wall, by my advice, has gone to Franklin, in the district of Attakapas. I hear that Churches may be readily established at Donaldsonville, (the Capital of the State) at Alexandria, on the Red River, at (sic) on the la fourche, and doubtless there are many other promising locations. The principal people of Baton Rouge (sic) are Episcopalians, and are now supporting a Presbyterian Clergyman, for the want of one of their own Communion.

While at N. Orleans, we lodged with the Rev^d Mr Hull, and were very hospitably entertained by the principal Episcopalians of the City.—The Rev^d Mr Fox remains in the City, and may probably become assistant to the Rev^d Mr Hull. If this arrangement should not take place, he thinks of a removal to Tallahassee. In any event he has promised to visit Mr Bradishes place, and assist in the organization of a Parish there, and encourage the building of a Church and parsonage, as was proposed. The Rev^d Mr Adderly proceeds to Maryland, and the Rev^d Mr Muller accompanied us to Mobile, with a view of settling at Tuscaloosa.

Left New Orleans, Wednesday Jan^y 20th in the Steam Boat Mount Vernon, and proceeded to Mobile, by the way of Lakes Ponchartrain, Borgne, and the Gulph. Arrived at Mobile Jan^y 21st in the evening, and the next morning took up our residence with Mr George Poe.—The Parish here was in a much better state than we had anticipated. The Church was built by different denominations, of whom the largest subscribers were Episcopalians; under the conditions, that the Clergy-

the Rev^d Mr Richmond read the Sentence of Consecration. The Rev^d Mrs Fox, Muller, Wall and Adderly were also present and assisting. In the afternoon, the Rev^d Mr Adderly³³ read prayers, and the Rev^d Mr Richmond preached. In the evening (as there was no provision for lighting the Episcopal Church) I accepted an invitation from the Rev^d Mr Clap and his Session to officiate in the Presbyterian Church. The Rev^d Mr Fox read Prayers. The large building contained a crowded Congregation, who joined in the services and listened to the discourse with great decorum. The Rev^d Mr Clap is an avowed Arminian, and has had some trouble on this account with the Presbytery to which he belongs. He has begun a course of reading on the subject of the Ministry and other peculiarities of the Episcopal Church, with a view of connecting himself with this body. If he shall conclude to do so, there is little doubt but the greater portion of his congregation will follow him, and that he will retain the Church in which he now officiates.³⁴

On Wednesday the 13th I delivered a lecture to the Candidates for Confirmation, which was numerously attended.—On Sunday the 17th I administered the holy rite of Confirmation (in the morning) to 64 persons, and delivered a Charge; after which the Rev^d Mr Richmond preached a Missionary Sermon, and made a Collection of 212 Dollars. In the afternoon, I preached, and the Rev^d Mr Muller read prayers; and in the evening the Rev^d Mr Richmond officiated in the Presbyterian Church. All our religious Services in New Orleans were well attended. The Parish of Trinity Church appeared to be in a prosperous state. The Church is an Octagon of about 60 feet in diameter, and neatly constructed of brick. The lot on which it stands is very spacious and well situated, and it is probable that a larger edifice will be erected on it at no distant day, better suited to the wants of the large Congregation.

On Monday the 18th Jan. a Convention was held in Trinity Church, pursuant to previous notice, composed of the principal Episcopalians of N. Orleans, and other parts of the State, and a delegation from the Parish of St Francisville. At this meeting, I was called on to preside, and the Church in the State of Louisiana was regularly organized as a diocese, by the adoption of a Constitution & the election of a Standing Committee and other officers. It was also resolved that it is expedient to form a *Southwestern diocese*, to be composed of the Dioceses of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama, and measures were

³³Rev. John T. Adderly.

³⁴He did not enter the Episcopal ministry.

the Steam Boat Tuscumbia, and proceeded up the Alabama river, on our way to Montgomery, and the north.

On Sunday morning we arrived at Selma, and hearing that the low state of the river would render the further navigation difficult, we thought it expedient to land here. The Clergyman of the Presbyterian Church immediately called on us, and invited us to officiate in the House of worship there, which was designed to be common to all denominations. Accordingly I preached in the morning, Mr Richmond reading the service; and in the afternoon Mr (sic) performed the service and preached himself.—We spent Sunday night with Col. Andrew Pickens, about three miles from the village. He was formerly my fellow Collegian,³⁶ and has since been Governor of the State of South Carolina. On Monday we joined with Mr Dallas of Philadelphia, and took a carriage for Montgomery, where we arrived on Tuesday afternoon. By invitation, I officiated in the Methodist Church in that place in the evening. The service was respectably attended, though a large portion of the population of the village found a stronger attraction at the Theatre.

I ought to have mentioned that while at Mobile, we visited the grave of the lamented Judd,³⁷ the Missionary of the Society for Tuscaloosa. He died at the house of the Rev^d Mr Shaw of Mobile, and during his sickness there received every kindness and attention from the family of Mr Shaw, and from other sympathizing friends. His departure was ordered in much mercy to himself, being unattended with pain or suffering; and his resignation and christian hopes, as well as his affectionate exhortations to his friends seem to have left a lasting impression of his devoted piety, and of the triumphs of the christian faith. He was buried in the graveyard, about a mile from the city, and his body lies beside that of the late Col. King³⁸ near the eastern entrance of the grave yard, and on the right hand. It is to be hoped that the Society will order a suitable stone to be erected to mark the place of his interment.

On Wednesday morning (Feb. 3) we left Montgomery for the north, and thus completed the Tour of Visitation recommended to me by the Society.

Feb'y. 6th (Saturday) arrived at Milledgville; where we spent Sunday. I officiated in the Presbyterian Church (by invitation) in the morning, and Mr Richmond in the afternoon.

Monday 8th Feb'y proceeded to Augusta, where we arrived on Tuesday evening. Spent Wednesday in Augusta, and I officiated in the

³⁶Brown University, 1801.

³⁷Rev. William H. Judd, who died August 7, 1829.

³⁸Col. William King, who died January 1, 1826.

man should be annually called by the majority of the proprietors, till by a vote of two thirds it should be determined to what denomination it should permanently belong. For want of an Episcopal Clergyman, a Presbyterian had annually been employed, till about a year ago, when the Rev^d Mr Shaw³⁹ visited the place. He was then called, to alternate with the Rev^d Mr Murphy, their former Clergyman. At the annual meeting this year, on the 1st of Jan'y the Rev^d Mr Shaw was called, as the sole minister, with only one dissenting proprietor and with a salary of 2,000 dollars. It was supposed that two thirds of the proprietors would be ready to decide on the Episcopal character of the Church, but as some of the proprietors friendly to the measure were absent, it was thought best to defer it to another year.

On Sunday the 24th Jan'y I preached on the subject of Baptism in the morning; and on Confirmation in the afternoon, when I administered that holy rite to 26 persons. There were 19 Baptisms during my stay in Mobile—8 adults, and 11 Children. In the evening of Sunday the Rev^d Mr Richmond preached a Missionary Sermon, and made a collection of 47 dollars to be expended for services in the State. This sum we paid over to the Rev^d Mr Muller, according to previous understanding. He goes to Tuscaloosa and Greensburg, and we have promised to recommend him as a Missionary well qualified to receive the patronage of the general Society. We learn from Tuscaloosa, that a Brick Church is in the course of erection, and is already under cover, and that the people are anxiously waiting for the services of a Missionary. We also learn from Greensburg (about 30 miles distant) that the principal inhabitants are Episcopalians; and it was arranged with some of the Gentlemen whom we met at Mobile that the Rev^d Mr Muller should devote a part of his labours to Greensburg, till further instructions. [Mem. Huntsville—Florence.]

On Monday the 25th of Jan'y according to previous notice, a Convention was held at Mobile, for the purpose of more fully organizing the Church in Alabama. It was attended by the principal Episcopalians in Mobile, and by Gentlemen from Tuscaloosa and Greensburg. After the meeting was organized, a deputation invited me to the Chair. The Rev^d Mr Muller was elected Secretary. A Diocesan Constitution was adopted, and a Standing Committee and other officers elected. A resolution was also passed declaring it expedient to unite with the States of Louisiana and Mississippi for the formation of a South-western Diocese, and proposing the election of delegates for that purpose.

On Thursday evening, the 28th Jan'y we left Mobile, on board

³⁹Rev. Henry M. Shaw.

and made a Collection of 100 Dollars, which sum was voted as a Donation to the Gen. Missionary Society.—In addition to the above sum, Mr^s Dehon⁴¹ handed us 6 Dollars, for the purpose of making her two sons members of the Society.

On Monday the 22^d at sunset, we left Charleston on our way homeward. Travelling day and night, we arrived at Raleigh on Thursday morning. Here we remained a day, for the purpose of rest, and to see the Rt Rev^d Bp. Ravenscroft, whom we had learned was dangerously ill. We found the Bishop in a very feeble and emaciated state, affording scarcely a hope of his recovery, and awaiting the time of his departure with the most perfect resignation and composure.⁴² He had caused a door to be cut in the floor of the Chancel of the Church, and his grave to be dug there, and had caused a plain pine Coffin to be made to contain his body. The calmness with which he has caused these arrangements to be made, and the strong faith and hope in which he awaits the summons for his departure cannot fail to afford a salutary lesson to all who enjoy the benefit of his example. [Mr^s Freeman's contribution—2.00.]

On Friday morning, we again resumed our journey, and arrived at Richmond at 3 O'Clock on Sunday morning (28th Feb) where we spent the day. I preached for Bishop Moore in the morning, and the Rev^d Mr Richmond in the afternoon. The Bishop declined having a collection for the Society, as the Rev^d Mr Weller had obtained subscriptions there about nine months before, amounting to four or five hundred Dollars. Monday morning, at 3 O'Clock, we proceeded on our way again, and arrived at the City of Washington on Tuesday morning (March 2^d) about sunrise.

Sunday March 7th Preached a Missionary Sermon in St John's Church in the morning, and made a collection of 56³⁰—Dollars.—In the afternoon preached in Christ Church, when a collection of 10 Dol¹⁰⁰ was taken up for the Society, which was paid over to Mr Richmond. In the evening I preached for Rev^d Mr Johns⁴³ in Trinity Church. On the same day the Rev^d Mr Richmond preached a Missionary Sermon in Trinity Church, and made a collection of 40⁵⁰—Dollars. In the afternoon he preached in St John's Church; and in the evening in Georgetown, where he made a collection of 10⁵⁰—Dollars.

⁴¹Widow of Bishop Dehon.

⁴²Died March 5, 1830.

⁴³Rev. Henry Van Dyke Johns.

Rev^d Mr Smith's⁴⁰ Church in the evening.—Thursday morning, at 2 O'Clock, started for Savannah, and arrived there at day-light on Friday morning.—On Sunday the 14th I preached for the Rev^d Mr Neufville,⁴⁰ in the morning and afternoon, and the Rev^d Mr Richmond preached a Missionary Sermon in the evening, and made a collection amounting to 92²⁰—Dollars, to be expended on Missions in the State of Georgia.

¹⁰⁰There is a Society in Augusta, auxiliary to the Gen. Missionary Society, with Funds amounting to 1,200 Dollars, which are retained in the Savings Bank till a Missionary shall be appointed for Georgia to be aided by them. There is also a similar Society in Savannah with Funds amounting to about 1,000 Dollars, awaiting the appropriation of the Society for Missions in Georgia.

From the information we have been able to obtain, there is no doubt but two or three Missionaries might be profitably employed in Georgia. In Macon, a Congregation has been organized, but is now languishing for the want of a Minister. There are yet several Episcopal families, and there is said to be a fair opening for the establishment of a flourishing Congregation. Milledgeville, the capital of the State, is also an important Station for a Missionary. There are already a few Episcopalians in the place, and no doubt is entertained that a popular Clergyman would soon form a good Congregation. If only one Missionary can be sent, it would probably be advisable for him to officiate alternately at Macon and Milledgeville. Another Missionary establishment is thought desirable at Athens, which is the seat of the University of Georgia.

Tuesday Feby 16th we left Savannah, in the Steam Boat, for the City of Charleston, where we arrived on Wednesday at 12 O'Clock. The Convention of the Diocese had just commenced its Session there, and we arrived in Season to hear the Bishop's Address.—On Sunday the 21st I officiated at St Michaels, in the morning; but was interrupted early in the discourse by the alarm of Fire, which occurred in the vicinity of the Church. In the afternoon, I preached a Missionary Sermon in St Philip's Church, and made a collection of 125 Dollars. A lady afterwards sent me 10 Dollars to add to the collection. Another Lady handed me 50 Dollars, as a "Widows Mite", from St Michael's Church.—The Rev^d Mr Richmond preached in the morning, on Missions, in St Paul's Ch. without making a collection. In the afternoon he officiated in St Michael's Ch. and in the evening, he preached the Anniversary Sermon for "Young Men's Missionary Society" in St Stephen's Church,

⁴⁰Rev. Hugh Smith.

⁴⁰Rev. Edward Neufville.

lett of Virginia, Mrs Majcia (Maheia) of Mexico, Mr Greer B. Duncan of New Orleans, Mrs Smith of Hartford, &c. &c. After a pleasant passage of 14 days, we arrived at New Orleans on the 3^d of December. The Wardens of the Church, and others met us with a cordial welcome, and conducted us to the house of Mr Lucius C. Duncan, where we were received with great hospitality and requested to consider it as our home during our residence in New Orleans.

After officiating at New Orleans five weeks, the Vestry requested that I would go to Alabama to attend the Convention and to promote measures for the organization of the South Western Diocese, agreeable to the provisions of the special Canon of the General Convention of 1832. Accordingly we took the Steam Boat for Mobile, on the 7th Jan^y 1835, but owing to a storm did not arrive till the 9th.—On Sunday the 11th I officiated in Mobile, and in the afternoon confirmed 17 persons. A meeting of the Parish was held during my visit, when a committee was appointed to take measures for building a new Church. On Tuesday evening, the 13th Jan. I took the Steam Boat for Tuscaloosa, accompanied by the Rev^d Mr Pinney,⁴⁵ and by Mr Meakings, a lay delegate to the Convention. Arrived at Tuscaloosa on Saturday the 17th. On Sunday the 18th Consecrated the Church, in the morning, by the name of Christ Church, and in the afternoon Confirmed 7 persons. Monday the 19th being the day appointed for the Convention, I preached the Convention Sermon, and after divine service took my seat as President of the Convention, under the 7th Canon of the Gen. Convention.

Returned to Mobile the 24th and preached in that place twice on Sunday the 25th Jan^y.

On the 26 Jan. took the Steam Boat for N. Orleans, where we arrived in safety on the following day.

Having understood that there was to be a special Convention of the Diocese of Mississippi, to be held at Natchez, on the 23^d of Feb^y in regard to the organization of the S. W. Diocese, I was requested by the Vestry of Christ Church to attend it. I therefore embarked on board the Steam Boat Ellen Douglass on the 19th and arrived at Natchez on the 21st.—On Sunday the 22^d preached at Natchez.—Presided by request, at the Convention held on the 23^d & 24th Feb^y and left again for N. Orleans (accompanied by the Rev^d Mr Connelly⁴⁶) on the 27th.

Attended the Convention of the S. W. Diocese at N. Orleans on the 4th and 5th of March; but took no part in the proceedings, except by way of advice and information.

On Sunday the 12th April, held a Confirmation in Christ Church,

⁴⁵Rev. Norman Pinney.

⁴⁶Rev. Pierce Connelly.

During our visit to Washington, we visited Alexandria and the Theological Seminary in its vicinity.

On Monday the 8th I proceeded to Baltimore, leaving the Rev^d Mr Richmond at Washington. The next day I continued my journey, and arrived at Philadelphia in the evening.

Spent Wednesday the 10th in Philadelphia. Settled with the Treasurer of the Society and paid over to him the money remaining in my hands. In the evening I met the executive Committee of the Society, and recommended the appointment of the Rev^d Mr Weller as Missionary at Nashville, the Rev^d Mr Freeman, as Missionary in Kentucky, and the Rev^d Mr Muller or some other suitable person as Missionary to Tuscaloosa in Alabama. After adjournment I attended a meeting in St Paul's Church in behalf of the Greek Mission.

Thursday the 11th I proceeded to N. York. Saturday the 13th March I took the Steam Boat for Hartford, and arrived at my home the following day at 1 O'Clock.

During a journey of about 6,000 miles, performed in four Months and 9 days, I have been graciously preserved from every danger to which I may have been exposed. Nothing has occurred to mar the satisfaction of my journey, or to frustrate the benefits to be expected from it, and I have been permitted to join my family and friends again, under circumstances of the richest mercy. May I be suitably grateful for these unmerited favours, and may the great Head of the Church pour forth abundant blessings on my unworthy labours.⁴⁴

MEMORANDUM

TOUR OF 1834

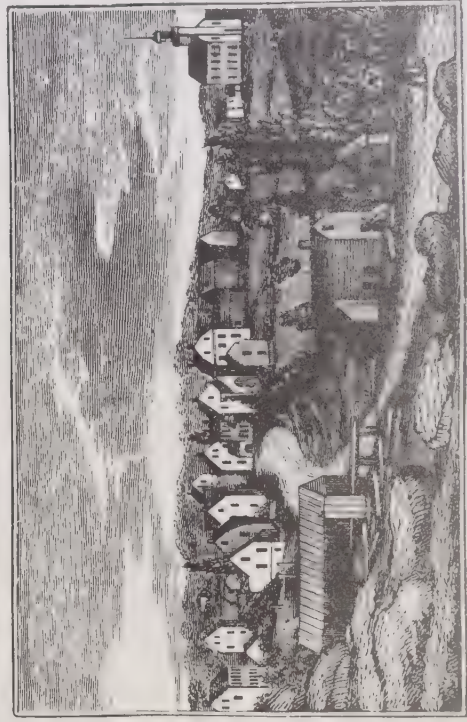
Left Hartford, accompanied by Mrs B. and Sarah, on the 10th day of Nov^r 1834, on a visit to New Orleans, at the request of the Wardens and Vestry of that Parish, and with a view to the benefit of Mrs Brownells health—Spent two nights at New Haven, on our way, staying at Mr A. Heaton's—Remained in New York, at Mr Hillyer's till the 18th Nov. when we embarked on board the Ship Louisville for New Orleans. Among our fellow passengers were the Rev^d R. A. Henderson of Philadelphia, Capt. L. S. Gale and family from Newport, Mr & Mrs Lee, Mr Palmer, & Mr Boyd of N. York, Mr Fairfax Cat-

⁴⁴In "A Sketch of the Early History of the Church in Louisiana" printed in the Journals of the Conventions of the Diocese of Louisiana, 1838-1842, pp. 37-39, there is no reference to this visit of Bishop Brownell in 1829. The story begins with his visit of 1834, which was not an official visit as was that of 1829.

(the sum required) had been raised, and a judicious plan of the edifice had been adopted by the building Committee. I shall always feel grateful to God for the instrumentality I was permitted to exercise for the good of his Church, as well as for his blessing on my unworthy exertions; and I devoutly pray that the smiles of his favour may attend the furtherance of this good work, for without this favour nothing is perfect, nothing is steadfast.

During my brief ministry in New Orleans, which was exercised in conjunction with the Rev^d Mr Fox, till the 2^d of March, and after that alone, I preached every *Sunday* when I was in town, and also at Christmas, and Ash Wednesday, and Good Friday—Baptized 10 Infants, and two adults—Confirmed 38 persons—Administered the Lord's Supper at Christmas and Easter, and admitted 17 new Communicants. I attended only one funeral, that of Mr William Bullitt.

On Sunday, the 26th April, I took leave of the Congregation; and on the following day, at 4 O'Clock P. M. took my departure from New Orleans, in the Steam Boat Homer, for Louisville.



WESTERN VIEW OF "POQUETANNOCK," PRESTON.
The church, built soon after 1734, is seen at the extreme right of the picture.

when 35 persons received the imposition of hands.—On the following day I confirmed Mr^s Baldwin (a sick lady) at her own house, together with her Son, and Nephew—making in all 38 persons confirmed.—On the Sunday following (Easter) I administered the holy Communion to 71 persons. About a fortnight previous to the Communion I requested all those who wished to receive that Sacrament for the first time to send me their names that I might confer with them on the subject. Accordingly, previous to the administration at Easter, 17 names were sent me, all of whom were enrolled as Communicants.

On Easter Monday, I wrote a Note to the Vestry, informing them of my purpose to leave the City by the first good Boat after the following Sunday. A few days afterwards a Committee of the Vestry waited on me with a complimentary Resolution of that body, containing their thanks &c. for the services I had rendered.

On my arrival in New Orleans, I found the parish much depressed and discouraged. Some members of the Congregation were attending other Churches, others were in the habitual neglect of public worship. There was also a deep-rooted difficulty in regard to the building of a new Church, and especially in regard to its location. After I had officiated a week or two the Vestry requested that I would address the Congregation on the affairs of the Parish. On the following Sunday, after Sermon, I accordingly addressed to them some conciliatory and encouraging remarks. As either of the proposed locations of the Ch. were sufficiently convenient, I endeavoured to shew them that *unanimity* was much more important than the choice between them. I inculcated the absolute necessity of building a new Church to give stimulus and animation to the Parish, and to collect a Congregation of sufficient ability to support a Clergyman of the highest character. In connexion with a new Church, I urged the call of a permanent Rector, who should command the confidence of the Parish and the respect of the public; and I suggested the expediency of immediate measures for the organization of the S. W. Diocese and the election of a Bishop, who should at the same time be the Rector of the Parish.

Before my departure, I had the satisfaction of seeing all these objects in a fair way of accomplishment, through the blessing of divine Providence. The Congregation had been rallied together again. The Rev^d Dr Hawks⁴⁷ had been unanimously elected Bishop of the S. W. Diocese and Rector of the Parish. The difficulties in regard to the location of a new Church had been happily settled, and the Pewholders had unanimously voted to enter on the work. Forty thousand dollars

⁴⁷Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D. D. He accepted, and the *General Convention* approved. Later Dr. Hawks declined. Nothing more came of the S. W. Diocese.

THE FOUNDING OF TRINITY COLLEGE [WASHINGTON COLLEGE, 1823-1845]*

By Arthur Adams**

DR. William A. Beardsley in his article on the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut, which appeared in the September 1944 number of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, has told the story of the aspirations and struggles of the Episcopalians in Connecticut to secure for themselves and the Church at large an educational institution of college grade and quality. In this article, we shall carry on the story to the realization of their desires in the founding of what is now known as Trinity College, known from 1823 to 1845 as Washington College.

After the refusal of the legislature in 1810 to grant the Episcopal Academy the power to confer degrees, we hear no more of the effort to turn the Academy into a college. Rather the effort took the form of an appeal for a charter for a second college in the State.†

In 1811, the General Convention of the Episcopal Church gave their approval to the plan and expressed their earnest wishes for its success.

After the death of Bishop Abraham Jarvis, May 3, 1813, nothing was done till 1816. At the diocesan convention held June 6, 1816, the following vote was adopted:

Resolved, by this convention that the Rev. Mr. Chase, Rev. Mr. Burhans, Charles Sigourney, Asa Chapman, and Nathan Smith, Esqrs., be appointed a committee to prefer a petition, in the name and behalf of the convention, to the general assembly, at their next session, to be holden at New Haven in Order next; to obtain an act of incorporation and charter for an Episcopal College, to be erected in this diocese, and to pursue all proper measures for the obtaining a grant of said petition, provided they should think it expedient to present it at said session.

Apparently, the committee did not find it expedient for the convention June 4, 1817, voted to continue the committee. It was voted

*May 8, 1845, the trustees voted to request the legislature to change the name of the college to Trinity College. The legislature approved the change and the governor signed the act May 24, 1845.

The petition gave as the reason for the change the fact that there were "sundry other colleges in the United States bearing the name of Washington College."

**Librarian, Trinity College, Hartford.

†The request was repeated in 1811, but met with no greater success.

again June 3, 1818, that the committee be continued. Nothing further is heard of this committee. Doubtless it did not deem the time opportune for making the effort to secure the coveted charter for an Episcopal college in Connecticut. Doubtless, too, it was felt to be wise to defer action till a new bishop should be elected.

It is to be noted that the committee was directed to bend its efforts to the securing of a charter for a new college. Evidently the idea of securing an enlargement of the powers of the trustees of the Episcopal Academy at Cheshire had been abandoned. Just why this change of plan took place does not appear. Perhaps it was because Cheshire was not regarded as the best town for a college. Perhaps it was thought that there was need for both a secondary school and a college, and that they should be entirely separate. Perhaps it was thought it would be easier to secure money for a college in New Haven or Hartford than for a combined secondary school and college in Cheshire. Whatever the reasons, it is clear that the idea of making an Episcopal college out of the Episcopal Academy had been abandoned and the plan of founding a new institution, a second college in Connecticut, adopted in its stead.

The Rev. Thomas Church Brownell, assistant minister in Trinity Church, New York, was elected the third bishop of Connecticut June 3, 1819. One would expect from his training and experience that he would throw himself vigorously into the effort to secure the charter for the projected Episcopal college of Connecticut, yet for three or four years after his election nothing was done. Why this was so, will soon be evident.

In 1800, he entered Brown University. In 1802, the Rev. Jonathan Maxcy, president of Brown, became president of Union College, and young Brownell followed him to Schenectady. He was graduated as valedictorian of his class in 1804. He had expected to enter the ministry of the Presbyterian Church, but reading in the early history of the Church turned his attention to the Episcopal Church. He became tutor in Latin and Greek in Union in 1805; professor of belles lettres and moral philosophy in 1807; and in 1809, professor of chemistry and mineralogy, sciences hardly known at that time in America. He spent a year in Europe to prepare himself for his new duties. In England, he became acquainted with Sir Humphry Davy, and other eminent scientists of his day. He had, therefore, an unusually broad training in the academic learning of his day, a fact that was to have no small influence on the second college in Connecticut when it came into being. In 1811,

parish in the diocese, the intention evidently being to have the petition supported by the signatures of the Episcopalians throughout the State:

New Haven, March 20, 1823.

Sir,—The Committee appointed to prepare a Memorial to the Legislature of this State, for the incorporation of a new College, have attended to that duty, and herewith forward you a copy of the same, which you are requested to circulate for subscription, through your Parish. Similar copies have been forwarded to every Parish in the Diocese, and it is expected that they will be signed by all the Episcopal Clergy, and by every male Episcopalian of lawful age. If anything should prevent you from attending to this business personally in your parish, the Committee will rely upon your procuring some other person to perform the duty. After the signatures are obtained, it is requested that the Memorials be returned to Charles Sigourney, Esq., Hartford. It is desirable that they should be in his hands by the first day of the session of the Legislature, and if no earlier private opportunity should offer, the Representatives from the several towns will afford very suitable means of conveyance.

With great respect,
Your obedient Servant,

T. C. BROWNELL,
Chairman of the Committee.

The petition follows:

PETITION FOR THE INCORPORATION OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE.

To the Honorable, the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut, to be holden at Hartford on the first Wednesday in May, 1823.

We the undersigned, convinced of the expediency of attempting to establish another Collegiate Institution in this State, and entertaining the belief that such an Institution would meet with a liberal patronage, beg leave respectfully to submit our wishes and views to the consideration of your honorable body.

We are aware of the great benefits which have resulted to this State and to the general interests of Literature, from the important Literary Institution at New Haven, and we have no wish to lessen its future usefulness by our present application.

We are members of the Protestant Episcopal Church; a denomination of Christians considerable for their numbers and resources in our country; and we beg leave to represent, that

his marriage to Charlotte Dickinson, a member of an Episcopal family, again turned his attention to the Episcopal Church. In 1816, he was ordained to the diaconate by Bishop Hobart in Trinity Church, New York, and in August of the same year, was advanced to the priesthood. In 1818, he became an assistant minister in Trinity Church, New York. Three years after his ordination as deacon he was elected bishop of Connecticut, then as now one of the largest and most important dioceses in the Church.

Probably the new bishop did not turn his attention sooner to the proposed college, because his interest and his energy in the first years of his episcopate were centered on the General Theological Seminary.

The General Seminary had been established in New York in 1817 by the General Convention. The institution did not flourish in 1817, York, just why does not appear, and the General Convention of 1820, resolved that it be transferred to and located within the city of New Haven, in the diocese of Connecticut. The General Seminary opened its session in New Haven the 13th of September 1820, with some ten students, and in October, Bishop Brownell removed to New Haven to assist in the work of teaching, devoting himself to homiletics and pastoral theology. In 1821, Jacob Sherred, a vestryman of Trinity Church, New York, died, leaving about \$60,000, a very large sum in those days, to a theological seminary in New York founded either by the General Convention or the convention of the diocese of New York. So in 1821, the General Seminary returned to New York to take advantage of this large bequest, merging with a diocesan institution already established there.

Bishop Brownell and the friends of the proposed second or Episcopal college in Connecticut were now free to give their attention to the project.

The bishop and his associates went ahead without asking authority from the diocesan convention, doubtless thinking the votes approving the project and appointing a committee to present a petition for a charter sufficient authority. A week before Christmas in 1822, eighteen of the clergy of the diocese met at the bishop's house in New Haven to take the preliminary steps. We have no formal record of this meeting, but we know that the bishop with two of the clergy and three laymen was appointed to draw up a memorial to be circulated in the diocese for signatures—praying "the General Assembly" to grant an act of incorporation for a college with power to confer the usual literary honors, to be placed in either of the cities of Hartford, Middletown, or New Haven, according to the discretion of the Trustees."

Copies of the petition, with the following letter, were sent to each

while all other religious denominations in the Union have their Universities and Colleges under their influence and direction, there is not a single Institution of this kind under the special patronage and guardianship of Episcopalians. It cannot be doubted but that such an Institution will be established, in some part of our country, at no distant period; and we are desirous that the State of Connecticut shall have the benefit of its location.

As Episcopalians, we do not ask for any exclusive privileges, but we desire to be placed on the same footing with other denominations of Christians.

Though a parent may not be over-solicitous to have his children educated in a servile acquiescence with his peculiar religious views, yet he will be reluctant to place them in situations where they will be likely to acquire a strong bias against his own principles. If it should be thought expedient to establish a new College, your memorialists are desirous that it should be conducted on broad principles of religious toleration, and that Christianity should be exhibited in it, as it is in the Gospel.—unincumbered with metaphysical subtilities, and unimpaired by any false liberality, or refined explanations, which would divest it of some of its fairest characteristics.

When we consider the rapid increase of the population of this country, and the growing demand for the facilities of public education, it is manifest that the present provisions for this object are becoming inadequate. Accordingly, we see our sister States, with a wise policy, encouraging the erection of new Seminaries within their limits, for the purpose of securing to themselves the benefits which naturally flow from them. Should the inhabitants of the South and the West continue to rely chiefly on the Colleges of New England for the education of their sons, as it seems likely they will do, it surely ought to be the policy, as it is unquestionably the interest, of Connecticut to multiply attractions of a literary nature. Perhaps the present College in this State already numbers as many pupils as can either be instructed, or governed to advantage, in one Institution. But however this may be, we are persuaded that if your Honors should think fit to grant our present request, funds, to a considerable amount, would be raised, which otherwise would not be appropriated to the support of literature at all, or would be devoted to the endowment of a College in some other part of the Union.

When compared with some of her sister States, Connecticut possesses but a moderate extent of territory, limited resources, and a circumscribed population; but she may easily become preëminent by the number and importance of her literary institutions. Recommended by the general intelligence of her citizens, moderate habits, cheapness of living, and ease of access, it only requires that she should extend and foster her *Literary Institutions*, to attract the youth from every part of our coun-

try;—to acquire an influence and importance in the Union, which her physical resources deny to her;—to become the seat of science and literature,—the *Athens of our Republic*.

Your memorialists conclude with humbly praying this Honorable General Assembly to grant them an Act of Incorporation for a College, with power to confer the usual literary honors; to be placed in either of the Cities of Hartford, Middletown, or New Haven, according to the discretion of the Trustees, who may be appointed by your honorable body; which act of Incorporation shall take effect whenever Funds shall be raised for the endowment of the Institution, to the amount of Thirty Thousand Dollars, and not before.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

It is of interest to note that the day before the petition was to be presented, the Yale Corporation at a meeting in Hartford abolished the requirement of subscription to the Saybrook Platform. This requirement had been one of the grievances of which Episcopalians had complained. Whether or not the dropping of the requirement was suggested by the knowledge that the petition for a second college in which no such test was to be required can only be conjectured.

The limitation of space forbids introducing the Charter *in-extenso* in this paper, but a few quotations and comments may be permitted.

It recites that whereas sundry inhabitants of the State of the denomination called the Protestant Episcopal Church have represented by their petition that great advantages would accrue to the State, as well as to the general interests of literature and science, by establishing within the State another Collegiate Institution, therefore, *Resolved by this Assembly*, That Thomas C. Brownell, etc., are constituted a body politic and corporate forever, by the name of the "Trustees of Washington College."

The charter gave power and authority to grant all such literary honors and degrees as are usually granted by any university, college, or seminary of learning in this State, or in the United States. It provides no ordinance or by-law shall "make the religious tenets of any person a condition of admission to any privilege in the said College, and that no President or Professor, or other officer, shall be made ineligible for or by reason of any religious tenet that he may profess, or be compelled, by any by-law or otherwise, to subscribe to any religious test whatsoever." It provides that the institution shall enjoy the same privileges and exemptions as to taxation as have been or may be granted to Yale College. It provides that the trustees may establish the college in such town in this State as they may judge most expedient, whenever

funds amounting to not less than \$30,000 shall be contributed or secured, certainly a very modest amount!

The charter was granted by the legislature May 16, 1823; the long fight for a charter for an Episcopal college had been won. What made the victory so long withheld so easy now?

For at least half a century, repeated efforts had been made to secure a new constitution for Connecticut, whose only constitution was the charter granted by King Charles in 1662. Under it, as before indeed, the Congregational Church, or Congregational Churches, were established and supported by taxation. The forces that were to destroy this union of church and state and to secure complete freedom of conscience and worship were numerous and complicated. One was the defeat of the Federalist party, of which Connecticut had been a stronghold, and which had been a defender of the Standing Order, a defeat due to the rise of democratic sentiment, economic changes, and opposition to the church establishment. Generally the Episcopalians had supported the Federalist party, but now they made common cause with the Baptists and Methodists and other discontented factions and added their strength to the Republican party, the party of toleration and progress, the party promising an extension of the suffrage to the "common man," whose numbers had become greater because of the changed economic conditions resulting from the growth of mills and factories. In 1816, the toleration party nominated Oliver Wolcott, Jr., and Jonathan Ingersoll for governor and lieutenant governor respectively. Both had been staunch Federalists, and Jonathan Ingersoll was an Episcopalian. Ingersoll was elected and was the first Episcopalian to hold a State office in Connecticut. In 1817 Wolcott was elected governor and Ingersoll was reelected. They elected their candidates for the lower house by a vote of two to one. However, the Federalists still controlled the upper house. In 1818 at last, the toleration party swept all before them, and on August 26, 1818, a constitutional convention met in Hartford. Here also the Baptists and Methodists joined with the Episcopalians to make sure of the separation of church and state. The new constitution provided that "no preference shall be given by law to any Christian sect or mode of worship," and provided that no person shall be compelled to support any congregation, church, or religious association. The days of the domination of the Standing Order were over, and the Episcopalians might now have the charter for their college for the asking. Doubtless, they would have asked before 1823, but for the temporary sojourn of the General Seminary in the State.

In his address to the convention in St. Andrew's Church, Meriden, June 14, 1823, Bishop Brownell said in reference to the granting of the charter:

But it is almost in vain to endeavour to imbue the tender minds of our children with our own views of religious truth, if during their subsequent education, they must be placed in situations where our peculiar sentiments are constantly treated as matters of indifference, or exhibited as positively erroneous. It is difficult for youth to withstand the influence of example, of authority, and of numbers; and without imputing any sectarian partialities, or any proselyting zeal, to the instructors of Academies and Colleges who dissent from our religious views, every person who knows anything of the relations subsisting between the instructor and the pupil, must be aware of the important influence which the religious sentiments of the former will be likely to produce on the minds of the latter. There is moreover, a spurious liberality much in vogue at the present day, which, if it do not reach absolute latitudinarianism, professes to regard it as a matter of indifference, or at most, of expediency, to what particular denomination of Christians any one belongs. But if this principle be admitted, the obvious inference is, that it is most expedient to unite with that denomination which is the most numerous or the most popular. It is easy to see that the prevalence of such a principle would prove the ruin of our Church, and lead to a general laxity of religious faith. We are Episcopalians, not from any slight preference, but as I trust from examination and conviction, and from an imperious sense of duty. Our charity would accord the same grounds of preference to other denominations; and that golden rule which applies to so many of the relative duties, we would take as the true rule of religious toleration—"to do to others, as we would have them do to us;" while we may reasonably require the same religious privileges which we freely concede to others. Without setting up, therefore, for exclusive orthodoxy, we may surely be allowed to take all those measures for the education of our children in our own faith, which are adopted by other religious denominations, and in relation to which we can have no cause of complaint. We should not, perhaps, be over-solicitous in imposing our own creed upon our children, but it is an evidence that we think lightly of our profession if we needlessly place them in situations where they will be likely either to become indifferent to our peculiar principles, or to acquire a positive bias against them.

Under the influence of such considerations, the Episcopalians of this State petitioned the General Assembly, during its recent session, for the incorporation of a College, to be under the patronage and principal direction of members of our Church. The application was received with great liberality; and a Charter has been granted, on condition that Thirty Thousand Dollars be raised by private contribution. An earnest appeal will now be made to the friends of the proposed Insti-

two pamphlets hostile to the new college are evidently by the same hand, as are apparently the letters in the Connecticut *Courant*. Certainly no good purpose was served by the controversy, and certainly it did not prevent the committee of the trustees from raising the \$30,000 required to make the charter effective.

Friday, April 23, 1824, the trustees met in Middletown to consider the proposals from Hartford, Middletown, and New Haven for the location of the college, but adjourned to meet in New Haven May 6, 1824.

At the meeting in New Haven on that date, it was voted by ballot to select Hartford. Hartford receive nine votes, Middletown five, and New Haven two. The trustees elected Bishop Brownell, president, Charles Sigourney secretary, and Samuel Tudor, treasurer. The president, John S. Peters, and Richard Adams were appointed to select a site for the college buildings, and William H. Imley, Samuel Tudor, and Michael Olcott were appointed to superintend the erection of the necessary buildings. The president was directed to devise and procure a common seal for the use of the institution.

The original Hartford subscription paper has been preserved and was printed in the Trinity College Bulletin in 1902. No subscription was for more than \$1,000, and only three were for that amount, namely, those of Samuel Tudor, Charles Sigourney, and William H. Imley. All three were eminent merchants and citizens of Hartford. Many of the subscriptions are for very small amounts, showing the general interest of Hartford people in the college, and were payable in labor or building materials.

The Times, and *Hartford Advertiser* in its issue for May 11, 1824, notes the decision to locate the college in Hartford:

The Trustees of *Washington College* at their meeting at N. Haven on Thursday last, having agreed to locate that institution in this town, the news of the event was received here with tokens of great satisfaction, particularly among the younger class of citizens, who manifested their feelings on the occasion by the discharge of cannon and other fire works. The votes of the Trustees were, for Hartford, nine—Middletown, 5—New Haven, two.

In his Convention address, June 2, 1824, Bishop Brownell says concerning the college:

At our last meeting, I had the pleasure of congratulating you on the passage of an Act, by the General Assembly of this State, for the establishment of a College, to be under the

tution, and I confidently trust, it will be met with the liberality which the importance of the object demands.*

The first meeting of the trustees under the charter was held at Bulkeley's Hotel in Middletown, on Tuesday, July 8, 1823. Bishop Brownell was chairman and Charles Sigourney was elected secretary and Samuel Tudor, treasurer. The only business transacted was the appointment of a committee to devise ways and means to procure funds, with power to appoint suitable agents. The members of the committee were: the Right Rev. Thomas C. Brownell, the Rev. Samuel Merwin, the Rev. Harry Crosswell, the Rev. Elisha Cushman, and the Rev. Birdsey G. Noble.

The committee reported at a meeting held at the house of Charles Francis in Middletown, March 4, 1824, that agents had been appointed who had obtained about \$10,000 on a general subscription without reference to the location of the college and that the Rev. Nathaniel S. Wheaton, rector of Christ Church, Hartford, had been sent to England to solicit donations for a library. It was voted that they meet in Middletown, April 22, 1824, to hear a further report and to decide on the location of the college.

Moved evidently by a series of anonymous articles printed in the Connecticut *Courant* designed to show that there was no need of a second college, that a second college would cost more than it was worth to the community in which it should be located and more to support it properly than could be raised, and attacking the honesty of the friends of Washington College in their protestations of devotion to religious liberty in the proposed institution, they ordered to be published the provisions of the charter on the subject. The third of the articles had accused the trustees of hypocrisy, because at home they talked of religious freedom and in their instructions to the Rev. Mr. Wheaton, their agent to go to England, they stressed the Episcopal character of the college.

The granting of the charter had also precipitated a miniature pamphlet war. The first of the three pamphlets was entitled "Considerations suggested by the Establishment of a Second College in Connecticut." This was answered in 1825 by "Remarks on Washington College and on the Considerations"—suggested by its establishment. This also is anonymous, but it is known that the author was the Rev. Nathaniel S. Wheaton, returned from England with books for the library and with philosophical apparatus. The third pamphlet, also issued in 1825, is entitled "An Examination of the 'Remarks' on Considerations suggested by the establishment of a Second College in Connecticut." The

*Journal of the Convention, 1823.

ing married sisters; George Sumner was graduated from Yale in 1813, and received the M. D. degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1817; and the Rev. Hector Humphrey, later president of St. John's College, Maryland, was graduated from Yale in 1818. Horatio Hickok was not an Episcopalian; he is said to have been the first professor of political economy in America, but John McVickar had been made professor of moral philosophy and political economy at Columbia in 1818.

The course of studies required work in natural philosophy in the junior year and work in chemistry, natural philosophy, and mineralogy, geology, and botany in the senior year. In the minutes of the meeting of the trustees held June 14, 1826, reference is found to the "Botanic garden" and the "Green House therein." In the minutes of the meeting held August 1, 1826, reference is found to the "Cabinet of Minerals" deposited in the college for the use of students by Professor Hall.

At this meeting, the following resolution was adopted: "Whereas, it is impracticable, during the infant state of the Institution, to appoint Professors to all the departments of learning;—*Resolved*,—that the business of instruction be equitably divided among the existing officers, in such manner as may be mutually arranged by them, or as the President may direct."

Instruction was begun September 23, 1824, in a private house on Main Street in Hartford. Nine students were admitted on that date, and a tenth on October 12, 1824. By the end of the year, the number had increased to fourteen, all of whom but one were from Connecticut.

In his address to the diocesan convention, June 1, 1825, Bishop Brownell says:

I have previously had occasion to take notice of the incorporation of a College, to be under the principal patronage and direction of members of our Church, and to state that the requisite endowments had been obtained to render the charter available. Since our last meeting, the institution has been organized, and it is now in successful operation. It has indeed had to encounter much of that prejudice and obloquy, which has so frequently been experienced by our Church; but this unmerited reprobation seems only to have had the effect of creating for it additional sympathy in the minds of liberal men, and we have every reason to look for its future prosperity and usefulness.*

The first commencement was held August 1, 1827, the B. A. degree being conferred on ten young men. Isaac Edwin Crary was valedictorian. He was a delegate to the Federal Congress for the territory of

*Journal of the Convention, 1825.

patronage and principal direction of members of our Church; provided thirty thousand dollars should be raised for its endowment by private contribution. I have now the satisfaction of announcing to you that more than the requisite sum has been raised, to render the Charter available. Nearly fifty thousand dollars have been subscribed to this object, within the Diocese; the greater portion of which has been contributed by the City of Hartford, in which the Institution is established. The College will be organized, and go into operation without delay. Arrangements have been made for procuring a Library and suitable Philosophical apparatus, and preparations are in train for erecting the necessary buildings for the accommodation of Students, and for public rooms. Though these edifices can hardly be completed before the next Spring, yet it is purposed to be ready for the reception of Students the ensuing Autumn, and, in the mean time, to procure accommodation for them in private families.

It will be the object of the Trustees of the Institution, to seek the ablest Professors that can be obtained, in order to ensure the requisite number of Students to support the establishment. It is hoped also that the organization of the Institution, will be thought to contain some improvements on the ordinary systems of education, calculated to procure for it the favourable notice of the public.*

The committee charged with the erection of the necessary buildings for the college at once advertised for bids for the erection of a "College and a Chapel." The chapel was designed by Samuel F. B. Morse, inventor of the telegraph, and the "College" by Solomon Willard, architect of the Bunker Hill Monument. They were first occupied in 1825.

At the meeting of the trustees held in the counting-room of Charles Sigourney in Hartford, August 10, 1824, a course of study and a system of discipline were adopted, and it was voted that the college should open September 23, 1824, for the reception of students. The Rev. George W. Doane, A. M., was elected professor of belles-lettres and rhetoric, Frederick Hall, A. M., professor in Middlebury College in Vermont, professor of chemistry and mineralogy, Horatio Hickok, A. M., professor of agriculture and political economy, George Sumner, M. D., professor of botany and the Rev. Hector Humphrey, A. M., tutor of languages, until a professor be appointed.

George Washington Doane, subsequently second bishop of New Jersey, was a graduate of Union College in the class of 1818; Frederick Hall was a graduate of Dartmouth College in the class of 1803; Horatio Hickok, Yale 1798, was a brother-in-law of Bishop Brownell, they hav-

*Journal of the Convention, June 2, 1824.

Michigan, 1835-1836, and representative from Michigan in Congress, 1837-1841. The first D. D. degree was conferred on Alexander Jolly, bishop of Moray in Scotland in 1826, and the first LL. D. degree on Gideon Tomlinson, governor of Connecticut in 1827.

The minutes of the faculty are extant from the meeting held February 13, 1826. Their first recorded act is to vote that John L. DeLong and Edward Pitcher, members of the junior class, receive a "publick admonition from the President, in the College Chapel." They had been found guilty of disorderly conduct in college, particularly in throwing a log downstairs in the night!

Evidently the foundations of the college had been well and truly laid, and we may leave it to its normal career of progress and discouragement through the years!

BISHOP BROWNELL'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

HARTFORD, May 22d, 1858.

RIGHT REV. AND DEAR BROTHER: In fulfilment of my promise, I now give you a sketch of the principal events of my life, previous to my consecration to the Episcopate.

I was born at Westport, in the State of Massachusetts, on the 19th day of October, in the year 1779. I am the oldest son of the late Sylvester and Mercy Brownell, and the first born of their eleven children — five sons and six daughters.

My father was the fourth in descent from George Brownell, who with a cousin by the name of Graves, purchased from the Narraganset Indians a tract of land lying on the seacoast, extending westward from the Acoaxset River, to the border of the Rhode Island Colony. The farm on which my father resided has continued in possession of the family from the time of its original purchase, to within the last thirty years, when he removed from that place to a farm which he owned in the town of Little Compton, Rhode Island. He died at the latter place, about eighteen years ago, in the eighty-second year of his age. My mother had died about three years earlier, at the same advanced period of life.

Of the lineage of my mother, Baylies in his "Me-



CHRIST CHURCH, STRATFORD.
Second Building, 1744.

In the summer of 1802, at the close of my Sophomore year, the Doctor was appointed to the presidency of Union College, Schenectady; and having formed a strong attachment to him, I accompanied him and his family to their new residence, and became a member of the Junior class in Union College. At the end of two years I was graduated there, at the head of my class, with the "Valedictory."

It had been, for some time, my intention to devote myself to the study of theology, at the conclusion of my collegiate course; and it was the earnest wish of my parents that I should do so. I had, however, begun to find difficulties in the Calvinistic system of theology, in which I had been reared; but resolved to make myself better acquainted with it, before coming to a decision. The Rev. Dr. Nott was then a distinguished clergyman of the Presbyterian Church, at Albany, and kindly consented to take me under his tuition. He had the faculty of presenting these doctrines under a somewhat mitigated form; but advised me to study well the early history of the Church; and for this purpose he put into my hands the "Ecclesiastical History" of Mosheim. After reading a portion of this work, I enquired of my instructor whether there was any more minute history of the *early organization of the Christian Church*; and he referred me to Echar's "History of the first four Centuries," which he had in his library. I read these volumes with deep interest. At the conclusion, I remarked to my instructor that, if the author was correct, the first organization of the Christian Church must have been more like that of the Episcopal Communion, than either the Presbyterian or Congregational denominations. He appeared to admit this

moirs of the Plymouth Colony" (vol. ii. p. 140), has the following note:—

"Thomas Church, the eldest son of the Warrior (Col. Benjamin Church) left children; one of whom was the late Hon. Thomas Church, one of the assistants of the Government of Rhode Island, and colonel of one of the Rhode Island regiments at the commencement of the Revolutionary War. He was born at Little Compton. In the latter years of his life, he removed to Dighton, in Massachusetts, of which town he was a representative in the General Court. He died there. One of his daughters married the Hon. Sylvester Brownell of Westport, Massachusetts, and is the mother of the Right Rev. Thomas Church Brownell, Bishop of Connecticut."

In my early life, I received, as a farmer's son, a common country school education. At the age of fifteen, when no schoolmaster could be obtained for the district, I consented to act as schoolmaster myself, for several months, and succeeded in securing the respect of my former schoolmates.

About three years after this, with the approbation of my parents, I spent a few months with our clergyman, the Rev. Dr. Shepard, in the study of English grammar, and the rudiments of the Latin language. In pursuance of his advice, and with the approval of my parents, I resolved on obtaining a collegiate education; and became a student of "Bristol Academy," at Taunton, under the Rev. Dr. Daggett, as Principal.

In September, of the next year, 1800, I entered as a member of the Freshman class in the College at Providence, then under the presidency of the Rev. Dr. Maxcy.

fact, but seemed to regard it as a matter of little importance. It was, however, not so with me; and wishing to read further on the subject, I enquired what work he could recommend? He jocularly replied, "Go to Dr. Beasley; he can tell you." I took the advice in earnest; and introducing myself to the Rev. Doctor, enquired if he could recommend to me any approved work on the first organization of the Christian Church? He went to his library, and bringing out the work of Archbishop Potter on that subject, kindly offered me the loan of it. The perusal of this work was like the opening of a new world to me. I read the whole with deep attention. It unfolded to me a new aspect of Christianity. The survey afforded to me unspeakable relief; but it was necessarily attended with many regrets. I had no near relation, and no intimate friend, belonging to the Episcopal Church; and I seemed to be left alone in the world, in regard to my religious sympathies.

It was now autumn; and I determined to return to my home, for the winter, and to take time for a decision in regard to my future course.

About this time, Dr. Maxcy, the President of Union College, had been called to the Presidency of the University at Columbia, South Carolina, and the Rev. Dr. Nott was elected to fill his place. Soon after he had accepted, and entered on his new duties, I was appointed tutor in the Latin and Greek languages, in the institution. After due reflection, I decided to accept the station, and entered on the discharge of its duties on the 5th of April, 1805.

To sustain myself reputably, in my new position, I was now obliged to devote all my leisure hours to the study of the ancient classics.

At the Commencement of 1807, I was elected Professor of "Belles Lettres and Moral Philosophy." A new department of learning was now opened to me, which necessarily occupied the greater portion of my thoughts and of my studies.

Two years later, I was again requested to change my professorship, and course of study. The sciences of Chemistry and Mineralogy were then in their infancy in this country. But Professor Silliman, of Yale College, had now returned from Europe, with an imposing chemical apparatus. A fine cabinet of minerals had been procured for that institution from Colonel Gibbs; and these acquisitions had given to Yale College an imposing position, which could not fail to stimulate the exertions of kindred institutions. Accordingly, a department of Chemistry and Mineralogy was established in Union College, at the Commencement, in 1809, and I was appointed the first Professor; with leave to spend a year in Europe, in the examination of kindred institutions.

In the autumn, I sailed for England; having been appointed, by President Madison, as "Bearer of Despatches" to Mr. Pinckney, the American Minister in London, and to General Lyman, the United States Consul General. It was during the famous Embargo; and the only conveyance to be obtained was by the *British Packet* from New York to Falmouth. It was also during the famous "restrictive system" of Bonaparte, and there was allowed no communication between England and the Continent of Europe.

My travels and researches were, therefore, necessarily confined to Great Britain and Ireland. I had taken letters of introduction to Sir Humphrey Davy,

pursued our way along the western coast to the city of Glasgow. In this latter place we spent two or three weeks, during which time I had free access to the laboratories of Dr. Ure and Dr. Cleghorn. From Glasgow we proceeded to the city of Edinburgh. Here we spent a few weeks in examining the most interesting objects of the city and its environs. I found every facility in visiting the laboratories, and attending the lectures of the distinguished chemists and mineralogists, who have added so much to the fame of the ancient capital of the kingdom.

Our peregrinations on foot terminated in this city. It had come to be time for our return to America. We took the mail stage for Liverpool; from whence we embarked in a merchant ship for New York. After a pleasant passage to that city, I reached my home at Union College, just in time to commence my course of chemical instruction at the opening of the Fall term.

I had brought with me a considerable cabinet of minerals, and sufficient chemical apparatus to enable me to illustrate the principles of chemical science to advantage. Thus had passed one of the most busy and eventful years of my life; and I now entered on my course of instruction with zeal and industry.

The year after my return from Europe, on the 6th of August, 1811, I was married to Charlotte Dickinson, of the city of Lansingburgh, N. Y. She was daughter of Tertullus Dickinson, once a partner in mercantile business with Col. Beverly Robinson, of New York, and her mother was a daughter of Dr. Huggesford, an eminent physician of the same city.

My wife, and nearly all her connections, were of

Dr. Singer, Dr. Babington, Dr. Marcet, William Allen, and other distinguished scientific gentlemen in London, and found a free access to their cabinets, laboratories, and lectures. My winter was thus spent very industriously in London.

In the spring, I had resolved on a tour through the interior of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and a well-educated young gentleman of New York, who had been my fellow-passenger on ship-board, and fellow-boarder in London, volunteered to accompany me. Our object was not so much to see the large towns, as to examine the agricultural, manufacturing, and mining operations of the country; and to effect this end we resolved to travel on foot. Though such a mode of travelling, by gentlemen in our situation, was then a novelty, we found no reason to regret our decision. On one occasion, indeed, in an obscure part of Scotland, and when separated from our credentials, we were arrested for a robbery and murder which had been committed in the vicinity; yet we found but little difficulty in making our real character understood, and were speedily released.

We spent a considerable time in exploring the caverns and mines of Derbyshire; and in visiting the manufactories of Worcester, Manchester, and Birmingham; and in admiring the lake and mountain scenery of Cumberland and Westmoreland. We passed through the southern part of Scotland to Port Patrick; and from thence crossed over to Donahaddie, in Ireland. After visiting Lough Neagh, and the Giant's Causeway, we returned by the eastern coast of Ireland to Belfast, and thence by packet, again to Port Patrick, in Scotland. From the latter place we

the Episcopal Church; and we were married by the Rev. Dr. Butler, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Troy. I was thus, for the first time, brought into intimate relations with Episcopalians.

Previous to this, I had become convinced of the historical and Scriptural grounds of Episcopacy, yet I had not felt the necessity of changing my church relations. But I was now led to give a more particular examination to this subject. At the ensuing Easter, I took a pew in St. George's Church, Schenectady, under the Rectorship of the Rev. Dr. Stebbins. On the 5th of September, 1813, I was baptized in that church by the Rector. Shortly afterwards I was confirmed by the Bishop, and was admitted to the Holy Communion of the Church.

It will seem strange that I had not received Christian Baptism at an earlier period. The fact of the delay is to be accounted for, though not justified, by the state of society in which I was reared.

The community in which my early years were passed, were either Quakers, or Calvinistic Congregationalists. My parents attended public worship with the latter denomination; and though they had a distance of five miles to travel, and over bad roads, they were very punctual in their attendance, and were careful to provide a conveyance for a good portion of their family. Though always exemplary in their moral character, they were not technically "members of the Church." But when they came to be about forty years old, an extensive "revival" prevailed in their vicinity; they became subjects of it, and were then baptized, with all their younger children. I was at that time some thirty miles from home, at Bristol

Academy, and on the point of entering college. I may add, too, that it was then considered almost an unheard of thing that a person twenty years of age should receive baptism, unless he was the subject of some prevailing *revival*, and had, as it was termed, "experienced a change of heart;" a change which was supposed to be sudden, if not instantaneous, and wrought by the irresistible operation of the Holy Ghost.

Soon after my baptism, confirmation, and admission to the Holy Communion of the Church, I began to devote my leisure hours to the study of theology, as it is taught in the standard Church works—not, however, with a view to the relinquishment of my college avocations, but in the hope that I might add to my usefulness by receiving Holy Orders, and affording a Sunday supply to some vacant parishes in my vicinity.

On the eleventh of April, 1816, I was admitted to the Holy Order of Deacons, in Trinity Church, New York, by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Hobart; and soon afterwards, in the same place, I was admitted by him to the Holy Order of the Priesthood.

During the ensuing summer and autumn, I officiated every Sunday in vacant parishes within twenty miles of Schenectady. In the early part of the following spring, I was attacked with a severe disease, which settled on my lungs, and disqualified me for labor through the ensuing summer. In the autumn, my physician advised me to spend the coming winter in a milder climate, and I determined on a journey through the Southern States. Accordingly, I proceeded, by easy stages, as far south as Georgia; spend-

ing a few days in each principal city by the way, and devoting four or five weeks each to Charleston and Savannah. My health was, all the time, steadily improving, and I found myself able to preach at least a portion of nearly every Sunday.

Returning to New York in the spring, with recovered health, I spent a Sunday there, and preached in Trinity and St. Paul's Churches. There was then a vacancy in the ministry of Trinity parish, occasioned by the recent defection of the Rev. Dr. How. Shortly after returning to my home in Schenectady, I received an invitation to fill that vacancy. The overture was altogether unexpected. But as I received private letters from the Bishop, who was Rector of the parish, and also from his two assistants, assuring me that my acceptance would be agreeable to them personally, I decided on a change of occupation, after the ensuing College Commencement, if my health should then appear to be sufficiently reëstablished.

Accordingly, in the ensuing month of August, I entered on the duties of Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, New York, and removed my family to that city on the following October.

My residence in the city of New York was of brief duration, but was, in all respects, agreeable. I was received with great cordiality by the Bishop, and by my brethren of the clergy, and with all kindness by the people among whom I was called to minister. I supposed I had then entered upon the labors of my entire subsequent life.

But, in the following June, I was waited on by a delegation from Connecticut, informing me of my election to the Episcopal charge of that Diocese.

Such an event was altogether unexpected by me. I had received no previous intimation of it; and having entered the sacred ministry so late in life, there would have been but little probability that I should ever be called to one of its highest stations. But though such an office was not to be sought, nor expected, it was not to be hastily declined.

After seeking the Divine direction, after consultation with my Bishop and other friends, and under assurances of the unanimity of my election, I decided on accepting the solemn responsibilities of the office to which I was called.

I was accordingly consecrated to the Episcopal office, in Trinity Church, New Haven, on the twenty-seventh day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and nineteen, by the Rt. Rev. William White, D. D., Bishop of Pennsylvania, the Rt. Rev. John Henry Hobart, D. D., Bishop of New York, and the Rt. Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold, D. D., Bishop of the Eastern Diocese.

With what degree of faithfulness, and with what success, I have fulfilled the duties of the sacred office, it becomes not me to speak. I entertain a most grateful sense of the indulgence and kindness with which my imperfect services have been received by the Diocese.

Commending the people of the Diocese, and yourself, as my assistant and successor, to the keeping of Almighty God,

I remain your affectionate friend and brother,

THOMAS CHURCH BROWNELL

RT. REV. BISHOP WILLIAMS.

JOHN WILLIAMS BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT 1865-1899

*By William A. Beardsley**

IF the life-story of the fourth bishop of Connecticut is never fully and adequately told it will be due in large part to the extreme modesty of the bishop himself, to his aversion to be made the subject of a story, and to the too conscientious adherence to instructions, which, for the benefit of posterity, might well have been relaxed, it would seem, without any serious breach of good faith.

For, after all, a man whose life has been lived in the public eye, and whose work has been done for the public good, does in a real sense belong to the public. It is not quite fair to withhold the record from posterity. They have a right to share in it. It belongs to them. There is inspiration and satisfaction in the contemplation of it.

John Williams was born in Deerfield, Massachusetts, August 30, 1817, only son of Ephraim and Emily Trowbridge Williams. The Williams family is a very ancient one and a very large one. For the earliest roots of it we should probably have to reach back into the principality of Wales in Britain, for there the name abounds. But we will content ourselves with starting from Robert Williams of Roxbury, from whom come many if not most of those who bear the name in this country. John was the sixth in line from Robert, coming through Isaac, Ephraim, Thomas, Ephraim. The mention of Deerfield, his birthplace, starts the imagination tingling. Associated with it is much that is historic and tragic, and in both history and tragedy members of the Williams family are prominent.

In a Deerfield street, bordered by stately elms, stood and still stands, the birthplace of John Williams. It was a modest but substantial frame house, such as might be found in any of our New England villages one hundred and twenty-five years ago, and gave them the appearance of prosperity and comfort, as well as a certain picturesqueness which has inspired poet and painter alike. In this quiet village young Williams grew up, and there he received his education in preparation for his ad-

*The Rev. Dr. Beardsley is Historiographer of the Diocese of Connecticut—
Editor's Note.



THE RIGHT REVEREND JOHN WILLIAMS, D. D.

August 30, 1817-February 7, 1899

BISHOP COADIUTOR OF CONNECTICUT

October 29, 1851-January 13, 1865

FOURTH BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT

1865-1899

FOUNDER OF BERKELEY DIVINITY SCHOOL

PRESIDING BISHOP OF THE CHURCH

1887-1899

uncle, Bishop George Washington Doane (1799-1859), took to rescue him.¹

So far as we know he exerted no influence on Williams in this direction. His feet were on the ground, and his intellectual discriminations were sharp. As he had the power to veer away from Unitarianism, so he had the power to keep clear of any Roman errors. After two years at Harvard he transferred to the recently established Washington College at Hartford, Connecticut, its name to be changed to Trinity College in 1845. What led him to turn to this new college, struggling into existence, without any reputation in the academic world, we do not know, but we can conjecture. Washington College was definitely a college of the Episcopal Church, established along broad lines by the Church people of Connecticut in response to the strong feeling that there should be a college of that Church within the borders of Connecticut. The Congregational Standing Order had done its best to prevent its establishment, on the ostensible ground that there was not room in the small state for another college, and that it would deflect strength from Yale. To-day that seems rather fantastic, but it was not fantastic in the early years of the eighteenth century, as one will conclude who studies the list of the clergy of the Episcopal Church who were educated at Yale, because there was no other place in Connecticut.

Persistence won and in 1823 Washington College received its charter. Williams in his departure from Unitarianism had whole-heartedly turned to the Episcopal Church. Here was the college in New England belonging to that Church, and Williams was a thoroughgoing New Englander. It was only natural that he should wish to strengthen the foundations of the faith which he had accepted, and to do that he would place himself under those influences where the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Episcopal Church were firmly taught.

At the moment the Right Reverend Thomas Church Brownell (1779-1865) was not at the head of the college, but he had been since its organization, and had ceased to be only two years before Williams entered. He was an educator with a reputation which began at Union College,² and he was a staunch Churchman. Williams would know all this. And here, no doubt, was the prime reason why Williams, in changing his academic loyalties, went to Washington College in Connecticut.

The class which he entered, that of 1835, graduated only nine men, though seventeen began as freshmen. The classes were all small at that time. The college was decidedly in its infancy. And yet the quality

¹*History of the Church in Burlington, New Jersey*, by the Reverend George Morgan Hills, D. D., second edition, p. 454.

²Professor and Lecturer, 1806-1817.

mission into college, for, like other boys similarly placed in life, his neighbors and his kinsmen, he naturally looked forward to a college training. He would have little difficulty in deciding to which college he should go. Massachusetts was his home and Harvard was the college of Massachusetts, on the alumni roster of which were many who bore the name of Williams, not all necessarily his near or even distant relatives. And then, besides, the Unitarian atmosphere of Harvard would have a certain magnetic influence in drawing him thither.

At what seems to us the early age of fourteen he was ready to enter upon his college life, which he did in 1831. That does not signify any undue precociousness on his part, for fourteen was not an unusual age at that time for boys to enter college, and his academic record and general alertness of mind would indicate that he was quite able to do so. Bishop George Burgess (1809-1866) entered Brown University when he was thirteen.

Williams was not destined to pursue his collegiate course to its end in the atmosphere of Harvard. As Bishop Henry C. Potter (1835-1908) says, he found it "not merely cold but dry." And those atmospheric conditions suited neither his intellectual nor religious nature. What he had in mind for his life work when he entered college we do not know, certainly not the preparation for that ministry which he later entered, and so splendidly adorned. His parents were Unitarians, and his father was a lawyer held in high esteem in his profession. There is indicated the course which he might naturally follow in his religion and in his occupation. But he went neither way. In both directions he seems to have blazed his own trail.

Did he have any interest in, or knowledge of, the Episcopal Church, when at the age of fourteen he entered Harvard College? We do not know, but if that interest and knowledge were his, it was not acquired through any active participation in Church life in his home town, for Deerfield did not have an Episcopal Church within its borders, nor does it have to-day. It would seem as if that interest sprouted and fructified after he entered Harvard.

Among his classmates was Benjamin Davis Winslow (1815-1839) of Boston, about a year and a half his senior, who had but recently been baptized into the Episcopal Church by the Reverend William Crosswell (1804-1857), and became a devoted member of the Church. It is said that he was largely responsible for the change in Williams' convictions. We may be thankful that his influence was exerted only to the point of fixing his mind upon the Episcopal Church. Winslow became enmeshed in the Roman net, and would have been hopelessly entangled if it had not been for the prompt and sympathetic measures which his

down from Cambridge, which may well be reproduced at this point. He says:

"He was only seventeen or eighteen years of age when I first knew him; and yet, with his tall, stiff figure, his long serious face and high composed brow, his mild blue eyes, the natural fire of which, if they had any, was subdued by the spectacles he always wore, his sobriety of demeanor and measured talk, the old-fashioned cut of his black coat, and his gaitered shoes, he had already the look and manner of a settled parish clergyman. We always called him 'Parson Williams.' He appeared much older than his age, and his conduct was not only in harmony with his apparent maturity of years but with his ardent profession of piety."

By this time Williams had set his course for the ministry. Under what better guide could he place himself than under Bishop Brownell, the godly bishop of Connecticut, upon whose orthodoxy there never was a shadow of doubt. He had ceased to be president of the college in 1831, but his guiding hand was still upon it. In the college as professor of oriental languages and literature was Samuel Farmar Jarvis (1786-1851), son of the second bishop of Connecticut, Abraham Jarvis (1739-1813), a profound scholar, steeped in the history of the Church, and thoroughly versed in its theology. Under him Williams, after graduating from college, studied in preparation for the ministry, and was for a while at the General Theological Seminary in New York. He is listed as a non-graduate in the class of 1838. On September 2, 1838, he was ordained deacon by Bishop Brownell in Christ Church, Middletown, Connecticut, not the original building in which Bishop Seabury held his first ordinations, for that had been removed in 1835, but in the second church built in 1834.

Three years passed by and on September 26, 1841, he was advanced to the priesthood in the same place and by the same bishop. During the intervening time, 1837 to 1840, he was serving as tutor in Washington College, and from 1840 to 1841 he was traveling abroad, accompanied by his mother. They were joined by Mrs. Sigourney (1791-1865), the "Sweet Singer of Hartford." Upon his return home he became assistant minister in Christ Church, Middletown, where he had been ordained. The Reverend Dr. Harry Crosswell (1778-1858), rector of Trinity Church, New Haven, had hoped to have him for his assistant, the bishop having recommended him on the supposition that he was available. But it was ascertained that he had gone under a previous engagement to assist Dr. Jarvis in Middletown.

was there if not the quantity. Four of the nine which graduated rose to eminence. James Roosevelt Bayley (1814-1877) became the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore,⁸ Robert Tomes (1817-1882), a writer of distinction, John Turner Wait (1811-1899) a member of the Federal Congress, and John Williams (1817-1899) the foremost bishop in the American Episcopal Church. Certainly not a bad record. There was also a member of the class who did not remain to graduate, who was a member of it three years less one term, John Bigelow (1817-1911) journalist and diplomat, whose career was one of great honor and accomplishment.

A member of the class, Robert Tomes, in his little volume, *My College Days*, has left an interesting and graphic account of the college of his time, and of his classmates, none of whom, he says, while they were in college, seemed to give any promise of greatness, though "John Williams was the only one for whom the possibility of such an elevation as he has reached, could have been predicted with any show of reason." From Tomes we learn that it was not without serious objections, on the part of Williams' father and New England friends, that he left Hartford and went to Hartford. Presumably Tomes got that from Williams himself. It could hardly be expected that this change could be made without parental objection.

Tomes gives us a picture of the young student who had just come

⁸In the Diary of E. E. Beardsley (1808-1891) is this entry for October 3, 1863:

"Received a call from Bishop Bayley of Newark, N. J. (Roman Catholic), but not finding me in I returned his call at C. M. Ingersoll Esq's where I chatted with him an hour and took a cup of tea. He graduated at Trinity College in the same class with Bishop Williams (1835), had been a private pupil of mine after his dismission from Amherst College, and afterwards, when I was a Tutor in Trinity he roomed in the section of which I had immediate charge and my intercourse with him was frequent and friendly. Upon his graduation he turned his attention to the ministry of the Episcopal church, studied Theology with Dr. Jarvis at Middletown, and in due time was ordained Deacon in Christ Church, Hartford, by Bishop Brownell. Subsequently he went to Europe, and before his return to this country, he renounced the faith of his fathers, gave in his allegiance to the church of Rome and was re-ordained. For this act his grandfather disinherited him unless he recanted—and he contested the Will in the higher courts of New York—but finally lost his case and with it a large property. All this time he was the private secretary & chaplain of Archbishop Hughes, N. Y., and probably through his influence with the Pope and Cardinals at Rome, and by way of rewarding him for preferring his new faith to an ancestral inheritance, he was appointed and consecrated to the See of Newark, N. J. I believe he is the first native American, educated in the Episcopal church, who has been elevated to this higher position in the Roman hierarchy.

He is now as he was in his youth, a genial companionable man, and seems to take pleasure in remembering and being remembered by his old Protestant friends."

For a further sketch of Bayley, see the *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. II, pp. 73-74.

for these records, although they detail the proceedings of the governing body, indicate no unusual parish activity during this period, and record little worthy of comment. It is, indeed, to be regretted that these minutes thus reflect to no degree the noteworthy success which really attended the ministrations of Mr. Williams, and that they suggest in no way the reason for his success,—the personality of the man himself.”³

Perhaps as good an evidence as we could wish of the success he was achieving is the fact that in April, 1846, he received a call to another field of work, and proffered his resignation of St. George's to take effect June 1. But after earnest appeals he withdrew his resignation to the great relief and joy of the parish.

It was while he was here at St. George's that he published in 1844 a little volume entitled, *Ancient Hymns of Holy Church*. It was affectionately inscribed to the Rev. Arthur Cleveland Coxe, M. A., “in memory of many conversations on the Sacred Ritual of the Church of God.” In his introductory note he says: “For anything more than a companion to private devotion, if indeed they shall be even so honored, these translations are not designed. The translator will account his object gained, if they shall have contributed any how and in any degree, to the advancement of a chastened and Catholic taste in Hymnology.”

In 1848, just before he left St. George's, he published *Thoughts on the Gospel Miracles*, in the advertisement of which he says: “The substance of this volume was delivered as a course of Lectures during the Lenten season of 1847.” The dedication reads: “To the Congregation of St. George's, Schenectady, these pages written originally, solely with a view to their advantage, are now affectionately dedicated by their Pastor.”

In this year also there appeared a two-volume novel, the authorship of which was not disclosed at the moment. It bore the title: *Hawthorne: a Tale of and for England*. It was written by the Rev. William Sewell, a Church of England clergyman, and ran to several editions, among them being an American edition. To this there was a preface written by John Williams. It was a religious novel and dealt with the great theological and social questions of the day. The *English Review* said of it that “some of the scenes appear to us, not inferior in power to the very best of Walter Scott.” So far as it bore any resemblance to Scott it would certainly appeal to Mr. Williams, whose favorite author was Scott, and who never lost his love for him.

His work at St. George's came to an end September 1, 1848. Always

³*A History of St. George's Church in the City of Schenectady*, privately printed, 1919, by Willis J. Harrison. [Hanson]

The General Convention of 1838 had made it “the duty of Dr. Jarvis to write an ecclesiastical history drawn from original sources.”⁴ Consequently, he reports to his parish that he needed an assistant, one who “could not only relieve him in some measure from parochial duty, but also aid him in the laborious researches which such a work would render necessary.” After his return from abroad Mr. Williams entered upon his duties as assistant, “much to the comfort of the Rector, and the acceptance of the Congregation.”

But Mr. Williams was not destined to give much aid to Dr. Jarvis in the preparation of his history, for in 1842 he resigned as rector, and while it was the great desire of his soul that this excellent friend and brother should become his successor in the rectorship, Mr. Williams resisted all his entreaties, and uniformly and publicly declared, that the labors of both in the parish must terminate at the same moment. And they did. Why Mr. Williams did not wish to remain on at Middletown, though the parish desired him to do so, is no part of our story now, even if we knew. His connection with the parish ceased March 28, 1842.

RECTOR OF ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, SCHENECTADY, N. Y.

He was now free to undertake work elsewhere. A man of his ability and attractive personality would not remain free very long. And he did not, for very soon in that year of 1842 he received and accepted a call to the ancient parish of St. George's, Schenectady, N. Y. It is not difficult to understand why this call may have come to him. Bishop Brownell, while still a professor in Union College, became interested in the Episcopal Church and was baptized and confirmed in St. George's Church. He knew the parish and was known by it, he knew his young presbyter, and any recommendation from him would have great weight. Presumably he did recommend him, though he knew that his transfer to New York meant a loss to his own diocese, and to him personally.

It was on May 24, 1842, that the call was extended to him at a salary of \$800 a year, and the rectory. On July 29 he was formally instituted as rector. Here at St. George's he remained for six years, that is, until 1848. The record of those years is the record of a good work well done, the record of a faithful parish priest. Says the historian of St. George's:

“Were we to base our opinion solely upon the minutes of the vestry, we must, perforce, be drawn to the conclusion that the brief rectorship of Mr. Williams held but little of interest,

⁴*A Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church*, by Rev. Samuel Farmer Jarvis, D. D., published in 1845.

men had been at its head, the Right Reverend Thomas Church Brownell (1779-1865), the Reverend Nathanael Sheldon Wheaton (1792-1862) and the Reverend Silas Totten (1804-1873). Upon the resignation and retirement of Dr. Totten, August 2, 1848, the college chose as his successor the Reverend John Williams, D. D. (1817-1899), rector of St. George's Church, Schenectady, N. Y. Only the year before, 1847, Union College had honored him with the degree of doctor in divinity. This was all the more noteworthy, because he had no associations with the college except those which he had formed as rector of the parish church. It bears witness to the esteem in which the authorities of the college held him, and to the influence which he exerted, both among the professors and the undergraduates. No doubt in this choice may be seen again the hand of Bishop Brownell. On August 3, 1848, Dr. Williams entered upon his duties as the fourth president of Trinity College. He was thirty-one years old, and a graduate of the college of thirteen years' standing, one of the youngest, if not the youngest, college presidents in the country.

Under his leadership the college moved forward. The original plans called for three buildings, two of which were constructed at the outset, Seabury Hall and Jarvis Hall, and just recently the third, Brownell Hall, had been completed under the administration of Dr. Totten. And thus was honored the Connecticut Episcopal triumvirate. The college still has in its fine new group of buildings, new since 1878, its Seabury and Jarvis Halls. Dr. Williams was the beneficiary of these added facilities. There was room now for growth. But not only in this physical way was the college expanding, it was showing in its internal development the signs of increasing strength and usefulness.

But Dr. Williams was not to remain long as the head of the college. The diocese of Connecticut had other work for him. In his convention address for 1845 Bishop Brownell said: "It is known to many of you that, on account of permanent bodily infirmities, I have contemplated applying to the Convention for the election of an Assistant Bishop." Although that part of his address was referred to a special committee, yet no action was taken in the matter at that time, due in part to the fact that the bishop's health was showing improvement, and also to the fact which, perhaps, had greater weight, that the means for the support of an assistant bishop were lacking.

Six years went by and the bishop's infirmities were increasing. He knew that the good of the diocese demanded that he should have assistance, and so in his convention address for 1851 he again brought the matter to the attention of the convention. This time it acceded to his request and proceeded at once to the election of an assistant bishop.

he retained his love for the parish, and looked back upon his life there with evident satisfaction. Usually a man's first rectorship, if it has been a happy one, lives on in memory. He does not soon forget it. Dr. Williams gave expression to his feelings in a poem, the first four verses of which are quoted in Mr. Hanson's *History of St. George's*. One verse will suffice to show the love and loyalty which he felt.

ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH

"My Ancient Church! I see thee now,
Beneath thy sheltering trees,
Whose foliage 'round thy graceful spire
Waves in the evening's breeze.
The moonlight on thy lowly walls
Pours down in chastened glow,
And gleams on many a stone that tells
What pilgrim sleeps below!"

In July, 1910, a memorial tablet was erected in Saint George's Church by J. Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913). It bears this inscription:

"One of the many who hold in highest honour and truest love the name of

JOHN WILLIAMS

sets here this memorial of his rare and noble life
as rector of this old parish for six years.

And of his high and honourable record after that
as Bishop for forty-eight years of the old Diocese
of Connecticut. And for twelve years, Presiding Bishop
of the Church."

This was not the only instance in which Mr. Morgan manifested his interest in and admiration for Bishop Williams. When Dr. Flavel S. Luther (1850-1928) was president of Trinity College in Hartford, Mr. Morgan paid a visit to it one day, and noting the need of additional library facilities said that he would give a library building in memory of Bishop Williams. He did so, and in 1914 the Williams Memorial Library was dedicated, a most valuable and acceptable addition to Trinity's beautiful and stately group of buildings.

PRESIDENT OF TRINITY COLLEGE, 1848 to 1853

Twenty-five years had passed since Trinity College had, after long and bitter opposition, received its charter, and during that time three

The convention was in session in St. John's Church, Waterbury, and the date was June 11, 1851. It knew just what it wished to do, and it did it promptly, for on the first balloting the clergy elected the Reverend Dr. Williams, who was president of Trinity College, and the laity when apprised of that fact confirmed the action. At that time the constitution of the diocese provided, on the part of the laity, their approval or disapproval of the choice of the clergy. They did not vote directly for their bishop.

The journal of the convention gives only the bare facts, but Dr. E. E. Beardsley (1808-1891) in his "Notes of Days"⁶ tells us that of the eighty-eight clerical votes cast seventy-three went to Dr. Williams, and when this result was communicated to the laity it was confirmed by a vote of eighty-seven to fourteen. What objection there was, was due, not to the character of the candidate, but to the combined relations which he was to sustain to the college and the diocese. There was a feeling that the latter should have all his thought and energy. Dr. Beardsley ends his "Note" on the convention and the election with these words: "May God bless to the lasting good of his church the important deliberations of this Convention! and may he who is called with such happy unanimity to preside over the Diocese have and deserve the affections of his brethren of the clergy & of the Laity."

But all this might not have turned out in this way. Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk (1791-1861), the bishop of New York, had been tried for certain misdemeanors and convicted. His punishment was suspension from the exercise of all episcopal duties. Several attempts were made to have this suspension remitted, because in the minds of many there was honest doubt as to his guilt, but to no avail. But although he was suspended, yet he was still the bishop of New York, and the diocese could not proceed to the election of another bishop. They sorely needed and greatly desired someone in the episcopal office.

In 1850 General Convention, appreciating the situation, took steps to relieve it by passing a Canon, *Of the Election of a Provisional Bishop in the case of a Diocese whose Bishop is suspended without a precise limitation of Time*. That was certainly an instance of special legislation. However, it was necessary. Of course the diocese of New York lost no time in availing itself of the provision of this canon, and at its convention held November 27, 1850, proceeded to the election of a provisional bishop. Among the half dozen or more men nominated was Dr. Williams, president of Trinity College, who, as former rector of St. George's, Schenectady, was well known in the diocese, and much beloved. Schenectady was then in the diocese of New York. After seven fruit-

⁶Manuscript Journal.

less ballots the convention adjourned to a later date. On all seven ballots, save the first, Dr. Williams was elected by the laymen, but fell short by a few votes on the part of the clergy. What might have happened at the adjourned convention, had Dr. Williams been available, we do not know, but on June 11, 1851, as we have seen, he was elected assistant bishop of Connecticut. This removed him from the field. It was quite as it should have been. He fitted better Main Street, Middletown, than Broadway, New York, though he would have fitted there if it had been his lot to do so.

ASSISTANT BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT

When the result of the election was duly communicated to Dr. Williams it brought from him a beautiful response of acceptance, in which among other things he said:

"To be associated as his helper with our venerated Diocesan, is a privilege, most highly estimated; for it may well be counted a peculiar advantage to be trained under such a master to the knowledge of a Bishop's duties. . . . I am most willing too, to devote my life to the service of a Diocese, in which I was confirmed, and received both my Orders; in whose principles I was educated; to which I am warmly attached; and whose spotless history I reverence and love."

On October 29, 1851, Dr. Williams was consecrated in St. John's Church, Hartford. Let us take Dr. E. E. Beardsley's account of it:

"The day was favourable and a large concourse of clergymen from Connecticut and the neighbouring Dioceses assembled to witness the solemnities of the consecration. Many laymen were also present & the church was crowded to its utmost capacity. The Bishops of the six New England Dioceses⁷ were all present and Bp. DeLancey⁸ of the Diocese of Western N. Y.

Bp. Burgess preached the sermon from Luke xxii, 26, 27 vs. It was an excellent Discourse and the portraiture which he drew of a Christian Bishop was admirable.

Bp. Burgess & Bp. Chase of New Hampshire presented the Bp. elect to Bp. Brownell the consecrating Bishop. The Revd Dr Clarke⁹ of Hartford & myself assisted in putting on, at the proper time, the Episcopal habit, and all the Bishops united in the imposition of hands."

⁷They were Bishops George Burgess (1809-1866) of Maine; Carlton Chase (1794-1870) of New Hampshire; Manton Eastburn (1801-1872) of Massachusetts; John P. K. Henshaw (1792-1852) of Rhode Island and John Henry Hopkins (1792-1868) of Vermont.

⁸Bishop William Heathcote DeLancey (1797-1865) of Western New York.

⁹Thomas March Clark (1812-1903), Rector of Christ Church, afterwards Bishop of Rhode Island.

Here we have the first steps towards the founding of Berkeley Divinity School. For a time the matter lay dormant, or better, perhaps, was getting into shape, but in his convention address for 1854 Bishop Williams brought the subject forward in a very definite way. He says:

"It is now about five years since theological instruction began to be regularly given to Candidates for Orders at Trinity College. The work was begun in no narrow spirit of localism, but simply under a strong feeling of the growing necessities of the Church in reference to the Sacred Ministry. . . . What has been done in the way of instruction, has been wholly gratuitous. Within the last few months, the opportunity has been presented, to place the school on a firm basis, and with an endowment sufficient at least for all its present needs, on condition that it shall be established in the city of Middletown. It is believed that it will occasion no disadvantage, either to the School or the College, thus to disconnect them. Subscriptions have accordingly been commenced and are now in progress, under very favorable auspices; the Legislature have been petitioned to incorporate the institution, under the name of the 'Berkeley Divinity School'; and I have taken up my residence in Middletown, in the hope and confident expectation of commencing the operations of the School in that place, on the second day of October next."¹²

And so the school was moved to Middletown. The bishop's belief that to sever the school from the college would occasion no disadvantage to either was probably correct. But there were those who did not approve of the change. While we have no desire to revive a long-dead controversy, which does not appear in the bare statements of the journal, yet it may be of interest to give the following extract from a letter of a most devoted alumnus¹³ of the college, who was ever active in its behalf, to someone who is addressed as "My Dear H." As the letter indicates, he had been critical of his attitude in the matter. Among other things he says:

"As to the Theological School, it sprung from accident, rather than from any felt necessity. The appointment of a Prof^r of Eccl. History¹⁴ was the beginning of that organized plan of Theological Instruction which the Trustees of the College afterwards adopted as an integral department, which the Convention by sundry resolutions approved of—and which was suddenly removed to Middletown without consulting the authority which had called it into existence or the body which had

¹²Journal of the Diocese, 1854, p. 18.

¹³E. Edwards Beardsley, Trinity, 1832, manuscript letter.

¹⁴Thomas Winthrop Coit (1803-1885).

And so at last the much-needed assistance was given to Bishop Brownell. He was not able to do much in the last ten years of his life, and seldom went out of Hartford. A sentence in his report for 1852 gives a good idea of the situation. He says: "I have administered the holy Rite of Confirmation in the following Parishes; in the most of which I was accompanied in my Visitation by the Assistant Bishop; who generally preached, and addressed the Candidates." More and more the burden of the work fell upon the assistant bishop, as Bishop Brownell's infirmities increased.

As we have seen, there was mild objection to the election of Dr. Williams as assistant bishop, solely on the ground of "the combined relations which he was to sustain to the college and the Diocese." It was a well-founded objection, and in 1853 the dual relationship ceased, only to give way to another. As Bishop Williams was so intimately associated with the beginning of Berkeley Divinity School, and as that beginning had its connection with Trinity College, let us turn to that part of the story.

BERKELEY DIVINITY SCHOOL FOUNDED

Bishop Brownell in his convention address for 1852, says: "I may also call your attention to the fact that a Theological Department has been established, in connection with the college. For the last three years, there have been a few resident students of Theology, at the Institution; but shortly after the last Commencement, a full course of theological instruction was regularly organized. It has since been adopted by the Trustees, as an integral department in the college. Twenty students are now enrolled in this department."¹⁵

A special committee was appointed to consider this part of the bishop's address, and in its report were these resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That we have heard with great pleasure and with profound gratitude to Almighty God of the successful efforts of our venerated Diocesan to establish a Theological Department in connection with Trinity College.

Resolved, That the large number of students already in attendance, is in our view a sufficient evidence of the need of such a department in the College, and presents the strongest encouragement to prosecute the work so well begun.

Resolved, That we the Clergy and Laity of Connecticut will not cease our prayers and efforts till this department of the College shall be placed upon a strong and permanent foundation."¹⁶

¹⁵Journal of Diocesan Convention for 1852, p. 16.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 24.

given it approbation. . . . I do not suppose that the Berk. Div. School could be returned to Hartford without reviving jealousies and bickerings which are fresh in the recollections of the older churchmen of the Diocese. I am the last man to lift a hand against the thing as it is—but I still believe the policy was a mistaken one & that, if we *must* have Theological instruction in Connecticut, it had better been given as originally designed. Yale & Princeton & Kenyon have their respective Theological Departments, and with due respect to your opinion—they do not tend to make these Institutions 'repulsive to those not theologically inclined.' . . . But I agree with you that we must all do our duty, sustain the Bishops, the Church and her institutions."

He was not adding strength to his argument by citing the fact that Yale and Princeton and Kenyon had their theological departments. It was all right, perhaps, in the case of Kenyon College, but Yale and Princeton were so much larger, that there was little danger of their theological departments assuming undue proportions in relation to the colleges themselves. As a matter of fact, it has always been difficult to convince the uninformed that Trinity College is not a divinity school. No doubt the name has something to do with that. Certain it is that few members of the classes for the past half century would view with regret the disconnection of the theological department from the college. Is that a commentary on our modern attitude towards religion?

It will be recalled that in his convention address for 1854, Bishop Williams reported that a petition had been presented to the legislature for a charter for this new institution which had moved to Middletown. The next year he was able to report that the charter had been granted, and the institution had been named "Berkeley Divinity School," which went into operation, under this charter, in October, 1854. Why it was given the name "Berkeley" will be obvious to those who are familiar with the story, particularly as it relates to America, of the great philosopher and educator, Bishop George Berkeley (1684-1753). Here we may quote this eloquent passage from Moses Coit Tyler (1835-1900):

"And, finally, we may hope that 'The Berkeley Divinity School' at Middletown, will be for many ages a monument—and something more productive than a monument—to the sacred and dear memory of that apostolic scholar, who, in an age of sensualists and of self-seekers, gave up all earthly pleasures and gains, and came forth over the sea, that he might found in America a college of which the chief purpose should be to train up young men worthily for the service of God's Church in the New World."¹⁵

¹⁵Monograph IV, *History of the American Episcopal Church*, by William Stevens Perry, D. D.

It is true that the Berkeley Divinity School in its location and in its character is not precisely the fulfillment of Bishop Berkeley's dream.

And so the school was established in Middletown, and there Bishop Williams was to live for the rest of his life, surrounded by his candidates, and training them for the work of the ministry. In his announcement of his intention to move to Middletown the bishop stated that an endowment "sufficient at least for all its present needs," would be forthcoming, and it was. Not only was the endowment given, but what was quite as important, a home for the school was given. It had nowhere to lay its head. On the corner of Main and Washington Streets stood the home of the Reverend Dr. Samuel Farmer Jarvis (1786-1851), son of Bishop Jarvis. It was formerly the Washington Hotel. Edward S. Hall, Esq., son-in-law of Dr. Jarvis, presented this house to the school. It was known as the Jarvis House. There was nothing palatial about it, though there were those who liked to speak of it as "The Palace," in the technical sense, that is, knowing quite well that the unassuming godly man who lived within was little affected by such terms, though he would grace the grand episcopal palace, even as he did the modest Jarvis House.

The Jarvis House was a square stuccoed building, three storied, surmounted by a cupola, which gave a bit of light and air to the two or three attic rooms, which, of course, were utilized, and which bore among the students the classic designation, Attica. On the first floor were the bishop's quarters, his study being on the northeast corner, while on the second floor were the lecture rooms and the library and the bishop's spare rooms. On the third floor were students' rooms, and the student who occupied one of the large corner rooms had abundant space in which to circulate, as did the cold air in winter time. But with the aid of a moderate sized cylinder coal stove, which the student fed and regulated according to his own ideas of temperature, he managed to keep reasonably comfortable. And always it was healthy exercise to transport the coal from the cellar.

On the Washington Street side was the entrance which led to the library and the students' quarters, as well as the lecture rooms. From this entry the door opened into the bishop's study, and through it the classes passed to his lectures. They took seats wherever they chose, first come, first served. The bishop was waiting, sitting in his accustomed chair, with the familiar purple dressing gown on, his gold-bowed spectacles high on his forehead, his nose buried deep in some book, as he sought a reference, presumably in that final moment, which he would use in his lecture, and then when it was found a certain swift motion of the forehead automatically dropped the spectacles into place on the

nose, and he was ready to begin, and then he expounded unto them, not the Scriptures like St. Paul, but doctrinal theology, ecclesiastical history, liturgics, and if the Scriptures failed to get in there somewhere it would be no fault of his. The study was lined with books from floor to ceiling, and all ceilings were high. Where there were no books there were historic engravings of places and of persons. If a book were needed in the course of the lecture, the bishop would jump up and with unerring instinct locate it on the shelf.

In the course of one of his lectures he had highly recommended Bishop Sanderson's (1587-1662) *Lectures on Conscience and Human Law*. A student was so interested that when he saw a copy advertised in a second hand catalogue he sent for it, and when it came it was all in Latin. The student mentioned the fact with evident disappointment to the bishop, who promptly said, "My copy is in English, and I will trade with you," with the result that the student got the bishop's own personal copy with his autograph, "J. Williams," in the right-hand corner of the title page, just where "G. Washington" autographed his books. Bishop Christopher Wordsworth (1807-1885), having selected these lectures as subjects for examination of candidates for holy orders, found to his regret that "the Latin language, in which they were written, operated as a hindrance to the study of them." It very often does. He removed this hindrance by this translation of the lectures into English, and no doubt increased the study of them.

With this one building, Jarvis Hall, the school started out on its career in Middletown. It was a modest set-up, but the bishop had friends, and it would not be long before it would be expanded, though that expansion would not be so rapid as to suggest an insecure mushroom growth. In 1860 there was added the "Wing-building," as it was called, to serve as a dormitory, and then in 1868 the "Wright House" was purchased, in which was the refectory and two or three rooms for students. A few years before this, in 1861, a beautiful little gothic chapel was given by Mrs. Mary W. Alsop Mütter, a memorial to her husband, Thomas Dent Mütter, M. D., which, quite appropriately, was dedicated to Saint Luke the Beloved Physician. As the chapel has gone and is only a memory, it may not be amiss to say that in it there were windows to the memory of Bishops Seabury, Jarvis, Brownell and Williams, and Dr. Samuel Farmar Jarvis. In 1896 there was erected a fine library building capable of housing all the books, as well as furnishing lecture rooms. It was named the Williams Library, but not until after the bishop's death, presumably in accordance with his wishes. This completed the physical expansion of the school.

As a rule, it is a heavy price we pay for the changes forced upon us by the onward sweep of events to meet new conditions and new opportunities. Incorporated and located in Middletown in 1854, after nearly three-quarters of a century it seemed to the authorities of the school that it would be greatly to its advantage to move elsewhere, and New Haven was the place chosen.¹⁸ The price paid was the loss of all those associations which clustered around the Berkeley of Middletown. Gone is the "Palace," and gone is the chapel, so lovingly associated with the school's great founder. That is the price paid, but we like to think that there are compensating benefits for the school and the Church. If this had to come we may be thankful that it did not come within the lifetime of Bishop Williams. It is doubtful if it would or could have come in his lifetime.

Now it should be remembered that while the bishop was profoundly interested in the school, and much occupied in placing it upon a sure foundation, no mean task in itself, yet he was also the assistant bishop of the diocese. That was his title until he became the bishop, because the terminology, "bishop coadjutor," did not find its way into the constitution of the Church until 1895. As assistant bishop he was carrying practically all the burden, because the infirmities of Bishop Brownell were increasing, and he was able to do but little, in fact for the last ten years of his life he seldom left Hartford. In his convention address ten years after his consecration Bishop Williams gives a brief summary of what he had done:

"Seven thousand six hundred and forty-four persons have received the laying on of hands.
Eighty-five candidates for Holy Orders have been ordained to the Diaconate.

Sixty-five Deacons have been ordained to the Priesthood.

Twenty-eight churches and chapels have been consecrated, and two which have been erected and are in use, are awaiting consecration; making thirty new churches and chapels in all.

Twenty-four churches have been re-opened after enlargements and improvements in various ways. So that fifty-four churches and chapels have been built, or re-edified and enlarged.

During the period under review, I have preached on one thousand four hundred and seventy-three occasions, delivered six hundred and two confirmation and other addresses, and administered the Holy Communion two hundred and twenty times."

In this same convention address, delivered June 11, 1861, it was inevitable that he should make some reference to the bitter internecine

¹⁸Removed to New Haven in 1928.

In his first address after he became the bishop of the diocese he brought forward a matter which had evidently been smouldering in his mind for some time. He says:

"There is one subject more of which, before I close, I feel it my duty to speak to you. I have taken no counsel—save of my own conscience and of God—in doing so; what I speak, I speak of myself. It seems to me that we ought to be looking forward now, to the erection of a new See within the limits of this present Diocese." He has no pet theory on this subject, nor do "I wish to lessen my own labors or to give myself ease and leisure," but he advocates it as "a legitimate outgrowth of Church life, and Church extension, intensifying the one and expanding the other."

The convention gave proper and respectful consideration to the matter, but its report was adverse to the proposition. Later when advocated by Bishop Chauncey B. Brewster (1848-1941) it met the same fate.¹⁷ There were and there are several reasons why it does not commend itself to the convention, the principal one being that from the standpoints of population, and, in a measure, of topography, the diocese does not lend itself to division. The strength lies mainly to the west of the Connecticut River. And then, too, Connecticut is a small and compact state, and is of such significance in the history of the American Church that it much prefers to retain its solidarity as a diocese. That way lies its strength and its importance.

In 1861, on the tenth anniversary of his election to the episcopate, he gave a summary to the convention of what had been accomplished during the decade. Now ten years later, in 1871, he does the same thing. We need not repeat those statistics. They show steady and substantial progress, or, to use his phrase, "a steady and abiding growth." He tells his people that "the average duration of an American episcopate is, I believe, fifteen years. I never could have wished, either for your sake or my own, that mine should prove any exception to the rule. It has, however, been prolonged beyond the average line. But its end must now be nearer, probably much nearer, than its beginning is." But that is something we cannot forecast. As a matter of fact, the beginning of his episcopate was twenty years away, its end twenty-eight. Perhaps this note of doubt was due to the fact that for a good part of the year he had been laid aside from active duty by illness. Indeed after a severe sickness in 1851, he seems to have had the feeling that he was not destined for a long life.

¹⁷Journal of the Diocese, 1909, p. 69.

struggle which was then in its first stages. Quoting the Article of Religion which says that "we hold it to be the duty of all men who are professors of the Gospel, to pay respectful obedience to the Civil Authority, regularly and legitimately constituted," he says, "patriotism, loyalty, every sentiment and every emotion, which man can know in his relations to the State, find their living utterance and only true life in loyal obedience to the lawful Government under which we live." Thus does he appeal to the Christian sense of his people for steadfast loyalty to the laws of the land in a time when that loyalty, on the part of many, was in danger of being disregarded for bitter sectional prejudice.

BECOMES BISHOP OF THE DIOCESE

We have come to the year 1865. For Bishop Williams that meant the beginning of a new chapter, for now he would exchange the title "assistant bishop" for that of "bishop." The change meant little more than that of change in title, for in effect he had been, for a decade, practically the bishop of the diocese. On January 13, 1865, Bishop Brownell's long and useful life came to an end. He was eighty-four years old. To Bishop Williams his death was a sad break with the past. All his life in the Episcopal Church had been under the inspiration and guidance of this venerated father in God. Confirmed by him, ordained deacon, priest, consecrated bishop, that is the record. It is due to Bishop Brownell and to Bishop Williams that this beautiful passage from the latter's convention address should be quoted here:

"This is no place to speak of the long course of affectionate intercourse, unbroken by even a passing ripple, which God gave me with him, but which is ended now. Still I must ask the privilege to utter in your ears, and to place on the records of the Diocese, the declaration of my grateful, filial love for my dear, departed Bishop and Father, and of my deep sense of how much I owe to his unchanging kindness. For all of us I can say, that, 'being dead,' he yet speaks to us in his pure example, his meek and gentle life, and the sacred thoughts that cluster round his blessed memory."

This year 1865 was memorable not only for the diocese but for the nation. The four years of bitter civil war had come to an end, and with it the tragic death of the Chief Magistrate of the nation. The great sadness which settled upon the hearts of men was lightened by the thought that peace had come at last, and now there could be a return to the normal way of life, and the shattered fragments could be pieced together again.

The year 1872 brought to him a heavy sorrow. His mother had made her home with him, and had made his home. She died May 29th in her eightieth year. It was a beautiful devotion which the son had for his mother, as he tenderly watched over her through the years of her failing strength. How beautifully does he speak to his convention of his great sorrow:

"I hardly know whether I ought to give utterance here to any thoughts personal to myself, and touching on God's providential dealings with me and mine. And yet I do not think you will blame me for them, or be unwilling to read the few words which I cannot trust myself to speak to you. . . . Since this great shadow began—years ago—to fall upon my path, there have been times when it was hard for me to settle the relative claims of affection and duty in my home and in my charge. . . . I owe it to one who is gone from earth to say to you, that in her mind my duty to my Diocese was ever uppermost, and every claim on her part was willingly postponed to that."

The Rev. Dr. Horace B. Hitchings (1830-1917) gives a very touching incident in connection with her death, which is quoted in Bishop Potter's *Reminiscences of Bishops and Archbishops*.¹⁸ He says: "It was the day of the annual ordination of the graduating class of the Berkeley Divinity School.¹⁹ Of course the bishop must be present to ordain, but his mother was dying and he could not leave her bedside. It was arranged that he was not to attend the service but to be notified when the time came for the act of ordination. Before it came, however, while the service was in progress, the spirit of his mother departed, and the bishop, almost broken-hearted, bowed down with grief, hastened to the church, stepped into the chancel, and knelt at the altar."

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS EPISCOPATE

The year 1876 was an anniversary year for the bishop, for twenty-five years before he was elected and consecrated assistant bishop of the diocese of Connecticut. The election took place in St. John's Church, Waterbury, and in 1876 the annual convention met there in deference to the bishop's wishes. As he says, "I felt the strong desire to call you together on this anniversary in the same place where the Convention sat on a day so memorable to me." His address was a review of the work of the twenty-five years of his episcopate, recording such statistics as he deemed necessary to give right perspective, for, as he says, "I am not fond of overmuch in the way of statistics."

¹⁸Journal of the Diocese, p. 44.

¹⁹May 29, 1872.

Of course the convention took appropriate steps to mark the anniversary. A committee was appointed to consider that part of the bishop's address, the committee to consist of the rectors of twenty-five years' standing in the diocese. There were six who qualified under that condition.²⁰ A congratulatory address, to be signed by the clergy, wardens, and vestry of the several parishes of the diocese, was authorized to be presented to him. But that was not the only way in which the convention proposed to mark the anniversary, for a committee was appointed to raise funds for such "memorial as they shall deem suitable to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the election of our Diocesan." At the next convention the committee reported that they had "agreed unanimously upon the memorial and upon the amount necessary to create it, but they have been deterred from all efforts to make collections, by the extraordinary pressure of the times, and they beg for a continuance until the annual convention of 1878."

The final report came in 1882, and it was to the effect that the committee "had placed in the hands of the bishop the sum of five thousand dollars, for his own personal use." In his convention address he refers to it in this gracious way: "I received, a few days since, a generous gift, sent to me with words of kindness far beyond my deserts. My dear brethren, there are times when it is difficult to say what one's heart would prompt. If my imperfect labors have met your approval, it is more than I could hope. You will, I am sure, believe me when I say that this proof of it can only strengthen the one purpose of my life, to give to the Diocese and its beloved clergy and people, all that God has put it in my power to give. The wish has been communicated to me that I would regard this gift as a personal one. I am willing so far to meet this wish as to invest it in such manner as that, after I am gone, it may in some form and way, be made useful to the Diocese and its work."²¹

There was another anniversary about this time which had particular significance for the bishop. In this year, 1879, the annual ordination at Berkeley Divinity School was marked by an interesting event. Let us take Dr. E. E. Beardsley's account of it as it appears in his diary for June 4th of that year. He says:

"A large number of clergy, about seventy, and others present. Bishop Doane²² of the diocese of Albany preached the

²⁰They were the Reverend Messrs. Jacob L. Clark (1807-1877), Benjamin M. Yarrington (1812-1898), Lorenzo T. Bennett (1805-1889), Giles H. Deshon (1820-1883), E. Edwards Beardsley (1808-1891), and William E. Vibbert (1814-1895).

²¹He left all his property to Berkeley Divinity School.

²²William Croswell Doane (1832-1913).

Anniversaries of the first Bishops of Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and New York, and the completion of the organization of the General Convention, the ratification of the Book of Common Prayer, and the adoption of the Constitution of the Church."

This committee was appointed and Bishop Williams of Connecticut was made its chairman.

But he had something in mind more specifically related to Connecticut, and so in his convention address for 1881, he says:

"In this Diocese we shall have a Centennial Anniversary which will fall earlier than the next General Convention and which, therefore, cannot be considered by the Joint Committee; an anniversary which, I think, ought not to be neglected. I mean that of the election of our first Bishop at Woodbury, in the last week of March, 1783. I suggest the appointment by this Convention of a Committee to provide for the appropriate commemoration of that memorable act, which was so true and great a venture of faith."

In line with his suggestion a Committee was appointed, "whose duty it shall be to co-operate with the committee of the General Convention, so far as relates to the centenary commemoration of the consecration of Rev. Dr. Seabury, and the erection of the first see in the United States; and also to present to the diocesan conventions of 1883 and 1884, if they shall deem it expedient, a detailed plan or plans for the further observances, as a diocese, of the centenary commemoration of Dr. Seabury's consecration, of the first convocation summoned by him, of the first ordination on this continent, and of any ecclesiastical events which are specially and historically connected with this diocese, and which it may be deemed desirable to celebrate."

That certainly presaged a celebration of unusual moment, and so it turned out to be. The festival of the Annunciation, the day on which Dr. Seabury was elected, fell on Easter Day in 1883, and to gather the clergy on that day was, of course, out of the question. But on Tuesday, March 27th, the day of the week on which Annunciation fell in 1783, came the first of the commemorative observances. Bishop Williams preached the sermon from the text, I Chronicles XII, 32—"Men that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do." Later all the sermons and addresses relating to the observance were published in book form.²⁴ There were six sermons and addresses of Bishop Williams, marking the observance here in Connecticut. They were commemorative of the different aspects of the whole episode, and form an

²⁴*Seabury Centenary, 1883-1885, Diocese of Connecticut*, 195 pp.

sermon, and seven persons were ordained deacons. After the services were ended the clergy and friends of the School assembled in S. Luke's Chapel when a portrait procured at a cost of about \$1,500 (nineteen hundred contributors) was presented to the Bishop as the head of the Berkeley Divinity School to be the property of the Diocese and to be committed to the Trustees of the Berkeley School. Rev. Mr. Nelson (1840-1928)²⁵ in behalf of the Comtee having the matter in charge read the presentation and accompanied it with suitable remarks. I followed with a brief congratulatory address for the presenters & to both of us the Bishop made an impressive reply. Then came an address from Bishop Niles (1832-1914) with a token from the alumni marking the 25th anniversary of the School, and again the Bishop made a very feeling reply, which closed the exercises."

That portrait was painted by Daniel Huntington (1816-1906). Later an engraving was made from it, which found its way into the homes of many of the Church people of Connecticut, and into many of the parish houses. Among those on the committee to arrange for the engraving was Dr. Beardsley, also Dr. William Tatlock (1833-1896) of Stamford. As is so apt to be the case more prints were made than were needed, and copies were distributed among the members of the committee to sell as they were able. When Dr. Beardsley was about to sail for Scotland in 1884, he received a letter from Dr. Tatlock bidding him farewell, in which was this playful postscript: "Take a few of the engravings, and let it be known where more can be had,

'For though on pleasure B. was bent
He had a frugal mind.'

A representative Connecticut man should have an eye to business. The Scotch will appreciate it."

THE SEABURY CENTENARY

That reference to Scotland brings to mind an important anniversary in the history of the Church, and particularly in the history of the diocese of Connecticut, which received generous consideration. The General Convention of 1880 provided

"That a joint Committee of three Bishops, three Presbyters, and three Laymen be appointed to sit during the recess, and to report to the next Triennial Convention a detailed plan or plans for the full and proper observance of the Centennial

²⁵Rev. Henry W. Nelson, Berkeley, 1862.

our hotel the night before the chief man of his church and four fair daughters whom he had enthused with his own feelings."

Going on from Forfar the party went to Aberdeen, Bishop Williams being the guest of the bishop of Aberdeen. On Tuesday morning, October 7th, was the real beginning of the anniversary commemoration. Bishop Williams preached the sermon, and Dr. Beardsley's comment was that it was "worthy of the man and of the occasion." At the meeting of the synod, immediately following this service, the address to the Scottish bishops from the American bishops was presented through Bishop Williams, and a reply was read by Bishop Charles Wordsworth (1806-1892), of St. Andrews, Dunkeld and Dunblane. And then came the address from the bishop, clergy and laity of the diocese of Connecticut, read by Dr. Beardsley.

At this service there was an exchange of gifts between the Scottish and American Churches, from the American Church a memorial paten and chalice, from the Scottish Church, a pastoral staff. Bishop Williams in receiving it spoke eloquently and affectionately, the tears rolling down his cheeks.

"Men pass away, the office lives on, and though many hands that shall have held this staff may by that time be folded in the sleep of death, I trust that when the hundred years come round again, my successor may come here, as I, Bishop Seabury's successor, have come, to offer to the Bishops of the Scottish Church, to its clergy, and its faithful laity, the assurance of his deep love and undying gratitude that they were bound together in one common bond of one holy faith, and in a common love of one living Lord and of each other."

That pastoral staff is one of the prized possessions of the diocese of Connecticut, and is used by its bishop on all state occasions. A full description of it may be found in the Scottish report of the Seabury Centenary. As in the case of the Connecticut celebration all the sermons and addresses and accounts of the various doings of the celebration were published in book form, and make a most valuable addition to the story of the centennial proceedings.²⁵ The commemoration is over and Bishop Williams and his companions leave Aberdeen for home. On the Grampian hills lies the new-fallen snow, reminder of the coming of winter, but in their hearts still lingers the warmth of precious memories of new-found friends, memories which shall never fade out while life shall last.

²⁵*Centenary of the Consecration of the Right Reverend Samuel Seabury, D. D.*, 215 pp.

extremely interesting and informative chapter in our Connecticut Church history.

But the main celebration was yet to come, the celebration of the consecration in Aberdeen. In his convention address for 1884, the bishop says: "I have received an invitation to be present at Aberdeen, Scotland, during the first week in October next, and to take part in the celebration of the centenary of the consecration of our first Bishop. This invitation I have, after much hesitation, decided, with your consent, my brethren, to accept."

And he adds: "I am to be the bearer of an address to the Episcopate of Scotland from the House of Bishops in this country; and it would be peculiarly gratifying to my feelings, as well as most seemingly in itself considered, could I also carry out an address from our own convention." Of course he had but to make the suggestion and his wish was fulfilled. The Rev. E. Edwards Beardsley (1808-1891), the Rev. Samuel F. Jarvis (1825-1910), the Rev. Samuel Hart (1845-1917), and the Rev. William F. Nichols (1849-1924), were appointed by the convention to represent the diocese at the centenary celebration in Aberdeen, and to present to the Scottish bishops an address in the name of the convention.

On July 19, 1884, the deputation led by Bishop Williams set out for Scotland. They were not due in Aberdeen until the first week in October. After a visit to London they started on their way northward, visiting places of interest as they went. It savored somewhat of a triumphal progress, because of the desire on the part of the English people to pay homage to Bishop Williams. He did not escape paying the price, for there were frequent invitations to preach, and he accepted them as he could.

On their way they visited Forfar, their special object being to see Glamis Castle, the seat of the Earl of Strathmore. It was here that Prince Charles Edward found refuge, and here Walter Scott lodged for a night. It is a good guess that the bishop, ever fond of Scott, suggested Forfar in their itinerary. Two of the party went to call on the incumbent. They soon found him, and he proved to be an enthusiastic Scottish clergyman, "who was overjoyed to see an American bishop and a party of American clergymen, such a thing never having been known in Forfar as a visit of this kind."

Dr. Beardsley's journal gives us this further note about Forfar and the incumbent. He says: "We breakfasted with him the next morning, looked into his church, and then proceeded to the station, but every now and then he would stop and introduce some man or woman to the bishop as an American curiosity. He brought into the sitting room at

BACK HOME AGAIN

The bishop wrote many letters home, and kept a diary. Some of the letters²⁶ have been published and a portion of the diary.²⁷ Back home again where he was glad to be, the diary ends on this note: "I am thankful to have gone on such an errand, tho' I always was oppressed with feeling how much better than I did another might have done, and I can never forget the occasion of the great kindness shown me—not as I well knew on my account but because I was Seabury's successor. It was an occasion greater than one supposed till one came to it: in its memories, in present gifts of God, in outlook for the future." It is not for us to evaluate the respective merits of the two men in their bid for the kindness and affection of the people of the Church of Scotland. Only do we know that none better than a Williams could have represented the old diocese or Connecticut on this historic occasion, whatever he may have thought or said.

Back again in Middletown, happy as a child with a new toy, the old routine was resumed. But first he must make a report to his convention, and that he did through the medium of the sermon which he preached at the opening of the convention of 1885. This was the last of the group of commemorative sermons.

The year 1886 was a General Convention year, and the convention was held in Chicago. For some reason the bishop seems to have dreaded that convention, not that he was ever too keen about any of them, but that he ventured to predict "would be the most disagreeable convention we ever had." Whether the facts justified that prediction, only a study of the journal would indicate, and that might not, for, as a rule, journals are very cold and impersonal, and little beyond the bare facts is revealed. In making his preparations to attend he writes to one of the deputies expressing his pleasure that they are to be at the same hotel, that he had rather thought of another hotel, but was told by a gentleman whom he met on the Caledonian Canal, that there were too many rats there. He would have his little fun, hence this short poem:

"Blown up with dynamite; eaten by rat;
Stifled with sewer gas; choked with pork fat;
Deafened with speeches of foe and of friend;
Maddened by cranks who prate without end;
Out in Chicago, O! what a fix
Waits the Convention of eighty and six!"

²⁶Some Reminiscences of Bishop Williams by Charles E. Jackson.

²⁷Memories Here and There of John Williams, D. D., LL.D., by William Ford Nichols, D. D., Bishop of California.

The year 1887 was to bring new and larger responsibilities to him. On April 12th of that year, the presiding bishop, Bishop Alfred Lee (1807-1887) of Delaware, died. The rule of seniority then prevailed, and Bishop Williams was next in line. He was then seventy years old, old enough to appreciate the additional burden which the office brought. It was he who first suggested to the House of Bishops the advisability of designating some other bishop than the oldest in order of consecration to be the presiding bishop. At the special session of the House of Bishops in October, 1887, he says, in his communication to the House:

"The conviction has long been growing upon me, that our existing arrangement in regard to the presidency of the House of Bishops is, for many reasons an undesirable one. The position in which I find myself today strengthens that conviction, and changes belief to certainty. . . . To lay such a burden on the shoulders of the oldest Bishop of this House, one likely to be the oldest in years as well as by consecration, is surely something which would not be thought of in parallel cases in political, judicial, or business arrangements."

This is no theoretical matter with the bishop. He is speaking out of his experience. He asked the House of Bishops to take the subject into consideration and report thereon. This was in 1887. In 1919 the proper amendment to the constitution was adopted, and henceforth the presiding bishop was an elective office. It took thirty-two years to accomplish that seemingly desirable object. The first elected presiding bishop was the bishop of Maryland, the Right Reverend John Gardner Murray (1857-1929).

The year 1888 marked the completion of fifty years in the ministry for the bishop. The standing committee had it in mind to make some recognition of this fact, and consulted him about it. The following gracious letter to Dr. Samuel Hart, a member of the committee, gives the bishop's reaction to the suggestion.

"Middletown,
Aug. 15th, 1888.

My dear Professor,

While I thank the Standing Committee very much for their kindly taking thought for the fiftieth anniversary of my ordination to the Diaconate, I cannot but shrink from any public service on that day.

There is so much to be sorry for, so much to lament of short-coming and failure, that I would rather spend the day by myself, in solitude and silence, than in any other way.

While, therefore, I am very grateful for the kindness which

In the days before the automobile, the bishop sought, when once on the move, to accomplish as much as he could in any particular section. Consequently he was very apt to make Dr. Beardsley's home his headquarters. Always there was a room for him there, and the study was a place where he could appoint meetings and hold conferences, and there the standing committee met repeatedly, when Dr. Beardsley was its president, and he was its president for eighteen years. Of course he was told, after Dr. Beardsley's death, that he could use the study as of old, and his response was that "It is a real comfort to me to think that I can still come as of long time past to what has been a real home to me in New Haven."

TOWARDS THE END; CONSECRATION OF DR. BREWSTER

The opening paragraph of his convention address for 1897 is prophetic of what is happening. It says: "This is the first time since I was consecrated in 1851 that I find myself unable to take my place in our annual Convention. For forty-five years it has been my privilege and pleasure at those seasons to take counsel with you concerning the welfare of this ancient and beloved Diocese. Now, in the Providence of God, it is otherwise ordered; and I have to transmit to you by the hand of another my annual address." He never did take his place in the convention again. Assistance came to him on October 28th, 1897, when the Rev. Dr. Chauncey Bunce Brewster (1848-1941) was consecrated bishop coadjutor of the diocese. And just as he had assumed the burden of the work in the last days of Bishop Brownell's episcopate, so did Bishop Brewster assume the burden of the work in his last days, though not for so long a time. It was with feeling that he said: "The election of a Coadjutor has been an inexpressible relief to me in bearing a burden which would otherwise have been a crushing load."

But the end was approaching. In his convention address for 1898, which was his last, he says: "I have been incapacitated for any service during the conventional year. Indeed, I have not left my house during that time." From his bed he was able to carry on his classes almost to the end. But on February 7th, 1899, the light went out, and the Church lost its great leader, and the diocese of Connecticut added another name to its honored roll of departed bishops.

True to his character to the very end, his "Directions for my Executors"²⁰ show the same simplicity which had marked all his life. On the headstone at his grave in Indian Hill Cemetery, Middletown, Connecticut, nothing was to be placed but his name and date of death. And those

²⁰Some *Reminiscences of Bishop Williams*, by Charles E. Jackson, p. 20.

prompted the thought of some service, I must beg that it may be given up.

Faithfully yours

J. WILLIAMS

The Rev.
Prof. Hart."

How very characteristic that was! The committee had to content itself by "requesting the president to prepare on behalf of this committee a letter of affectionate congratulation to the bishop of the diocese on the completion of the fiftieth year of his ministry, and of their gratitude to the Head of the Church for the efficient service which he has been permitted to render as the teacher and chief pastor of this diocese, as well as in the highest office of the Church in the United States."²¹

Could the letters, which the bishop wrote to comfort and encourage those in need of consolation, be brought out from the places where they are treasured, what a precious volume they would make! One such folio, which may be included here without any impropriety. It is to the daughter of Dr. E. E. Beardsley, and is so beautiful that it may well come into the story as typical of the grace and charm of his fatherly messages of love and sympathy.²²

"Middletown,

Dec. 22^d 1892.

My dear Elisabeth,

I cannot, and I need not, tell you what a dreadful blow to me your dear father's departure is. No words can tell it. But I must not think of myself, and I try not to, when I think of you. And yet how can I help thinking of those 40 years of unbroken confidence and friendship? It does not often fall to the lot of the bishop to have such a friend and counsellor as your dear father has been to me. I could wish, if I dared to, that I might end my own days and lie down beside him, as we have lived side by side.

God knows best! but I prayed for his life as I could not pray for my own.

Full of years and full of honors, with God's approval and with man's reverent regard, he has gone to his rest; faithful to the end!

May God comfort you my dear child as He only can! All the comfort that human sympathy can give, and human affection can give you have abundantly. And you have his life besides.

These are poor words, I know; but what can I say? The very fulness of the heart sometimes shuts the lips.

God bless and keep you!

Your most affc friend

J. WILLIAMS.

²¹For this letter and the bishop's answer, see journal of diocese for 1889, p. 41.

²²In the possession of the author.

instructions were carefully carried out. But later on, the Rev. Dr. Samuel Hart, who would be the last man in the world to go against the wishes of Bishop Williams, feeling that that was utterly inadequate, on his own responsibility and probably at his own expense, had the words added, "Fourth Bishop of Connecticut, Presiding Bishop of the Church in United States." Every friend of the bishop will be grateful to Dr. Hart for that act of "disobedience," if disobedience it was.

This reference to his "Directions for my Executors," is a reminder of what one of his executors wrote, namely, "that he explicitly directed them to destroy every letter, sermon, etc., that we might find among his effects, but for this injunction there was slight necessity, as he had effectively attended to it himself." One wonders if it would have been very wrong if they had failed to *find* everything.

In the earlier days of his ministry, and perhaps even down to the days when he became a bishop, he carefully wrote out his sermons, and the result was a very neat and attractive manuscript, in small book form with a stiff, shiny black cover. In the light of what has just been said, there are probably very few of those manuscript sermons in existence. There is one which has just recently come into the archives of the diocese, and this is the story of its rescue from the hand of the "destroyer."

It was the practice of the divinity students to do lay-reading in the near-by parishes, and they often depended upon the bishop to furnish them with one of his sermons. The Reverend Arthur Gammack (1871-1927) found himself in need of a sermon one Saturday, and he went to the bishop to see if he could assist him. The bishop pointing to a drawer said, "there they are, help yourself." And Gammack made his selection. In those days the canon definitely provided that a lay-reader "shall not deliver sermons of his own composition." To-day that provision has been somewhat relaxed. Before that manuscript was returned the bishop died. His executor made no suggestion as to its disposition, and it ultimately found its way into the archives of the diocese. As there are so few strictly Williams manuscripts there, for the reason noted above, it is something of a treasure.

This leads one to say something about the bishop's writings. A check list would show a substantial body of works of one kind or another. There are a number of volumes, and notes for the use of his students in the lecture room. Had he not been the busy bishop that he was his literary output would have been very much larger, and the Church would have been very much deeper in his debt. His style was clear, concise, and graceful, and he possessed the true poetic instinct which manifested itself both in his writing and preaching.

He was a frequent contributor to the Church papers, and particularly to the *Church Review*.³¹ The Reverend Doctor Nathaniel S. Richardson (1810-1883), in taking leave of the *American Quarterly Church Review*, as its editor says: "Especially do we here, publicly and most gratefully, return our thanks to the Rt. Reverend, the Bishop of Connecticut, who has never withheld his counsel, and, although he has never assumed the slightest degree of responsibility, yet his valuable contributions, on many most important subjects, have done much to give interest and permanent worth to our pages." An examination of the volumes of the *Review* from 1849 to 1865 will show some twelve articles which can be identified, and they are not all.

Of course to the bishop of a diocese often comes the invitation to preach anniversary and memorial sermons and to Bishop Williams frequently came the opportunity to do just that, and those printed sermons and addresses, brought together, make a good sized volume. All in all the output of his writings was large.

He was not a man who espoused numerous and various "causes," however good they might be. The fact of the matter was that it was necessary for him to confine himself strictly to his duties as bishop and head of the school. Connecticut is one of the large dioceses in the country, exceeded only by New York and Pennsylvania; not large in area (it is about five thousand square miles), but large in the number of its parishes and missions. Bishop Williams administered it alone until within a year and a half of his death.

In his time it was not the simple matter to get about the diocese that it is to-day. To nearby places his conveyance was likely to be the horse and buggy, with a student as driver, to distant places it was the railroad. In either case much time was consumed in transit. He was wont laughingly to say that most of his life was passed in the station at Hawleyville Junction. It was from that point that the Shepaug branch line started its tortuous way into the heart of picturesque Litchfield County, where there were important parishes to be visited.

The bishop's study was his office, if we may presume to use such a strictly business term in connection with him. There was nothing of the high pressure executive about him. A student usually performed the necessary secretarial work. The picture, then, is that of a simple, strong, unhurried life, always fully occupied, but wholly free from that nervous fussiness, which is not infrequently mistaken for real activity.

No account of Bishop Williams' life would be complete without some reference to his extraordinary influence with young men. We see

³¹See *American Quarterly Church Review* for names of writers in vols. ix-xvii, p. 165.

this back in his Schenectady days, when, as rector of St. George's, he worked among the students of Union College, and then later, of course, at Trinity College. When it was his duty, as chancellor, to give his lectures on history at the college, it was a familiar sight, when the class broke up, to see him, silk-hatted and aproned, sauntering down the campus walk under the elms, the center of a laughing happy group, he himself the cause of all the mirth with some apt and delightful story or anecdote, which he always seemed to enjoy as much as his young companions. And then at Berkeley, of course, he was the strong magnet which drew men there, and when they were there, drew from them a loyalty which was intensely personal—yes—but which led on to the larger loyalty to the Church.

Such is the story, in brief, of JOHN WILLIAMS, a great man and a great bishop, a great bishop because a great man, whose likeness has been so unerringly drawn in those beautiful lines of the poet:³²

"Would I describe a preacher, such as Paul,
Were he on earth, would hear, approve and own,
Paul should himself direct me. I would trace
His master-strokes and draw from his design.
I would express him simple, grave, sincere;
In doctrine, uncorrupt; in language, plain,
And plain in manner; decent, solemn, chaste,
And natural in gesture; much impressed
Himself, as conscious of his awful charge,
And anxious mainly that the flock he feeds
May feel it too; affectionate in look,
And tender in address, as well becomes
A messenger of grace to guilty men."

³²*The Task*, by William Cowper, Book II, line 395.



*my truly yrs,
J. Williams.*

BISHOP JOHN WILLIAMS ABOUT 1870

"Ves estis Catholicae Legis protectores,
Sal terrae, lux hominum, ovium pastores,
Muri domus Israel, morum correctores,
Vigiles Ecclesiae, gentium doctores."





BIRTHPLACE OF JOHN WILLIAMS, DEERFIELD, MASS.



JARVIS HOUSE, BERKELEY DIVINITY SCHOOL, MIDDLETOWN, HOME OF BISHOP WILLIAMS



HALL JARVIS HOUSE, MIDDLETOWN, CONN.



SOUTHWEST CORNER OF THE PARLOR—SHOWING THE BISHOP'S ROCKING CHAIR



CONNECTICUT DELEGATION TO SEABURY
CENTENARY 1884

STANDING (LEFT TO RIGHT)—REV. MESSRS. JARVIS, NICHOLS, HART,
SITTING—REV. DR. BEARDSLEY, BISHOP WILLIAMS



THE BISHOP WITH THE STANDING COMMITTEE, 1887

Memories Here and There of John Williams, D.D., LL. D. FOURTH BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT NINTH PRESIDING BISHOP 1887-1899

GARNERED BY
WILLIAM FORD NICHOLS, D. D.
Bishop of California



- I. Boyhood and Early Manhood.
- II. President of Trinity College and Bishop of Connecticut
- III. Symmetry and Strength in Episcopate.
- IV. Dean of the Berkeley Divinity School, Scholar and Connecticut Churchman.
- V. Visit to England and Scotland in 1884.
- VI. Later Years and Last Days.

MEMORIES, HERE AND THERE

OF

BISHOP JOHN WILLIAMS, D. D., LL. D.

I.

BOYHOOD AND EARLY MANHOOD

Years ago in one of Bishop Williams' "visitation homes," on a vine-clad hill, where his memory is ever kept fragrant, there was a somewhat unique interpretation of the possibilities of a "sketch." An artist-guest with a piece of chalk, a piece of charcoal, and as an eraser a piece of bread, outlined on a bit of cardboard, for the evening circle the successive typical features of the stages of a long lifetime. He practically made a man grow up before our eyes with a few deft transitional touches transforming the infant to the boy, the boy to the youth and so on, by decades let us say, until we saw the child face evolved in its persistence of personality into its characteristic pose and expression of a dignified old age. As a sketch it covered progressively a ripened record. It gave an impression of four score years in about thirty minutes. As a miniature sketch of a full manhood that impression was a "compression" without sacrificing expression. Therein was the genius of the true artist.

Now one of the most life-like portraits of Bishop John Williams is what has been called his "Rembrandt photograph" with its chiaroscuro of light and shadow. In effect it seems an appeal to the imagination with its impalpable shadowing, a plea for lack of doing full justice to the noble countenance in what has been called the background of "a sense of impossibility."

Some such qualifications of real art would be essential for any sketch however lightly drawn which could at all satisfy those who knew and valued the greatness of the fourth Bishop of Connecticut. And the writer of this dwells on the matter at the outset because it would simply be his despair to attempt anything of the kind. All he can hope to do in his loyal wish to accede to the request

which has come to him from the Church Missions Publishing Company is to gather up memories here and there out of others' association with the Bishop as well as his own, with the aim to identify and preserve some of the memorable traits so fondly cherished by us all.

The Bishop was proof against the repeated solicitation which came to him to dower the Church with his autobiography and indeed his destruction of correspondence and his instruction to his executors to destroy every letter, sermon, etc., that might be found among his effects, all were in the line of forestalling any adequate preparation of his Biography—which failing his Autobiography—would have undoubtedly illuminated the chapters of our Church History in the making of which he had so marked, if modest, a part. There are not wanting, however, reminiscences as well as memorabilia of him upon which we can draw, and, in order to give them their "sketch" limning for following out contours, we shall be guided a good deal by the principle of selecting those bearing upon the progressive periods of his life from his childhood on. And we can venture upon that believing that he would submit to our hope for his allowing it with the same genial resignation with which he permitted his photograph to be taken for pleading admirers.

John Williams was born of a distinguished Puritan ancestry in Deerfield, Massachusetts, August 30, 1817. His father was Ephraim Williams, well known among contemporaries as a high minded jurist and his mother was Emily Trowbridge Williams, whose stately presence in the Bishop's home in Middletown until her death in 1872 some of us well remember. Given such antecedents, it would seem not to have been difficult to read a horoscope over the boy of his coming distinction. There was a New England heredity of intellectual promise, a home life to foster warm qualities of heart, back to which those who were privileged to know it in that Middletown home could trace his close filial devotion to his aged mother. From the first we can surmise that symmetry of character and training from a fine blend and due proportioning of vigor of mind and heart which all after years developed as the real hiding of his power. And indeed to try to catch that *vraisemblance* of him as his life distinction, seems to afford the *motif* in the freehand outlining of this sketch. Prepared for Harvard in Academies at Deerfield and Northfield, Massachusetts, he entered the College in 1831 at the end of his fourteenth year. His own memories of those early home days he sometimes dwelt upon as precious in themselves and as illustrative of a type of the old time New England family and home life. He liked to

recall hours around the hearthstone of the family thrown upon its own resource for passing long winter evenings; with tales of the days of Indian incursions in which his own ancestry had suffered; with paternal readings of installments of Scott's novels as they came before the days of our many periodicals, creating in the boy a love for them which to the end of his life often presented that familiar scene in his habitual corner of his Drawing Room as he sought relaxation from busy days in one of those well-worn Waverly volumes; with the storm-staid emphasis of cosiness around the blazing logs which always gave to him such a joy in Whittier's "Snow Bound" in his later years.

"Shut in from all the world without

We sat the clean-winged hearth about."

The very boy in him sometimes seemed to find a new glee in a snowstorm as he would look out of a window, quoting,

"As zigzag wavering to and fro

Crossed and re-crossed the winged snow,"

and say "See how true that is—the flakes never seem to light anywhere." The wholesome atmosphere of that home supplies to the imagination its contribution to the daily rounding and developing of a natural strength of character, where detail of routine is lacking. One episode, however, for which the Bishop himself was the authority is too suggestive of what might be called "meeting house atmosphere" of the time to be omitted here. "Many a long Sunday hour he spent in one of the old-time square pews" of the Unitarian church, for—as we shall see later—his boyhood was not in the communion of his after choice, "sitting through the old-time discourse, before which it is to be feared sometimes the hour glass had about the only signs of real 'following'." It so happened that directly in front of the boy John Williams sat a worthy magnate of that congregation, whose queue so adjusted itself to that gentleman's habitual slumbers in sermon time that, as his head slipped down on the back of the pew, the queue took an angle upward and projected over into the pew of the Williams family with a sort of weekly challenge to the boy, not so absorbed in the current sermon as to be oblivious of the fact. Sunday after Sunday the temptation came, and was resisted; but it finally became too much for the boy nature; and in a moment when, both in his own and the adjoining pew, somnolence seemed to reign, the challenge was met; the queue was firmly clutched and tweaked, with an instantaneous effect upon several staid family pews in that immediate vicinity; and the boy never forgot it! The Bishop laconically remarked that it was impressed upon him by its conse-

quences to him from a paternal source as well as by the experience itself!

While at Harvard he was under the administration of President Josiah Quincy of whom he had a fund of anecdotes attesting the human in that sedate dignity, but the notable feature of his life there was the evidence of a depth and working of conviction rare in one only fifteen or sixteen. Dr. Samuel Hart says of it "While at Harvard, largely owing to the influence of the Reverend Benjamin Davis Winslow, after much discussion and study he became in his convictions a Churchman." Bishop Henry Potter in his Sketch of Bishop Williams from which I quote freely, says "there was in the youth an intellectual element which he never outgrew." He went from Harvard to Trinity College, Hartford, in which he was to be in time "tutor, professor, trustee, president and Chancellor" and graduated there in the class of 1835. His classmate and roommate, James Roosevelt Bayley, afterwards became the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore. And another classmate, Robert Tomes, in a book of voluble reminiscences reflected the high regard of the fellow students for John Williams in the tribute he paid to him. Becoming a Candidate for Orders he entered the General Theological Seminary but his continuance was interrupted by the illness of his Father and his theological training was received from the Rev. Dr. Samuel Farmer Jarvis, who has been called "the most learned scholar among the Churchmen of his day," becoming Dr. Jarvis' assistant at the then Christ Church, Middletown, Connecticut, after his ordination to the Diaconate by Bishop Brownell, September 2, 1838. He was advanced to the Priesthood in the same church September 26, 1841. We can read "between the lines" of those primary years of his ministry in Middletown that the application of the scholar to his opportunities signaled his use of the time allowed him by his simple routine of parochial duty, the curate then not being the morning to night "institutionalist" so much the vogue today. And the later founding of the Berkeley Divinity School with the provision of the old home of Dr. Jarvis as the Bishop's life-long residence, had a sentiment with him that was itself a fond tie with his Middletown Diaconate. Not long after he was ordained to the Priesthood he accepted the call to St. George's Church, Schenectady, extended to him May 24, 1842, being instituted as Rector July 29, 1842. In Vestryman Mr. Willis T. Hanson, Jr.'s fine *History of St. George's Church* of 1919, he says "Among the regular attendants of St. George's Church there are still to be numbered those who remember well the handsome, dignified figure, the earnest words of counsel, always met with marked attention; and who still cherish as their

fondlest memory the recollection of their association with Mr. Williams, continuing active in many cases for years after his removal from Schenectady." Such memories of Mr. Williams' years in parish life are especially choice when we appreciate how comparatively small part of his ministry was that of a parish deacon and priest, — only some nine years out of sixty-one; and how naturally we think of him more in his career as Academic Head and Bishop than parish priest. Not much in detail to be sure has been preserved of his parish routine and Mr. Hanson regrets that in the Vestry Records of St. George's there is "little worthy of comment" of the parish activities during the rectorship of Mr. Williams and that the minutes "reflect to no degree the noteworthy success which really attended the ministrations of Mr. Williams. They suggest in no way the reason for his success, — the personality of the man himself. It is the aim of this sketch, where fullness of treatments fails, to show by intimation the effect of the gifts of mind and heart in their happy combination, upon the folk of his congregations, brief as was that stage of his ministry.

The history of St. George's has with meticulous care preserved the record of baptisms, marriages and burials (and even of births from 1767 to 1788) and for Mr. Williams' rectorship — he was first made a Doctor of Divinity by Union College in 1847 — there are some seven large pages of recorded baptisms, two pages of marriages and four pages of burials in a little more than six years. Among the adult baptisms is the name of Eliza Tibbs whom many will remember as the Bishop's faithful housekeeper for many years. There is also the name of Abraham Newkirk Littlejohn, afterwards Bishop of Long Island and Emily Williams — could that have been the Bishop's mother, formerly a Unitarian? — both "hypothetically baptized." As a rector he not only won the "united affection and ardent attachment" of his people as they expressed it to him when he declined his first call but in his frequent after references to those years there was the manifest mark they had made upon his life as a true joy of his ministry. He formed lifetime intimacies with members of the Faculty of Union College and with neighboring clergy, including such men as President Eliphalet Nott, Prof. Alonzo Potter, afterwards Bishop of Pennsylvania, and his brother, Horatio Potter, then Rector of St. Peter's, Albany, afterwards Bishop of New York, and he had many anecdotes of their comradeship. While at St. George's in 1844 Mr. Williams issued a small volume of *Ancient Hymns of Holy Church* in one of which Mr. Hanson calls attention to an expression in which the rector indicated a wish that "he might sleep his last sleep" in the Churchyard shadowed

if they who hold them will not then unlock the vast and glorious treasure house, the fault is all their own."

As President of Trinity all available information goes to show that Dr. Williams was truly the Scholar in action on the very lines quoted from him above. A man of affairs as an Executive, an expert for treating the very human genus of the undergraduate, the commanding personality we are trying to trace in every stage of this sketch, his widening recognition in the Republic of Letters, and the turning to him as having leadership for the Church, all were outstanding even in the few years of his tenure of the College Presidency before his Call to the Episcopate finally withdrew him from the office. And here we must deplore the lack of his correspondence both during his Presidency and his whole episcopate in which with its characteristic *elan* all these features would speak for themselves. His letters would have made possible the larger Biography. Their loss and that deprecation of any biographical enterprise which sometimes led him to cite experiences of public men of an older generation in the propensity of a certain scribe to "write them up" as "having added a new terror to death!" must even in a sketch leave much space to be filled in by inference. But fortunately Bishop Henry Potter in his *Reminiscences of Bishops and Archbishops* secured for his Article on Bishop Williams, data of the period of his Presidency from one who was then an undergraduate of Trinity, the late Rev. Dr. Horace B. Hitchings, selections from which may well constitute some of the memories "here and there." With his genial and appreciative pen Dr. Hitchings among other memorabilia tells us of his first meeting with President Williams when as a freshman a rap came to his door and he thought his time had come for Sophomore exploitation he opened it to find none other than Dr. Williams to give him a kindly greeting and relieve his loneliness. "Those kind words warmed my heart and filled me with a love that made college life a delight and has caused it ever since to be a memory most sweet to look upon." Then he says truly: The President "never forgot that he once had been a boy. That, I believe, was the secret of his successful management of the college; and of his extraordinary influence over young men, even in his advancing years." The following out of several "undergraduate episodes" given by Dr. Hitchings is illustrative of the kind of President he was:

"On one occasion the president told me he was sitting at his window during a heavy thunder-storm. The rain came down in torrents. Great was his surprise to see a student, one of the model students at that, bareheaded and in his dressing-gown and

by the St. George's he loved — where he would be content to serve all his days. And again that early essay of sacred verse incidentally discloses the characteristic play of fine sentiment in and around his parts of mind and heart that were so rapidly arresting the notice of the Church. But in what Bishop Henry Potter quotes as "the curious ripeness of his youth" his Alma Mater sought him for its Head.

II.

PRESIDENT OF TRINITY COLLEGE AND BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT

In 1848 when only thirty-one years of age, he became President of Trinity College bringing to it "qualities of vision and prudence rarely found except as the notes of middle life or advanced age." In the meantime in 1846 Mr. Williams had delivered the first address before the Convocation of the College with the foreshadowing title *The Christian Scholar: his position, his dangers and his duties*. Out of its eloquent pages we may quote one paragraph which singularly suggests his own life accomplishment as well as his ideal of a "practical scholar": "He is the man who when he comes in contact with another mind, has power to give that mind a bent, an impulse, a lofty tone, a high direction, an earnest ardor, and to impart to it deeper, fuller, truer life." Could the multitudes who felt his influence or came under his immediate training more felicitously express what he was to them? Then in his inaugural as President with the opportune subject *Academic Studies* delivered on Commencement Day, 1849, as he outlined the Prospectus for his policy he treats of the field of Study under the three heads. "1. The laws of nature," "2. Of our Ancient and Modern Languages and literature," and "3. Of ourselves," discussing in his masterly survey "the proportion in which they are to be combined" in the changes of the ages, while the elements of instruction remain the same. Much of that address of the mid-nineteenth century conditions would with all our academic changes be worthy of utterance by any University President today in its vision and scope. We can only cite a point of its summary: "It will not do to give the young man the impression that his college life is as it were, but a parenthesis in his existence, isolated and separated, unconnected with either what precedes or follows it. Not so. It gathers up the acquirements, the powers, the faculties of earlier days; it directs and gives a tone to these same things as they stretch onward to maturer life. It gives the keys of knowledge, it teaches how to use them; and

slippers, running across the campus with a water pitcher in his hand. What can the boy be up to? he thought. He watched, and saw him climb to the top of a low building near by, empty his watch pitcher, and run back again. What did it all mean? After the storm was over Professor B., who was making observations of the fall of rain for the United States Weather Bureau, came to the president's room and reported the greatest fall of water of which he had ever heard. 'I have searched the records for years back. There was nothing ever like it. So many inches of water in so many minutes.' The secret of the student's water pitcher was out; but the president kept his counsel. 'Professor, I think I would not make an official report of this storm until I had looked into the matter more thoroughly. There must be some mistake about it. Are you sure there is no leakage from the roof or elsewhere that would affect the water gauge?' The president sent for the student to come to his room. 'John, you are neither a duck nor a goose, so don't go out in the rain again with a pitcher of water. You might seriously interfere with the calculations of the United States Weather Bureau.' John afterwards became a distinguished bishop in the Church, but, so far as heard from, was never known either to deny, or affirm, the truth of the story."

But his old Diocese of New York in which Schenectady then was, coveted the leadership which they had discovered in him and when it became necessary to hold an episcopal election there the clergy voted for him as their Bishop and the laity came near making it an election. It was said that some of the latter objected to his Churchmanship, passing it around that he was a "Puseyite." We shall note something of his real relation to the "Oxford Movement" later but the writer of this was assured years ago by an old and leading Presbyter who participated in that election that Dr. Williams in his judgment would undoubtedly have been chosen for the episcopate of New York at an adjourned Convention. He furthermore stated that he was one of a Committee to visit Church leaders in Connecticut, having had an inkling of the probability that the President of Trinity would be elected Assistant Bishop of Connecticut, in order to try to dissuade them in the interest of his choice for New York. But the Connecticut Convention met before the New York adjourned Convention and on St. Barnabas' Day, June 11, 1851, in St. John's Church, Waterbury, Dr. Williams by 73 out of 88 votes of the clergy concurred in by 87 out of 101 of the laity was elected Assistant Bishop of Connecticut and was consecrated in St. John's Church, Hartford, on Wednesday, October 29th, 1851. From his letter of accept-

ance dated June 16, 1851, the following extracts reveal the spirit with which he faced the new responsibilities: "To be associated with the clergy of Connecticut and her laity, is an honor which I feel most deeply. I am most willing, too, to devote my life to

the service of a Diocese in which I was confirmed and received both my orders; in whose principles I was educated; to which I am warmly attached; and whose spotless history I reverence and love. * * * And yet with all this, I tremble at the thought of how much this decision involves, for all of us in time, for me in eternity—Were I not conscious that this designation has come to me unsought, and did I not, therefore, feel that I might rest on the promise of the Church's Head I should indeed despair." In the first weeks after his consecration apparently he accompanied Bishop Brownell on visitations and preached and addressed the Candidates. It may be a matter of interest to preserve here a facsimile page of what he later gave his Secretary as his first confirmation address, written out in full in his then clear hand and noted by him as having been delivered twice on each of the Sundays, November 9, 16, 23 and 30, 1851. Early in his episcopate he was taken down with a severe illness which seems to have left him with an impression indicated from time to time in his Convention addresses that he would not have a long life. And a threatened lack of robustness still earlier seemed to lead him to deprecate betimes any exaggerated stressing of the merely physical qualifications for usefulness in the ministry, which his own eighty-two years certainly sustained.

Of that episcopate lacking only one year of a half-century, as Assistant Bishop, Bishop and Presiding Bishop it must be a most conscious defect of this sketch to be unable to give an adequate idea. How it left its mark in preaching and teaching on unnumbered lives; how it added new and determining chapters to the welfare and progress of the Diocese of Connecticut; how it influenced leaders and policies of the National Church; how it impressed intellectual contemporaries,—one of whom himself of high repute said: "Had the Bishop become a lawyer instead of a clergyman, he would have been one of the ablest lawyers and judges the country has ever seen; logical and convincing in argument, just, and discerning truth from error in conclusions." An extended editorial in the *Hartford Courant* on the occasion of the Jubilee of the Bishop's ordination to the Diaconate, the fiftieth anniversary being September 2, 1888, speaks of him as "one who occupies the highest position in an influential religious body, and is also in a very true sense the foremost citizen of our state. For

Add to this such a quotation as Bishop Williams made from another Bishop in definition of terms of co-operation of Bishop and Diocese "Neither will I act without you nor can you act without me" and also his application of the counsel of the Son of Sirach to Bishop Seabury's episcopate: "If thou be made the master lift not thyself up but be among them as one of the rest" and we can well take these as disclosing his own aim and his own record. This again suggests what a wealth of strong and loving character in a blend of great mind and heart and ideals for his episcopate could have been revealed in his own language, had his letters as so many sampled them been spread before us in all their characteristic illumination and charm, say in octavo volumes of an artistic Biographer instead of in these fugitive extracts from his public utterances.

And his visitations were by no means without their constant contribution to his sense of humour. On one of the earliest of them when he did not know the roadways as thoroughly as he did later and was uncertain as to when to turn to reach a Church for an appointment and as it proved was really going away from rather than towards his destination, he asked a pedestrian the way. The man evidently misled by the youthful appearance of the bishop and his companion in the buggy said "No sir, I won't tell you the way. I don't intend to encourage you young rovers ridin' around this way Sunday afternoons." When the Bishop finally found the right road and entered the chancel for the service, whom should he see but this same censor of "Sabbath breaking" sitting in the front pew! And after service when the Bishop hurried out to enjoy with him the denouement, with equal alacrity the surprised censor was disappearing in the distance! Reminiscences of the Bishop were so rife through the Church that his episcopate had the rare distinction, like that of Bishop Samuel Wilberforce of England, of becoming a sort of "residuary legate" of all episcopal experiences and good stories orphaned of other fathering, whether the Bishop had anything to do with them or not. But there is a very "embarrassment of riches" in those that are well authenticated and altogether delightful as he would recount them. Such *mots* as "The Puritans first fell on their own knees and then on the aborigines" and his reply at a dinner to an inquisitive individual who was pressing him with some such question as "Has the Rev. Mr. ——— said anything to you about ———?" "Nothing to speak of, sir" have had wide currency. But out of many we can only sample two or three choice bits: On one of his visitations, the bishop found himself, in the time between breakfast and the Sunday morning service,

while Bishop Williams is officially at the head of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut, he is, in the respect and affection in which he is held, the Bishop of all Connecticut" and again "*Facile Princeps* in the American Church as a leader of men as well as first as Presiding Bishop, — an adviser of Bishops, a *quasi* supreme court judge in canon law, a teacher of theologians as well as of theology, an administrator whose course is as signally marked by the peacemakers' blessings as it is by untiring, self-forgetting work, by far-seeing judgment and by one continuous illustration of the text of one of his own most powerful sermons, 'It is required in stewards that a man be found faithful' — these and other as conspicuous points of the half-century's record as priest, preacher and scholar might well draw to him in his official character, the homage of all as to a chief man in his generation." Bishop Henry Potter refers to one of his own sermons in which he "ventured to bracket him with Lincoln — the two so unlike in their traditions and training, so often alike in their unadorned and columnar directness and simplicity."

III.

SYMMETRY AND STRENGTH IN EPISCOPATE

We have however from the Bishop himself, spoken at the burial service of another — Bishop John Henry Hopkins some time of Vermont — words which go to the very heart of his own summary of a true episcopate and undoubtedly express for us better than any one else could an estimate of what he experienced as the epitome of his own. He said, "To one who looks from the outside at a Bishop's work, it bears, of very necessity, an aspect of routine. And so men come to speak of it as mechanical, and of him as a machine. Nor can his brief Annual Report of 'Confirmations, sermons, ordinations, parishes visited, churches consecrated' do much to undeceive them. But what a varied, solemn, blessed life there is to him under that dry and unattractive record. What hours and scenes in which he has mingled in life's highest joys and deepest tragedies does it bring back to him. From year to year, the written or spoken words which tell his round of labor are almost the same. But, for him at least, each has its background of cherished memories which give it its distinct, peculiar life. Written it may be nowhere else, these memories are written in his heart; "they enter into the very most hidden portions of his being. Let this be remembered for our chief pastors when we stand beside their tombs, even if it be forgotten while they live."

President of Trinity, pending the provision of a successor, and then taking what was the start toward a theological department of the College and a group of students to Middletown, he founded the Berkeley Divinity School,—giving it the name of Berkeley in honor of that “minute philosopher” who had made large plans for a university in the New World, chartered “for the instruction of students in literature and theology,” which failed to materialize but left its momentum of Christian education even at Yale College in the gift of a library, when he returned to the Old Country to become Bishop of Cloyne. It is noteworthy that the name Berkeley was also significantly chosen in 1860 for the townsite of the State University of California and as the Rev. Dr. Horace Bushnell, the Connecticut and New England Congregationalist Leader of thought on Berkeleian lines of Christian nurture, had some part in selecting that site, it is not improbable that he also had something to do with the choice of the name. The historic residence of the Rev. Dr. Jarvis with whom Bishop Williams had been associated in his diocese had been given for the Divinity School and in that the Bishop took up his residence for the remainder of his life. The spacious building provided also for all the first needs of dormitory, chapel, library, lecture-rooms, etc., for the Divinity School. And there, for nearly fifty years, even up to classes in his sick room in his last lingering illness, the successive generations of students felt that factor back of all else in any curriculum, the spell and subtle discipling of his personality. It is safe to say that any one who in the course came under that personality, will understand why the objective chosen for this sketch was to show that outstanding symmetry of his power in its fine equilibrium of mind and heart, and grace of modesty and wit of his lectures, which was so well scaled to the big man. That spacious Middletown Library with its mahogany doors, and its Greek columns and its Etruscan ornament, and its well worn volumes, shelf on shelf, seeming to begrudge even window space; and those choice portraits and engravings clustering closely together over and on the mantel, as if they were in danger of being “skyed,” or crowded into corners, some near the ceiling, or clinging timidly to places inaccessible to the ever aggressive books, books; the big table desk in the centre, and the great capacious easy-chairs; and then that smaller desk, off by itself, and the revolving book case, and, sitting near it in long purple study-wrapper,—“The Bishop.” How many will have all that come back to them! Cameras have taken the picture. Pen sketches have reproduced it—spectacles tossed up over the brow and all—but the generations of Berkeley Divinity School men

alone with the rector's young hopeful in the study. Chummy relations were at once established, and the little four-year-old said: “Oh, Bishop, wouldn't you like to have me show you my picture-book?” “Of course I would,” said the bishop. Thereupon the book was brought out and looked over in detail with full zest by both bishop and child. When the sitting was about to adjourn the little fellow intensely delighted the bishop by remarking: “Now, Bishop, don't tell papa about this, cause he won't let me look at this book on Sunday!”

Another instance of child candor, “with a moral,” was when sitting on a verandah with the fond six-year-old of the Rectory on his knee, the Rector and his wife started off in a buggy to attend to some parish call. “There go *the biggest pair of liars* in this town,” said the child, pointing to the receding vehicle. “Why, my boy,” said the astonished Bishop, “do you say such a thing as that of your loving and good Father and Mother?” “Well,” explained the little plaintiff, “they have promised me a good while that the next time they went riding in that buggy they would take me along, but *they never do!*”

There are “various readings” of another experience of the Bishop which in themselves indicate the “twinkle” and the vogue of the story. What happened was this: In those days of rural “spare rooms,” refrigerator-like in winter and oven-like in the heat of summer, the Bishop and his Chaplain were spending a night. Before they retired they found the windows were all securely fastened down, and would not yield to any attempt upon them in the interest of fresh air. With a resignation to the stuffiness each could only find broken snatches of sleep. So in the middle of the night the Bishop said to the Chaplain: “I'm not going to suffocate, won't you get up and take one of your shoes and break a window pane to let in air.” Fumbling around in the pitch darkness the Chaplain did so and bang went the crash of glass. Then the Bishop is reported to have turned over with a great sigh of relief and a prolonged respiration, remarking that fresh air had never felt so good and then to have slept the sleep of the just until morning. But it is left to the imagination of the reader, as it had been to theirs, to find in the daylight, the humble mirror badly smashed, every sunlit window pane still banning outside air!

IV.

DEAN OF THE BERKELEY DIVINITY SCHOOL, SCHOLAR
AND CONNECTICUT CHURCHMAN

The Bishop continued for two years after his consecration as

who have sat there and listened to him, in lectures or in lighter vein, will carry the impressions through life as no artificial process can. Seated in that familiar corner by the window, gripping the attention of every one by his limp English and arresting way of putting his points, with that "art of concealing art" in atmosphere us in his logic and distinctions, occasionally pulling down those spectacles, which in seeing power seemed to symbolize the noble brow to which they were uplifted, in order to read some clinching quotation and withal a pertinent side remark to broaden our faces with a smile or a pat anecdote to send us into a gale of laughter—no there were no "dry bones" of theology, nor of any other one of his compendious subjects, rattling there! Even the *skeletons* of his Topics carefully prepared for our study and retention seemed to have a grin of vitality about them.

Much might be cited in evidence of the great learning and ripe scholarship which he brought to his students. Dr. Hittings says: "The Bishop's mind always impressed me as being an orderly arranged storehouse where every package of knowledge was labelled and could be taken down and used at will. His power of concentration of thought was remarkable." His balance of mind and heart was notably manifest in that not always possessed combination of wide learning with singular skill in imparting it. Those halcyon Divinity School days too had their own "lighter vein." All students there of a generation ago will remember "Tim," the faithful janitor,—so faithful that, when told to do anything, he showed a charming indifference to any after circumstances which might be supposed to modify directions,—any "law of the conditioned," for Tim was no metaphysician. Now it so happened, one morning, when the Bishop was attending the chapel services that his good housekeeper, thinking he was in his library, asked Tim to get from him certain keys she wished to use. Tim obediently started out. Going to the library, and not finding the Bishop there, he soon learned of the chapel service, and proceeded forthwith to the principal chapel door, which is on the "Quad" side. Just as Tim opened the door, the epistoler had announced, "Here endeth the epistle." The Bishop was the gospeller, but before he could make the customary announcement, in that Divinity School chapel of punctilious rubrical propriety, was heard from the side door, in regardless, if unconscious innovation by our good Roman brother Tim, "If you please, sir, Miss T——— wants the keys." "Very well, you go into the house and get them. The _____ is written in the _____" came back from the Bishop in his place with all unruffled rubrical order and readiness, and with that dignity that ever characterized Bishop Williams in service

and out.

And this glimpse of the Bishop in his early days in Middletown from *Some Reminiscences* of him by one intimately connected with him for many years both as a personal friend honored with his confidence and affection, and as long-time Treasurer of the Divinity School and most enterprising and efficient in increasing its endowment, Mr. Charles E. Jackson, of Middletown, is significant of the Bishop's popular ways with town and gown. "Turning back to life in Middletown in the 60's and later, one may remember frequently seeing Bishop Williams on the street and seldom alone. Sometimes amid a group of students or walking with two or three; sometimes with the clergy, of whom many were there—Dr. Goodwin, rector of the parish; Drs. Harwood, Coit, Fuller, de Koven, Davies, Gardiner, Townsend, Binney and others; sometimes stopping for a chat at the old rectory (standing on the present site of Holy Trinity Church) and often meeting his lifelong friends of the lay families—Alsop, Johnson, Casey, Jackson, Russell, Glover, Hackstaff, Hubbard, Pelton and many others. Always a smile, a pleasant word, and a handshake, and whether he met Jew or Gentile, Catholic or Protestant, all knew Bishop Williams and called him friend.

"In the earlier days of the school, when the learned and genial Dr. Thomas W. Coit lived in Troy, he would come in the spring and autumn to lecture to the students, and it was remarked by some witty person that we could always expect Dr. Coit, Connecticut River shad and Barnum's circus at the same time every spring. The Bishop's house was always a center, and its hospitality generous and abundant. During the days at home you would find him in his library working, writing or reading, and in the evening during his mother's life, and afterwards, sitting in a rocking chair in the southwest corner of the parlor smoking his cigar and reading or chatting."

And Bishop William Stevens Perry says of him in his sketch in *The Episcopate in America*, "By his writings, his scholarship, his culture, his gifts as an orator, his wise judgment and inflexible fairness, he is in every sense the most prominent prelate in America." But an extended study of him, both as a proponent and object lesson of that term, which used to be oftener heard than now, "Connecticut Churchmanship" would well interpret the Catholic mindedness conveyed in such Churchmanship in his own exhibition of its best type of Catholic mindedness. The symmetry of his greatness of mind and heart really featured a standard of personal poise of Catholic-mindedness. One need but read his three historical addresses in connection with the Centenary Cele-

bration of the consecration of Bishop Seabury, delivered at the successive Conventions of the Diocese of Connecticut of 1883, 1884, and 1885 to discern "between the lines" his conception of "Connecticut Churchmanship," from its antecedents. For example, in tracing what he called "the true beginnings of what was to become the Diocese of Connecticut," he says "The old faith enshrined in the historic creeds of the Prayer Book; the law and life of worship embodied in its formularies, all leading up to and centering in the highest act of Christian worship, the Holy Eucharist; its ideal of the Christian life taught in its catechism and carried out in all its offices from baptism to burial; on these foundations no broader and no narrower, was our Church here built up. God grant that on these foundations it may stand till time shall end." And two points of the perennial competence and local adaptation of that Churchmanship seem to be, first, its clearness, positiveness and tenacity of essential traditions and, second, its flexibility for passing conditions. The willingness to spend and be spent under the non-juring phases of that inherited Catholicity as well as under its formidable opposition when brought to Connecticut by its first Bishop, showed how little mere opportunism there was in it. Its "full orb'd" availability like sunlight illuminating both heights and valleys of our Church expansion in this country since, on the Pacific as this writer has good reason to know, as well as on the Atlantic, expresses all just "modernism" while it never depresses vital fundamentals. What the Rev. Dr. Beardsley wrote over two score years ago might here and there find echo today even though other "movements" have often unconsciously absorbed its genius: "Travel East or West, North or South, go where you will over this broad land, speak aloud the name of "Connecticut Churchman" and if you do not find some one to claim it, you will find many to rise up and do it honor." Bishop Williams visiting England in his earlier life found many things in those years of the Oxford Movement and its leaders, congenial to this inherited Church tradition of his own. And curiously enough there has recently appeared in the English Church press a justification of his widely quoted saying to the effect that in bringing to the American Church the Scotch Communion office, as commended in the Concordat, Seabury gave us a greater boon even than in the succession in the episcopate. At the time of this writing when pressing questions of Prayer Book revision are rife in the Mother Country, the last copy at hand of *The Church Times* gives a pertinent account of a late Diocesan Conference at Oxford. It quotes a strong advocate for certain alterations in the English office for the Holy Communion and the

Prayer of Consecration as appealing to the office Seabury brought over under the Concordat with the Scottish Church. The proposed changes, commented the speaker, "are almost exactly like what the Church in America uses, and embody the same principle as the Scottish rite." Shade of Seabury! Connecticut Churchmanship fairly voiced in a Diocesan Conference "Oxford Movement" of 1923!

V.

VISIT TO ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND IN 1884.

When it was proposed by the Scottish Church to hold a worthy celebration of the centenary of Bishop Seabury's consecration, the logical one to become a central figure in that celebration was the successor in the See of Seabury. The Diocese of Connecticut became keenly interested in it and made it the occasion for preparatory measures and historical revival of the Seabury origins. A commemorative service of the election which took place on the Festival of the Annunciation in 1783 was held and in the Bishop's sermon and otherwise at the Diocesan Conventions of 1883, 1884, and 1885 much attention was given to the "Seabury Centenary." A full Report of all was published in America as well as one in Scotland, with a wealth of historical matter. Bishop Williams had brought the attention of the coming Anniversary to the Diocesan Convention of 1881 and steps were taken leading to the Connecticut celebration on the 14th of November, 1884, the actual anniversary. He accepted the invitation to attend the Aberdeen celebration, which for purpose of convenience was appointed for the earlier dates, October 7 and 8. The Diocesan Convention of 1884 heard of this "with great satisfaction" and appointed "a representation to go with him, the Rev. Dr. E. E. Beardsley, the Rev. Samuel F. Jarvis, the Rev. Samuel Hart and the Rev. William F. Nichols, the last named being his Chaplain and Secretary. The Bishop kept a Diary of jottings of his journeyings through England and Scotland, which enables us fortunately to have from his own pen some excerpts to include here, though only a few of the most characteristic can come within the confines of this sketch.

The English itinerary was planned with a view to visiting the principal Cathedrals, and the Diary, like the Bishop's fuller verbal illumination of each historic spot, showed his extraordinary scope and facile use of his familiarity with English Church lore. Sometimes a question of the Cathedral interest addressed to the Verger unintentionally threw that voluble individual off the track of his droning monologue. The Diary calls attention at Chester

Cathedral to an odd mistake, noted by the keen eye of the Bishop, in the inscription on the tomb of Bishop Pearson and in the very Creed of which he wrote, "resurrection of the dead" is substituted for "resurrection of the body." In Westminster Abbey Canon Westcott (afterwards Bishop of Durham), who took the party around, is noted as "the learned biblical scholar whose commentary on St. John's Epistles is the noblest I ever read.—He showed us, what in my boyhood I had longed to see, the hideous wax figures of Charles II, William and Mary, Anne, and, more hideous than all, Elizabeth. One sight sufficed.—a kitten was sitting much at home on a seat under Andre's tomb and playing with everybody that came." At St. Paul's, August 3, he went to hear Liddon and wrote a brief synopsis of his sermon from Psalm 17:3, adding "there were passages of great eloquence and he held his audience in his hand." His sight-seeing carried him to the Tower, Madame Tussaud's "Waxworks" and other places on the "beaten path," but there were exceptional notes. "August 5. In the evening we got into the House of Commons and heard the debate in Committee on granting 300,000 pounds to Government to get General Gordon out of the scrape they had got him into. It was spicy enough. Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Labouchere, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. Foster, Sir Stafford Northcote, the Marquis of Hartington, Mr. Bourke and Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett (received with groans) spoke. And it was an exceptional chance." Friday, 8th. "We drove (Mr. Nichols and myself) to Addington Park. (Then a country seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury.) The Archbishop (Dr. Benson) was engaged at the moment and a young clergyman from Truro took us into the Park. The Archbishop joined us at luncheon and afterwards we sat under the great cedar of Lebanon and had a long, free, and even confidential talk about Church matters. Our conversation is not for record." From another's memorandum it may be of interest to add "The Archbishop took our Bishop and me to the Chapel and there he and Bishop Williams offered prayer for the Church of the two countries, first Archbishop Benson using the second and third Good Friday Collects, then the Collects for Unity, our Bishop using the Collect to the Holy Ghost, adapting it "as for ourselves, so for the Churches we represent," the Collect for St. Simon and St. Jude, the Archbishop concluding with the Lord's Prayer and "The Lord bless us and keep us," etc. I shall never forget the quiet little service." Sunday 10th—went to St. Peter's *ad Vincula* in the Tower, where was a good service and a good sermon. It was no light thing to worship there."—"In the afternoon to the Abbey, where a 'Lord Dunderary' in a surplice intoned with an execrable drawl and lisp;

the worst intoning I ever heard."—"Canon Westcott preached a noble sermon," August 15—P. M. "To Bishopsbourne, dear old Hooker's Church; pulpit and communion table the same; church well restored." August 19—"Went to Salisbury—spent an hour with the Bishop (Moberly.) He is very feeble and failing; but we had a good deal of pleasant conversation." In Oxford for Sunday, August 24th. "Went to St. Mary's. When I was last there in 1840, Newman was Vicar and Pusey, Hawkins, Keble, Sam'l Wilberforce, R. I. Wilberforce, Isaac Williams, Sewall, Bloxam, J. B. Mozley and many more were either here or came here and all are now (1884) gone except Newman and Copeland and C. I hear is so broken up that I could not go to see him.—In the afternoon went to Christ Church Cathedral; the last time I was there I heard Dr. Pusey preach forty-four years ago; now I passed over his grave. Dean Liddell was in his stall but seemed an old man.—After service we went into Christ Church meadows, and then into Oriel Quadrangle, where I looked up at the windows of Newman's room: *cheul cheul* and at the old common room where I spent so many pleasant hours. How homelike and yet how strange Oxford seems! August 25th—To Trinity College; saw Copeland's old rooms where I had so many pleasant hours, the Chapel, the Hall, the Common Room where I used to sit next to dear old Dr. Ingram, and the old lime tree walk. How pleasant and yet how sad it all was!—Well! do what they will, it is Oxford still, but not the Oxford I knew. August 26th, Tuesday.—To Littlemore which I remember so well. But the chapel has been enlarged by adding a chancel and a tower. Still, it had many memories for me. Then we went to see Newman's rooms, etc., especially his library, where he wrote his last things in the Church of England.—Dined in the evening at Dr. Hatch's. The company beside ourselves and the Doctor's two sons, Dr. Chase, Principal of St. Mary's Hall; Professor Sayce; Prof. Driver, Dr. Pusey's successor. A pleasant evening and a reminder of old Oxford days." The Diary notes stop at Cambridge (where the Bishop was much interested in rare documents in the Library of Corpus Christi and University Colleges and other Colleges), at Ely, Peterboro, Lincoln, York, Ripon, Fountains Abbey, Durham, Edinburgh, each eliciting characteristic notes of comment. When visiting Holyrood, September 8th, the Bishop writes, "I could not but remember how deeply my dear Mother was interested in it when we were there together in 1840. *Eheul!*" Saturday, September 13th.—"Went with the Doanes and Eliots—to Dryburgh, Abbotsford, Melrose, a dense fog in 'Auld Reekie,' but at Melrose a clear charming autumnal day without a cloud. What

I specially desired to see this time at Abbotsford were the portraits of Tom Purdie, Pete Matheson; the valet, J. Simpson, and William Laidlaw, and I found them. All else was unchanged from what I saw in 1840." Then to Dunfermline, Stirling and through the lake country, "the same journey I took with my Mother in 1840." Saturday, Sept. 20, "a memorable day, from beginning to end a dream of delight, and I hope of something better. Ional next to Jerusalem what I had longed to see"—then to Staffa, and Monday 22 from Oban through Loch Elive to Glencoe and Ballachulish. At Ballachulish "we reached St. John's Church, the Church of a parish made up of old hereditary Churchmen, descendants of the faithful 'Men of Appin.' I had determined before I left America to see them if I could and it was a great joy to me to carry out my wish."—"The incumbent gave us Gaelic Prayer Books and showed us the paten and chalice from which the 'men of Appin' received the Holy Communion before they went to Culloden" (battlefield.) He took us "to see some of the old men. They were most eager in their expressions of delight at a visit from a bishop 3,000 miles away. I heard they had had prayers for us the Sunday we were on the Atlantic." Thence by Caledonian Canal to Inverness with a trip to Culloden and Culloden House, to Elgin through Aberdeen, to Braemar, Perth, Dundee, Arbroath, St. Andrew's, Forfar, Glamis' Castle." At Inverness the Bishop preached — (as he did some Sundays on the journeyings elsewhere) and notes that he celebrated the Holy Communion "with the Scottish Rite," reaching Aberdeen for the celebration Saturday, October 4. In that celebration he was naturally a central figure, preaching and making the addresses during the following week, the celebration proper covering October 7, 8, 9, with some eighteen bishops and two hundred clergy present, representing the Scottish, English, Irish, American and Colonial Churches, and vast congregations of the laity. Outstanding in the memorable program were the presentation of addresses from the American House of Bishops and Diocese of Connecticut with responses, presentation from the Church in Scotland of ornate pastoral staff to Bishop Williams, and of chalice and paten from Connecticut to the Scottish Church. Throughout it all the Bishop of Connecticut was recognized in the term used of him by Bishop Doane as a "Prince among prelates." His own brief modest notes are of the welcome "the hospitality is unbounded and of the heartiest kind." Of the great opening service at which he preached "It was a service never to be forgotten."—"A day of great enjoyment" was October 8th, "central day of the Centenary." Saturday, October 11.—"The overwhelming kindness lasted to

the very end and I left feeling sad to part with so many I could never in this life see again and yet glad to set my face westward." The Diary after brief references to Carlisle, Furness Abbey, the English Lake Country — "Rydal where was Wordsworth's home: I remember well the coming there with the poet in 1840" — through which the returning party passed on his way to Liverpool, and to the sailing on the "Germanic," October 15th, and after a rough and uncomfortable voyage reaching New York. The 26th concludes with a characteristic reflection, "I am thankful to have gone on such an errand, tho' I always was oppressed with feeling how much better than I did another might have done, and I can never forget the occasion or the great kindness shown me — not as I well knew on my account but because I was Seabury's successor. It was an occasion greater than one supposed till one came to it: in its memories, in present gifts of God, in outlook for the future.

For preservation and health all thro I owe all thanks to Him who has ever given me blessings in undeserved abundance." Could volumes of Biography portray the real humbleness of heart that rounded his greatness of mind more winningly than his own brief sketch in that soliloquy-like revelation of his private Diary?

VI.

LATER YEARS AND LAST DAYS.

In 1887, Bishop Williams became the Senior and Presiding Bishop of the American Church, having previously been the first Chairman elected by the House of Bishops, bringing to him at three score and ten the no slight addition of responsibilities which weighed upon him. Visiting his life-long friend, Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, of New York, somewhere about that time, he was shown by his host a private gymnasium room in which there was a "Punching Bag" for active exercise. While Mr. Morgan was exhibiting its use in vigorous wallops straight from the shoulder, the Bishop watched him intently and feelingly put in a word: "Pierpont, how I wish I had that to punch after reading my morning mail!" And how that mail reflected the multifarious demands upon his time and thought and heart, even in that part of his correspondence to which the Secretary had to be confidentially admitted! Parish and institutional and personal problems of course; Diocesan and national and international questions in a sort of *quasi* appeal to a Judge of supreme appeal; canonical and constitutional points; doctrinal bearings; liturgical usages; nice shades of casuistry; perplexities of policy; local and general

the external life of the Church may be expressed and its benevolent work carried on; a time of historic anniversaries, and therefore of renewed interest in our origins and our principles. Look at the index of our (Connecticut) Journals, and you will see how much of all this was due to the suggestion of our Bishop." And Dr. Hart signalizes in the indefatigable visitations of the Diocese the work to be found "in the simple exhortations which for nearly half a century he gave to the 'young men and maidens, the old men and children' who came to receive from him God's blessing by and with the laying on of hands." With the Bishop's by no means always robust health he sought wise and enjoyable holidays, when he could at Lake George, the history of old Fort Ticonderoga and other points appealing to him, as well as the opportunity to emulate Isaac Walton, in which the Bishop was accredited as being the best fisherman on the Lake. There, too, his winsomeness made him many friends among the other holiday seekers and his faithful boatman was his welcome guest at Middletown.

Bishop Doane, of Albany, whom Bishop Williams often addresses in their frequent correspondence as *Carissime*, has given us this loving epitome of the man: "No one could see the gift of natural manhood of Bishop Williams without the sense of dignity and power and will and intellect they were stamped upon it. He was a spiritual prince from the great dome of his head in every lineament of his face, his keen eye, his firm lips, his strong chin, his over-arching brow, his finely moulded nose, his commanding presence, his firm tread. He was a man men turned to look at and staid to look up to, not merely for his height in inches but for the exaltation of his bearing."

With his deep tenderness of sentiment ever in the background of his life, he never married and his mother had his earthly undivided home affection and devotion. After her death he was heard to sigh in his sleep and say "there is now no one left to close my eyes" and undoubtedly had lonely years, though with a poise of reticence and outward cheer. Easter he once said meant more to him than Christmas in his hearthstone associations. Big-moss of heart had that demonstration earthward as well as in all the affectionate cast of his companionships and letters. And on the side towards God his whole life and ministry seemed an object lesson of that interpretation of the New Testament Gospel of love as a fruit of the Holy Spirit, which functions in steady-going character back of any passing feelings. Bishop Butler's profound distinction between the active habit and the passive impression had evidently entered into the theory of his life as it did into his teaching of practical religion as against the New England traditions of

all found their way to him in an unceasing train. And many a solution carried relief and settlement over the face of the Church. And then in print of Church paper or Review, clearing up some passing confusion of thought with crystal insight brought him letters of devout thankfulness and changed convictions and careers. Permanent volumes from his pen like his Bedell Lectures, — *The World's Witness to Jesus Christ*, his Bishop Paddock Lectures on *Studies on the English Reformation*, his *Studies in the Book of Acts* and his syllabi for his Lectures on Theology, Church History, the Prayer Book and other topics of his fine scholarship strengthened the Apologetics and other teaching of the Church. Earlier came *A Translation of Ancient Hymns*, already noted above, and *Thoughts on the Miracles*. He had edited in 1849, *Hawkstone*, "a tale in two volumes," Browne's *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles* and had written some Chapters of a novel left incomplete. Many a bit of verse, sometimes of tender sentiment and other times witty skits, will also be remembered of him. But his living epistle was written far more widely and indelibly in the characters of those who came under his immediate influence than in any paged characters of the alphabet.

His Secretaries had no mere monotony of dictation or of copying — and they had no typewriters. He would sometimes while trying to decipher an indistinct script, like Dean Stanley's tenuous lines, say "Come here — see if you can make anything out of that sentence: the writer marks the letter as private and confidential but that is unnecessary; no earthly man can read it anyway!" Then in the days of autograph he with a twinkle in his eye said to the Secretary, "You answer this." Following orders the Secretary did so and received in biting sarcasm an effusive acknowledgment of his "highly valued autograph!"

Of the Bishop's work as an administrator of the Diocese the Rev. Dr. Samuel Hart, in some respects probably his most scholarly student, and a successor as Dean of the Divinity School, in a worthy memorial sermon preached not long after the Bishop's death furnishes us a "memory" which we can well quote for this sketch, as follows: "He administered the Diocese through years of increased activity in some departments of Church work; a time of the erection and enlargement and decoration of Church edifices and of other buildings for parish purposes; a time in which much attention has been given to the appointments for worship and the accessories of divine service; a time of the strengthening of old educational institutions and the establishment of new ones; a time of quickened activity in diocesan and domestic and foreign missionary work; a time of adapting or devising forms in which

revival and excitement, which the Reverend Dr. Horace Bushnell did so much to counteract. Indeed may it not have been partly the exhaustive study and illumination of the New Testament distinction in using the different words for *love* that made him admire Westcott's St. John's Epistles as "the noblest I ever read" as noted in his Diary above when he met the Canon at Westminster Abbey! Such a statement as this from Westcott's Commentary would especially appeal to him as he was trying to *live* its illustration: "From a consideration of (many) passages it will be seen that *agapan, agape* are an expression of character, determined, as we are forced to conceive of things, by will and not of spontaneous natural emotion. In this sense 'love' is the willing communication to others of that which we have and are; and the exact opposite of that passion which is the desire of personal appropriation." Many will recall that quoted maxim of Bishop Williams, "Doe ye nexte Thyng" as the calm philosophy for the carry on of life.

The free-hand lines of this sketch drawn from "Memories here and there" of others as well as of the writer will accomplish their purpose if they can at all "suggest a manhood and a ministry in which the strength of mind and of heart of Bishop Williams were blended in rare proportion and graciousness." It is no part of such a sketch to try to fill in with mezzotint effect shades of personal virtues or faults. Such outlines cannot and ought not to attempt to draw strokes of heart or brain anatomy. Those significant aspirations written in their Latin just before and just after the record of his consecration as the first entry beginning his official Journal "O God make haste to help me," "God be merciful" "tell," says Dr. Hart in quoting them "of earnest resolve, and of the conviction that only by divine grace could it be carried out: they tell of the sense of unworthiness and imperfection and how he felt the need of God's gracious pardon." In 1871 after submitting to the Convention summaries of Diocesan statistics to that date and making some comparisons with those of 1851, the year of his consecration, and saying that they "indicate a quiet but I think a steady and abiding growth" he adds, "No man can feel so strongly as I do how much greater that growth might probably have been, how much more progress might have been made, had another than myself been your Chief Pastor. Indeed that feeling, growing as it has with every year, is the heaviest burden of all I have to bear. God all merciful grant that my errors and shortcomings may be visited on myself alone and not on the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made me an overseer!"

The average duration of an American Episcopate is I believe, fifteen years. I never could have wished, either for your sake

or my own, that mine should form any exception to the rule. It has however been prolonged beyond the average line. But its end must now be nearer, probably much nearer than its beginning is. As I look back towards that beginning and recall the unnumbered kindnesses which have come to me from my clergy and people — whether living upon earth today, or sleeping in the Lord Jesus, — I find no words to express my gratitude, not to earthly friends alone but above all, to God, our Heavenly Father Who made the lines to fall 'unto me in pleasant places.' As I look forward to that nearer end I feel, beloved, how much I need your prayers to God the Holy Ghost that I may have a right judgment in all things; how much we all need to join in earnest supplication for 'the peace of Jerusalem' and the preservation in its integrity and its purity, of the glorious heritage which has come to us from our fathers."

The end of his episcopate proved to be a third father off than the beginning, but we may well see in this heart revelation his final *nunc dimittis* sentiment when he was taken to his rest after a prolonged confinement to his bed, on Tuesday, February 7, 1899, almost at the very time when the students of the Divinity School at Evensong in the Chapel were singing the *Nunc Dimittis*. What a devout consummation in that coincidence of student chant with passing soul! He had prescribed in "Directions for my Executors" a severe simplicity in all details for the final arrangements, among them 'I direct my grave stones to be in form, size and material, the same as those at the grave of my mother. On the headstone nothing to be placed but my name, John Williams, and the date of my death, on the footstone my initials, — J. W.'" The final services were notable for that same simplicity thronged as they were with his clergy and people and his earthly remains lie by the side of those of his mother awaiting in that beautiful Indian Hill Cemetery the appearing of the Chief Shepherd. His very grave, in accordance with his sentiments is placed for his facing in the East that "dawn of the Son of Righteousness."



my truly grd.
J. Williams.

DAYS OF MY AGE

CHIMNEY CORNER CHATS FOR
THE HOME CIRCLE

BY

GRANDFATHER

WILLIAM FORD NICHOLS



*The days of our age are threescore years and ten;
and*

[Pages 25-35]

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CHAPTER III

CONNECTICUT HOME-CIRCLE DAYS WITH BISHOP WILLIAMS

THE CONVENTION of Connecticut having, in 1871, made provisions for a Bishop's Private Secretary, Bishop Williams gave me the honor of appointment to that position in the second year of my Divinity School course and not long afterward made me a member of his household, thus deepening a privilege, and I venture to call it, an intimacy, begun in my college days. That household then consisted of the Bishop's mother, Mrs. Emily Trowbridge Williams, queenly and stately, his housekeeper, Miss Eliza Tibbs, and himself. And if there had been no other experience of the Bishop's personality than that of his devotion to his mother and later, in her long and trying illness, to his housekeeper of many years, that would have left me its indelible impression of his great heart. It was my privilege to see much of his mother and to spend many evenings in her room during the Bishop's absences. I chanced to be riding with her in the carriage when she was stricken with the attack which in a few days led to her death. And in that opportunity to know something of her strength of character and of what she was to her filial son and what he was to her, it was all the more of a marvel to note the calmness and self-command with which the Bishop went almost directly from her death bed to the Ordination service for the class just graduated from the Berkeley Divinity School, in the morning hours of Wednesday, May 29, 1872.

In that historic Jarvis House with its earlier traditions of a popular tavern—some of its floors were said to have been laid with especial facilities for dancing parties of old time—with the many evidences of adornment in its transformation for the home of the scholarly Rev. Dr. Samuel Farmer Jarvis, son of the second Bishop of Connecticut, its mahogany doors, its Etruscan

and Doric ornamentation, its spacious rooms, and its general appearance of dignified age, the Bishop's house shared the occupancy with the Divinity School, including at first, chapel and library, as well as dormitory. Up to the time of his mother's death she occupied the large bedroom on the first floor in the rear of the drawing room suite. The Bishop then had his library with sleeping room adjoining on the second floor in the northeast corner of the building. Soon after he took the room, previously his mother's, and moved his library down to that well known corner room off the main hall. The opportunity of his week's absence on a visitation was taken, the co-operation of the student body was enlisted, the preservation of the arrangement of the books was carefully planned and the "Coit Library," then crowded into the lower room to be metamorphosed for a study, was moved upstairs, and the Bishop's books were moved downstairs. So that when he returned he found the new library room made welcome to him in its freshened paint, papering and shelving with his books and his desks and other appointments in place. In the bereavement which had come to him in the loss of his mother, the material changes of environment seemed to him to mark the break while they braced his loneliness. But how many crowding memories come out of associations with him in that favored spot! Of his lectures there to his classes, of his dictations to my secretarial pen—they were not the days of typewriting—of late evening readings under his rare guidance; of good company when admitted to the privilege of his entertainment of distinguished visitors; of his good stories and visitation and travel experiences, stocking one up for a lifetime; of his astute and informing insight into, and comment upon current affairs of Church and State, as leaders looked to him for learning and guidance and of the thousand subtle contributions to edification and enjoyment which made those hours to the young secretary veritable *noctes ambrosianae*. It is no exaggeration to say that in the confidences with which he honored me as his secretary I then really knew more of what was going on in those often hidden and often determining undercurrents of the Church which do not get into public print, than

since as bishop at a Pacific Coast remove from their stirrings below the surface.

At the request of the late Bishop Henry C. Potter, I wrote a few *memorabilia* of those days and nights which he included in his *Reminiscences of Bishops and Archbishops* (pp. 48-54). As showing Bishop Williams' way of "getting in" with children, I quote from that a paragraph: "On one of his visitations the Bishop found himself, in the time between breakfast and the Sunday morning service, alone with the rector's young hopeful in the study. Chummy relations were at once established and the little four year old said: 'Oh, Bishop, wouldn't you like to have me show you my picture book?' 'Of course I would,' said the Bishop. Thereupon the book was brought out and looked over in detail with full zest by both bishop and child. When the sitting was about to adjourn the little fellow intensely delighted the Bishop by remarking: 'Now, Bishop, don't tell papa about this 'cause he won't let me look at this book on Sunday.'" Another one of his visitation experiences which I have never seen narrated in print, but which he used to relate with gusto, as illuminating the need of parents realizing how their little critics hold them strictly to account for their promises—even those put off expedients which they may not take very seriously at the time, is this: He was sitting on the veranda of a certain rectory, with the small boy of the home on his knee, when the good rector and his wife, who, needless to say, were fond and fostering parents in blissful ignorance of the particular point of view of their offspring expressed, drove off in a buggy on some parish mission. As they were disappearing in the distance what was the astonishment of the Bishop, not to say, the arresting of his interest, to hear the faithful pastor's progeny remark: "Bishop, there go the biggest pair of liars in this town." "Why, my child, how can you say such a thing as that?" "Well Bishop, they have promised me for months that the next time they go riding in that buggy they would take me along, and they never do." Great searchings of heart about keeping word before the exacting court of childhood in this for all parents. But to attempt to tell of the minting from that inexhaustible "lighter vein" of the home and Divin-

ity School life with Bishop Williams, the innumerable good stories that have gained currency through successive generations of his students and secretaries, would baffle even the most voluminous biographer. So varied were his contacts with humanity, so irresistible his power as a raconteur, that his episcopate has had the distinction like that of Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, in England, of becoming a sort of residuary legatee of all episcopal experiences and stories that have lost other identification, whether he had anything to do with them or not. They "fly as doves" to his windows. And sometimes, too, his characteristic sayings, like that "The puritans first fell on their own knees and then on the aborigines" light on later wits. There was this about them all however, that as they came spontaneously in class room or in chat they generally had a passing point upon the matter in hand that "put in a pin just there."

From many quarters regret has been expressed that Bishop Williams did not write an autobiography and indeed that he so deprecated anything of the kind that no one has ventured to attempt a full and extended biography since his death in 1899. And there can be no doubt that in the loss of such a full sketch of his more than fourscore years of life in New England and almost half a century in the episcopate, very much valuable matter is missed from the annals of our Church, to say nothing of New England itself, from some of the most distinguished ancestral stock of which he came in old Deerfield, Massachusetts. But as he wrote his influence as a very epistle living in multitudes of lives and influential spheres, his retorts can truly be said in some measure to be his record! In an editorial of *The Hartford Courant* noting the jubilee of the Bishop's ordination in September, 1888, which speaks of him as "one who occupies the highest position in an influential religious body and is also in a very true sense the foremost citizen of our state" there is the testimony from a secular source. "The words of truth which have fallen from his lips and have been heard by so many at turning-points in their lives have done a work for God and for good and exerted an influence which is beyond computation by the arithmetic of earth. . . . His pub-

lished books have been, like his lectures and his sermons scholarly, persuasive and of great value." Further in another column of the same paper, as a Churchman I was enabled to pen a summary in the following words which now after more than a generation I repeat with only deepened fervor as an estimate here: "It is speaking within bounds to say that, without ceremony and without formal action, wherever the fact (of his ordination Jubilee) is known it will evoke a tribute of affection and respect that no pageantry nor plaudits could express, and that no power of station, however exalted, could in itself command. *Facile Princeps* in the American Episcopal Church as a leader of men, as well as first in his position as Presiding Bishop,—an adviser of bishops, a *quasi* supreme court judge in canon law, a teacher of theologians as well as of theology, an administrator whose course is as signally marked by the peace-makers' blessings as it is by untiring self-forgetting work, by far seeing judgment and one continuous illustration of the text of one of his most powerful sermons, 'It is required in stewards that a man be found faithful'—these and other as conspicuous points of the half-century's record as priest, preacher and scholar might well draw to him, in his official character, the homage of all as to a chief man in his generation.

"But even the signal chapters of his ministry will not so much be in the minds of thousands as will memories and influences which have come to them from him as between man and man. Wherever his ministry has had to do with his fellow man there will be multitudes who will find their hearts touched by deeper and tenderer thoughts than those which prompt mere admiration or esteem. This will make a celebration of his jubilee that will be real in interest and real in gratitude on the part of many a one who will bless God that he ever came within John Williams' influence and companionship."

My ordination to the Diaconate with the Class of '73 of the Berkeley Divinity School took place on Wednesday, June 4, 1873, in the old Holy Trinity Church in Middletown—the last ordination held there before its transformation into the "Russell Library" consequent upon the building of the present Church adjacent to

memories of long winter evenings with the suggestion of Whittier's "Snow-bound" when the Bishop would look out of the window and quote,

"A night made hoary with the swarm
And whirl-dance of the blinding storm
As zigzag wavering to and fro
Crossed and recrossed the winged snow,"

noting with almost boyish glee, "See how true that is—the flakes never seem to light anywhere."

And in connection with that appealing poem of New England memories there is one of his own boyhood home life of which the Bishop told with that zest which was ever in evidence of his perennial youth of spirit and which he said he had reason to remember by its consequences to him from a paternal source. I quote what I have written elsewhere for Bishop Potter's *Reminiscences* as referred to above: The story "carries us into the meeting house atmosphere of the day—for his boyhood was not spent in the Church of his after choice. Many a long Sunday hour he spent in one of the old time square pews sitting through the old time discourse before which it was feared sometimes the hour glass had about the only sign of real 'following.' It so happened that directly in front of the boy, John Williams, sat a worthy magnate of that congregation whose queue so adjusted itself to that gentleman's habitual slumbers in sermon time that as his head slipped down on the back of his pew, the queue took an angle upward and projected over into the pew of the Williams family with a sort of weekly challenge to that boy, not so absorbed in the current sermon as to be oblivious of the fact. Sunday after Sunday the temptation came, and was resisted; but it finally became too much for the boy nature, and in a moment when, both in his own and the adjoining pew, somnolence seemed to reign, the challenge was met; the queue was firmly clutched and tweaked with an instantaneous effect upon several staid family pews in that immediate vicinity; and the boy never forgot it." And it was like a "whiff" of the early air of New England to have him recount scenes and fireside tales and readings of his boyhood including stirring narration of Indian incursions upon homes of his ancestors.

the Divinity School. Bishop Williams as usual for the Divinity School ordained us and at our request—which was unusual in his custom of asking others to do it—preached the ordination sermon. Just one year later, June 4, 1874, as the first priest ordination in the new Holy Trinity Church he ordained me to the Priesthood and on St. Peter's Day of that year (June 29) I celebrated the Holy Communion for the first time, using also for the first time a recent gift of Communion vessels made to the Parish. I continued with the Bishop as his secretary and Chaplain and in his household three years after my ordination to the Diaconate until 1876. During that period there was an ever happier showing in the atmosphere of that enchanted Library, not without its incense of the "weed" floating from the very modest desk in the corner, over the great writing table which "set up" the Secretary. There was the long purple working habit enveloping every inch a bishop, deliberating over his correspondence, betimes deciphering script before the times of type writing, sometimes with a comment as in the case of the very tenuous hand of Dean Stanley: "He writes over this, 'private and confidential'—it's altogether unnecessary, no man on earth can read it anyway!" The dictating was enlivened by side remarks—as in answer to a request for an autograph, "You acknowledge this for me"—which resulted in a highly satirical rejoinder of profound appreciation of the Secretary's distinguished hand writing! The Secretary had the copying of articles for the press, convention addresses, reports of committees like that of the celebrated Report of the Ritual Committee of the House of Bishops made to the General Convention of 1871 which led to the historical speech of Dr. James DeKoven and which the Secretary was the only one to share in its most guarded secrecy before presentation, with Bishops Lee, Williams, Clark, Odenheimer and Kerfoot as he wrote out in full copies for each member of that committee. That report, by the way, is "mighty interesting" reading now! My tenure of office as Secretary covered the five years from 1871 to 1876, in the succession of the Bishop's Secretaries, every one of whom no doubt bore upon his whole life the impress of his favored association with that Library and its *genius loci*. There are

How he enjoyed such a book as Mrs. Stowe's *Old Town Stories*, with its Parson Lothrop and Sam Lawson. He would never have any new-fangled electricity about him if he could help it—how much that Deerfield boyhood explains it all. And like the late Bishop Hunting-ton of Central New York, there was never any country to him quite equal to the New England hills and vales. There was a weird singing of the wind about that Li-brary fireplace, a musical accompaniment to the cheer-ing wintry hearth glow as the Bishop led in our read-ings, cleared up questions old and new, commented with crystal insight upon passing issues, shaped convictions, gave confidences of the outlines of works to come from his masterly pen, drew upon the rich vein of his learn-ing and leadership and made the shelves of his books speak in his loving voice. After his death I once heard the same singing around the chimney and hearthstone—it seemed like a requiem.

"O Time and Change! with hair as gray
As was my sire's that wintry day
How strange it seems, with so much gone
Of life and love, to still live on."



THE PRESIDING BISHOP 1887-1899

J. Williams.

BERKELEY



IMPRESSIONS AND OPINIONS

An Autobiography

BY

J. G. H. BARRY, D.D.

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In the fall of 1883 I entered the Berkeley Divinity School to begin my preparation for Holy Orders. The three years I spent there were the happiest of my adult life. For the first time I was associated with men who were congenial, whose interests were the same as my own and with whom therefore I could converse freely on subjects of common interest. Up to this time I had never had any friends in the complete sense of the word. Those with whom I had associated, whether in college or elsewhere, were uninterested in the things that interested me. I remember being greatly amused when I was about nineteen years old in talking with a young woman some years my senior and of much greater social experience. She asked me what I was reading and I replied that I was reading just then Macaulay's History. "That sort of thing does not pay," she said; "I used to read books of that sort, but I found that nobody cared about such subjects." I had found that, too, but I had gone my own way nevertheless. Now when I plunged into theological studies I found men who were reading the same books and were eager to talk of the same subjects, and my life experienced a new joy, the joy of communication.

I was much better prepared for my new studies than most of the men I met; that is, I had a much broader background of knowledge. My deficiency in technical knowledge, which had counted against me in college, did not matter here; while my years of broad reading prepared me to take up the new subjects that the Seminary presented with a good deal of intelligence.

It was extremely fortunate for me that this was so, for it enabled me to work on the new subjects in an independent way. I was used to working outside the class and the class books, and seeking to master the subject in hand, if it interested me, and not in seeking merely to satisfy the requirements of recitation and examination. In fact, the latter course would have got me nowhere intellectually, for the course of studies at Berkeley was, intellectually speaking, utterly inadequate. To have confined myself to the required work of the classes would have turned me out a theological ignoramus. There was but one course in the Seminary that was intellectually of any account; that was Dr. Binney's course in Hebrew. Aside from that, the instructors were incompetent in their subjects. As this made class preparation a trifling matter, I had abundant time to study on the lines of my own interests, and to supplement the dreary class instruction with wide reading.

Berkeley was the creation of Bishop John Williams, a most notable character with whom I am very glad to have been associated. I had known something of him as a boy, as he was several times at our house in Middle Haddam, and his mother had visited there. He was a great figure in the Church for many years, perhaps its most influential bishop; in part of my time at Berkeley he was presiding bishop. He was a man of commanding presence, very tall and graceful, of great dignity and refined and cultured address. He was a very attractive preacher, especially when he dispensed with manuscript and simply talked to us. I have never known a more fascinating teacher in the sense that he could present a subject with absolute lucidity and with great persuasiveness. His classes were a delight, for by his skill in presentation and illustration he never failed to interest one. He taught constantly while I was in Berkeley and shaped most of his students in his own mould. That mould, unfortunately, was a very narrow one—the mould of the most provincial type of Anglicanism. While recognising his greatness as a teacher, I was able to resist the fascination of his personality and in consequence was very slightly influenced by what he taught. "Connecticut churchmanship," as it was called, did not at all appeal to me, and I declined to be led that way—with consequences that might have been unfortunate, but in the end were quite the reverse.

It is difficult to describe just what "Connecticut churchmanship" meant. It was intended, I think, to represent the position held by what are called the "Caroline Divines," the position, that is, of the leaders of the Church of England in the Stuart period in their reaction against the Calvinism of the extreme men of the Reformation period. It was a swing back from Protestant tendencies toward a more Catholic position. But it could hardly be said that Bishop Williams and those who agreed with him were High Churchmen in the sense that Andrews and Laud were. "Connecticut churchmanship" displayed a hearty contempt for Protestantism, especially of the Puritan variety; and it was animated by a very hearty hatred of Rome and all things which were thought to savour of it. The three outstanding representatives of the position in the American Church in the eighties were Bishop Williams himself, Bishop Doane of Albany, and Bishop Cox of Western New York. I fancy they were the controlling power in the House of Bishops. Bishop Potter of New York was later associated with them. The presiding bishop before Bishop Williams was Lee of Delaware, who, one gathered, was pretty well under the control of the triumvirate, though himself

an Evangelical. Bishop Doane was regarded as a little more "advanced" than the others. He was regarded as the representative of the High Church party. It has been one of the misfortunes of that party that it has always been thought to be represented in the House of Bishops by bishops who were in no real sense High Churchmen, with the consequence that these assumed leaders were put on committees as the representatives of a party in the Church that they did not really represent—in fact, in crises quite misrepresented it.

Bishop Cox was one of these. He had in early days of his ministry been rather more advanced than he was later. He had published at some early time a book of poems with a frontispiece representing an altar with candles and so on. Later when he was inclined to suppress the use of candles in his diocese, this was held up to him and the culprits alleged that they were only following the example of their bishop. That, however, did not save them from episcopal rebuke. Bishop Cox's father was some sort of Protestant minister, and after the son came into the Church they both presided over congregations in the same town, and not far from one another. The name was in reality Cox. It was said that the mail of

the father and the son was liable to get mixed, and that in consequence the son added the "e" to his name. It was told that someone calling at the parsonage of the father and asking for Dr. Cox was introduced into the presence of the older man; the visitor explained that he had made a mistake—that he wanted the younger man. "Oh," said Dr. Cox, "if you want Dr. Cox, he is around the corner saying his prayers in his night-shirt."

I gathered that these three bishops had been to a considerable extent attracted to the Oxford Movement in its earliest stage, but that they had been frightened into a reactionary position by the departure of Newman. Hereafter they were terribly afraid of anything which savoured of "Romanism," and were very bitter against "Roman practices." Yet they never went back to Evangelicalism. They maintained that they were the true High Churchmen—that they were the exponents of the true Anglican position. As they understood it, it was a very narrow and untenable position—it was very much like standing on the top of a fence: one was pretty sure to fall off one side or the other sooner or later. It was a position characterised by Catholicity of teaching and timidity in practice. It seemed to me, as I came to understand it, a religion of fear. We were taught that it was theoretically quite right to pray for the dead; but that in practice it was dangerous to do so, as one might pray for the wrong person; so it was better to say noth-

ing about it. We were taught that the priest had the power of absolution and that therefore auricular confession was possible, but that the dangers of private confession were so great that one ought not to go save in some emergency.

Of course, all ceremonial was strictly prohibited. The Berkeley students were never permitted to wear cottas in the Seminary chapel or when they went out as lay-readers. There were no lights, and, of course, no vestments. The clergy in chapel wore what were irreverently called "a surplice and legs"—that is, long surplices reaching to the floor and open in front so that when their wearers walked up the aisle the surplices streamed out behind. There was no cassock—one professor adopted one while I was in the Seminary, but it was thought extreme. A black stole was always worn. I recall an amusing incident in this connection. Dr. Binney had his black stole attached to his surplice in some way so that when he put on the surplice he had only to draw the stole over his shoulders. On one occasion—it was S. Patrick's Day—Dr. Binney failed to see his stole and therefore put on a second one and came into chapel with one stole hanging down his back and another over his shoulders. At supper that night a very matter-of-fact student asked, "Why did Binney wear two stoles this evening?" and was told that it was because it was S. Patrick's Day, and that the old Celtic use required it. The student was quite satisfied!

Well, after this excursion, let us get back to the studies at Berkeley. Bishop Williams taught a number of things and taught them extremely well—but most of them were not worth teaching. The only subject that was of real importance as it was taught was the fifth book of Hooker—the exposition of that gave one a real grip on the theology of the Incarnation. Beside that there were lectures on the history of the Reformation in which that movement was seen quite inaccurately through Anglican spectacles. There was a course that was called Apologetics, but was nothing worth listening to. There was a very funny course on the Prayer Book which consisted mostly of stories illustrating mistakes that might be, and had been, made in rendering the Offices—but nothing that could by any stretch of the imagination be called liturgics. In fact, I cannot remember that there was any instruction as to how to say Mass. I left Berkeley quite ignorant of this subject and had to pick up knowledge after I was ordained. I wish I had made notes of the course, especially of the stories. The only one I remember is one concerning the then Bishop of Ohio, Bedell.

Bishop Bedell was a violent Low Churchman. Bishop Williams told of a visit to him during which he attended a Communion Service celebrated by Bishop Bedell. The Bishop celebrated standing behind the altar facing the people, which was a little unusual in those days. After the service he asked Bishop Williams how he liked his manner of celebrating. Bishop Williams replied that he did not like it at all, and that he knew of but one other person who celebrated in that way. "Who is that?" asked Bedell. "The Pope," replied Williams, to the great distress of Ohio. The gossip was that Bishop Bedell was much "influenced," shall we say, by Mrs. Bedell. She looked after his mail when he was from home, and was reported to have answered a letter from a country rector asking for a confirmation appointment: "We do not make country visitations oftener than once in three years." A clerical meeting is described during which there was a discussion on the subject of confirmation. After the discussion had gone on for some time a feminine voice from the back of the church was heard saying: "I have always understood that one joined the Catholic Church when one was baptised; and that when one was confirmed one joined the Protestant Episcopal Church." That naturally settled and ended the discussion. While on the subjects of bishops' wives, I may give another illustration. The wife of the bishop of a certain mid-west diocese, learning that her husband had accepted an invitation to preach in a very High Church parish, said to him as he was leaving: "If they have incense, Alex, you come right out." I do not remember whether the bishop was obedient.

The most objectionable course that Bishop Williams conducted was one on the Eucharist. We were supposed to study the book of one Trevor in which it was held that the Presence in the Eucharist was the Presence of the *dead* Christ. As I loathed the book I never really studied it; I never made out what was the point of the doctrine, though the impression at Berkeley was that by holding it you in some way managed to make Eucharistic adoration impossible. I never could myself see how that could be, as even if the Presence were of the dead Christ, His humanity would still be united with the Godhead and the divine Person present would be an object of worship. But as there is no dead Christ to be present, the doctrine was most likely some variant of Calvinism. I have seen somewhere the doctrine well characterised as a "profane and indeed impossible heresy." Those of us who knew any theology were rather nervous at the examination for ordination, lest we should be questioned on this

doctrine. I just missed it. Looking back over the three years spent under Bishop Williams, I find that there was nothing worth while got out of it, save the analysis of Hooker, and a good deal that was worse than useless. Most of the men, greatly impressed by the bishop's personality and manner of instruction, went out to repeat what they had been taught. They were conservative, prejudiced, unintelligent Anglicans. That was what "Connecticut churchmanship" amounted to, and Bishop Williams kept his diocese manned with clergy of that type. An occasional "Broad" got in, but there was small chance for anyone whose "height" exceeded that of the diocesan authority.

In my time S. Andrew's, Stamford, was looked on as the "high church" of the diocese. It was there that I first was privileged to see a service that could be called Catholic. I suppose now that Dr. Braithwaite was not what we should think at all extreme, but he stood for extremity in Connecticut at that time. One other parish had a similar reputation—a parish in Hartford of which Professor McCook was rector. I was never there, but there was a good deal of talk about it, as the rector had recently invited Dr. Ewer of S. Ignatius', New York, to preach there and he had been inhibited by Bishop Williams. This incident enables one to measure the distance the Church has moved in the succeeding years.

The senior professor at Berkeley was the Reverend Thomas Coit, D.D. He had been for many years a prominent figure in the Church, had been, if I am not mistaken, presiding officer of the House of Deputies. He died the summer after I entered Berkeley. He was the sort of character produced, I suppose, nowhere outside the Anglican communion. He was tremendously well read—his library must have contained nearly twenty thousand volumes, and apparently he had read them all. If you took up any book the chances were that you would find it carefully annotated. His theological position was much that of Bishop Williams. We did not treat him very well and I have often regretted it, as I know he felt it. His lectures were dry to the limit and we spent our time in class, when we went, in reading or getting up our lessons. At times we interested ourselves in his lectures enough to note whether he would get in a whack at both Papists and Protestants—no matter what his subject, even if it were as remote as the wanderings of the Israelites in the Desert, in some way he would manage to lead the subject around to his enemies. He had various means of attack that he would recommend to us: "If you want to bother a Baptist," he would say, and then would follow what one was to do. In his earlier days he

had been a famous controversialist, and had written a book on the Puritans which had a certain vogue. He used to tell us with glee of some critic who had spent endless time in going over his references trying to trip him up—"I will catch the damned rascal yet," he reported the critic to have said. He once got into a newspaper controversy with a Presbyterian minister on the subject of orders; after many letters had been written the Presbyterian said that Dr. Coit's mind reminded him of a garret: you went in to get something, but before you found it a mass of rubbish fell down and buried you. That was not a bad description: he had accumulated vast masses of information, but seemed to lack a discriminating sense as to values.

The department of New Testament exegesis was presided over by Dr. Gardiner. He was quite out of sympathy, ecclesiastically speaking, with other members of the faculty. His sympathies were in the direction of the Broad—he had been touched by German criticism and would have been classed along with such men as Alford and Stanley. He was, however, not at all radical so far as his class teaching was concerned; indeed, Bishop Williams would not have tolerated anyone who was in any direction radical. One learned nothing under Dr. Gardiner. One was permitted to take a commentary into class and read one's translation from that. I always carried Alford along with me. The examinations were a farce; we took our New Testaments in with us and made our translation from them. We were also permitted to take in our pipes! Dr. Gardiner was a pleasant genial personality who did his best to cultivate the men individually. He had some of us there to supper every week. At the beginning of the fall term he always had the entering class to supper and regaled them on Welsh rarebit; the upper classmen watched the next morning to see how many of them would appear—the victims were usually quite numerous. He used to furnish cigars at these suppers, and on one occasion he called up the stairs to his daughter, "Henrietta, bring down the cigars." The unexpected question came back: "The students' cigars, papa?" We used furiously to deposit the "students' cigars" in the grate and substitute our own.

The department of Hebrew and Old Testament exegesis was under Dr. Binney. I have already spoken of my relations with Dr. Binney as my rector and helper in my studies. He was really a very competent scholar, and I have always regretted that he never could be induced to write anything. I think that he might have been of a good deal of use to the Church just at that time. We were in the heat of the evolution controversy and of the

asserted conclusions of the Higher Criticism. There was danger that the clergy should be led by ignorant teachers to an obscurantist position, as in fact many of them were. Dr. Binney knew his subject and made us see that the real danger of the time was not in accepting the conclusions of criticism in regard to the Old Testament, but in foreclosing the questions that were raised. He taught us, as least he taught me, to see that the principles of the Higher Criticism were firmly settled and that one must of necessity accept them; but that it did not at all follow from that acceptance that one was committed to all the conclusions that individual criticism drew from the application of the principles. I had already in college accepted evolution in principle; I was now able to see my way in the matter of criticism. After one had got properly orientated toward the critical question, one could feel one's way along without fear that one was endangering one's religion.

Dr. Binney's unfortunate limitation was that he was no teacher. With a great body of information to impart he had no capacity to impart it. Consequently his lectures on Old Testament interpretation were very dull indeed, and with most of the men got nowhere. His method was bad, and his manner was worse. This was in a measure due to an unconquerable bashfulness which severely limited his usefulness. He wanted to help the men and was ready to take any amount of trouble to do so, but he did not know how. He had us at his house a good deal, but he did not know how to talk to us. I knew him so well that this made no difference to me. I could always go to him and talk frankly with him and he was most helpful. I look back on my relations with him and his delightful wife as among the best memories of this time.

The remaining member of the faculty, Dr. William Alan Johnson, was a very good illustration of a man out of place. I do not know what his right place in the Church would have been, but it was certainly not that of a teacher. He had the same sort of limited Anglican reading as the bishop and Dr. Coit had, though in a less degree. It fell to him to teach homiletics: but he could neither preach nor teach others to preach. He also conducted a class on the Thirty-nine Articles, using as textbook a work by Bishop Brown of Winchester, a quite hopelessly dull book. I thought it not a very honest book, as it taught that the early Christians did not teach what, as a matter of fact they did teach—such doctrines and practices as are involved in the Real Presence and the invocation of saints. I waded through the book, but really studied the Articles in the pages of Bishop Forbes.

The chapel services as conducted by these professors in long surplices and black stoles were not very enlivening or inspiring. They took turns in preaching, but none of them could preach except the bishop. When he came it was a treat, even though he sometimes took occasion to attack High Church doctrines and practices. Characteristically, Professor Johnson opened his career as preacher to a chapel full of students with a sermon on the Churching of Women. There was a famous sermon of Dr. Coit's which made its appearance once in three years, and which was always looked forward to with joy by the students, who knew of it by tradition from their predecessors, and with nervousness by members of the faculty. It concerned the serpent in the Garden of Eden and explained to us that the serpent was not originally a snake as we knew snakes, but that it was a winged creature who flitted about among the Eden trees and sang with an exceeding sweet voice like the voice of a nightingale! Its snake-form was due to the curse that it incurred through its malicious activity. I can still see Dr. Binney squirming in his stall when the text was given out, and the joy that filled the souls of the students as the sermon developed.

Up to the time of leaving college I had read no theology. The following summer I thought I ought to get to work and looked about for theological books. I do not know how I came to choose Garbett's *Dogmatic Faith*, but I fell in with it some way. It is curious that often a book which is often of itself a poor performance, if it falls into one's hands at the right moment proves of lasting value. It was so with this book of Garbett's; I have tried to read it since and found it a hopeless performance. But there was in it just what I wanted at the time. I got into my head what a dogma is at just the time I needed to know. A dogma, I learned, "is a positive truth positively expressed," and that definition has stuck to me ever since. It was so fastened that all the quantities of nonsense I have since read in abuse of dogma have left me cold. As I look back at the books that influenced me during that first year of my theological studies, I feel that I was very fortunate in my choice. In addition to Garbett I read "Palmer on the Church," which cleared up a number of things for me. I followed this with Forbes on the Thirty-nine Articles, which enabled me to avoid the very limited and provincial theology of Bishop Brown. Medd's "The One Mediator" was most helpful, and above all, Wilberforce on the Eucharist initiated me into the Catholic doctrine of the Sacrament. None of these books have I since read with the exception of Forbes; I fancy that Palmer would not seem to

me now what it did then. The point is that coming at the beginning of my theological reading they set me on the right track and prevented me from falling a victim to the type of theology that was prevalent at Berkeley.

Aside from my reading, the chief influence as well as the chief happiness of these three years came from the friends that I made. The chief of these was William Walter Webb now (1931) Bishop of Milwaukee. The friendship that grew up between us has lasted all the years and is still fresh today. Webb was two years ahead of me in the Seminary. He was only a few months older than myself. He had passed through the University of Pennsylvania in a scientific course, and then determining to study for orders had entered Trinity College in the classical course. He was a Philadelphian and had there been influenced by Dr. Henry Percival, who for years was one of the outstanding Catholics of the Church. Webb came to Berkeley as a thoroughly informed Catholic and was able to advise me in many ways. My intentions were good, but I was very ignorant in the details of Catholic theory and practice. Webb was a member of a small group of Berkeley men who called themselves the "Oriels." They most of them graduated the year before I entered. Among them were the present Bishop of Albany, Nelson, and Westcott, who later wrote a book of the Catholic faith which had a wide influence. Booth, who died young as rector of a parish in Bridgeport, was another of the group—a most brilliant fellow of whom we hoped great things. I knew most of the group later on; they were all at the time fighting Catholics and their influence in Berkeley had been strong. Webb was the only member with me in the Seminary. He helped me out in such matters as prayers for the dead and fasting communion. His mother had taken a house in Middletown and I was there a good deal. Mrs. Webb was a most delightful Christian woman. When the talk at breakfast tended to become critical of persons, she would intervene with "Why mention that?", which would calm us down. Webb's sister Anne, now Mrs. Leads, also became a life-long friend.

Other Berkeley men with whom I became very intimate were Newton, who recently was rector of Hyde Park, New York, and Maurice Cowl, who has since joined the Roman Communion. The four of us formed rather a closely united set, meeting almost daily. Webb was wont to gather a number of men at his house on Saturday afternoon for a service of preparation for the Communion. We also got permission to use the chapel for Compline, in which we were sometimes, especially in Lent, joined by other men. It was the custom for the

four of us to come to my rooms after Compline, where we settled the affairs of the Church and planned its future reform! Those were delightful hours and I think that I got more help out of them than from any other one source at Berkeley.

There were, of course, many shades of churchmanship among the students, though I think there was no one who would now be counted a Modernist. The bulk were "Connecticut Churchmen," formed by Bishop Williams, as was natural. We who departed from the standard were regarded with suspicion. Nevertheless we were all friends; I look back on all my classmates as helping to make Berkeley a delightful place.

As the three years' course drew to a close the question arose, what was to become of me in the ministry? Bishop Williams made no sign. I fancy that I was not altogether in his good books: I never have succeeded in being attractive to bishops. I was offered a curacy in Buffalo at the salary of six hundred a year; and when I spoke to the Bishop about it, he advised my acceptance, saying that that was as good as he could do for me, which was equivalent to a dismissal from the diocese. I accordingly accepted, but a letter from my proposed rector revealed that he was a Broad Churchman, and I therefore withdrew my acceptance. I told the Bishop and showed him the letter I had received; he approved of my withdrawal, but offered nothing. A classmate, Brown, had taken the head-mastership of a school in Colorado, and asked me to join him; I accepted that, but as it was not open till fall, I, on the suggestion of a friend that Dr. Vibbert, who had been my rector in my boyhood and was now rector of S. James', Chicago, was in search of a curate, wrote to him and was offered the position at S. James' for the summer. I accordingly left after graduation for the West. My total impression of Berkeley was that it was no place to get an education, if one were to depend on the faculty for it, but that it was the best possible place if one depended on one's own efforts. As the time required for class preparation was almost negligible, one had all the time there was for study on one's own lines. I think I may say that I wasted very little time. I did not go at all into society and spent all my time in reading and study save the delightful and helpful hours that I spent with my student friends. I came out of the Seminary pretty well equipped intellectually for my work, but utterly unequipped otherwise. I had everything to learn in the way of pastoral work and preaching; that I got on as well as I did is a marvel.

I was ordered deacon by Bishop Williams on the second of June, 1886, in Holy Trinity Church, Middle-

town. The annual ordination at Berkeley was always held in the parish church, which was put at the disposal of the bishop for that purpose. I had for some time been in charge of the chapel altar, a charge which chiefly required that I look after the altar vessels—see that they were prepared and properly cleansed after the celebration, a charge of some importance as there were no ablutions. In pursuance of this charge I prepared the altar in the parish church at the ordination and as I bowed, as I was accustomed, in passing the altar, I aroused, as I afterward heard, criticism from some of the assembled clergy. "Was that the sort of religion that was being taught at Berkeley?" it was asked. I mention this trifling matter because it shows how far we have moved in a few years.

Of course, ceremonial had been one of the live subjects of discussion among the Berkeley students, who represented all sorts of churchmanship. It could hardly be said that there was any ceremonial about the chapel services. There were of course no vestments, and each priest celebrated very much as he chose; but of course none chose anything like Catholic ceremonial. Most of the professors said the Mass at the middle of the altar without moving from that position. The Bishop always began at the "north end" and gradually worked around to the middle. The few students who were considered "ritualists," of whom I was one, were so considered because we turned to the east in Gloria and Creed, revered the altar, and made the sign of the Cross. The last

piece of ceremonial was considered "going very far" and made us marked men. When ordination approached the much debated question was whether the ordinands were going to have cassocks, and whether any would have a white stole! I, of course, as an extreme man had both.

I wish I had a picture of a Berkeley procession on a day of ordination, as it moved through the grounds to the church. There was ceremonial, if you please! Surplices and cassocks, and surplices and legs (the latter predominating); black stoles and white. Once in my time we were astonished, even thrilled, by the appearance among the very varied head-covering of the procession of a biretta! That was a daring soul who first wore a biretta at Berkeley. I would that I might commemorate him by name. Bishop Williams, of course, always wore a magpie, but with reduced sleeves so that it was rather a graceful garment and became him. Out of chapel he wore an apron and gaiters, which were regarded as very English. A weird rumour went about that on some occasion in Scotland, he had worn a white stole; but no one dared ask him about it.

It fell to me to read the Gospel at the ordination, I fancy because I was the oldest member of the class. Curiously, I am unable to recall who preached the ordination sermon or what it was about. I preached my first sermon on the following Sunday at All Saints Chapel. It was Whitsunday. I think that the sermon contained a whole course of Catholic theology and that I have been drawing on it ever since. After a brief visit with Ernest Magill in Newport, I left for my new work in Chicago.



BISHOP SEABURY'S HOME IN NEW LONDON.

SOME REMINISCENCES OF

BISHOP WILLIAMS

FOURTH BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT

BORN AUGUST 30, 1817—DIED FEBRUARY 7, 1899

By CHARLES E. JACKSON

TOGETHER WITH SOME LETTERS FROM THE BISHOP FROM GREAT
BRITAIN, WRITTEN IN 1884, AT THE TIME OF
THE SEABURY CENTENNIAL

1915

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REMINISCENCES OF BISHOP WILLIAMS

It has always seemed unaccountable to me that so little has been written in record and remembrance of Bishop Williams. Having so many devoted friends and admirers, both among the clergy and laity, whose recollections must be taken from many standpoints, one wonders why so few have been recorded. He was so notable a personality, so great intellectually, officially so prominent, not only in his own diocese, but throughout the United States and abroad; so popular with all classes, and so universally recognized as one of our greatest men by the learned in all professions, how does it happen that some of those whom he educated and instructed with such rare wisdom, whom he guided and helped, have not with gratitude and eloquence paid fitting tribute to so great a character?

Sixteen years ago he died, but, aside from the tributes paid him at his death, and the worthy memorial sermons by Bishop Doane and Dr. Hart, no fitting words have received the story of his life, his work and achievements, his great influence on the development of the church, or told of his strength of character, his loving personality, his simplicity and dignity, or of the wisdom, tact and towering intellect that placed him so far above the average in the estimate of all.

Add to all this the reminiscences of his friends, his personal interest in families and individuals, his brilliant wit and wonderful memory, his skill as a "raconteur," his delightful conversational powers, his faithful friendship for young and old—here is a wealth of material that would furnish pages of interesting reading for the many lovers and admirers of so great a man. He was, as Bishop Doane so aptly characterizes him, "a spiritual Prince."

Many have asked me why I did not write my own recollections of Bishop Williams, because I was so intimately connected with him for very many years, but I have felt that my pen was utterly unworthy of so great a subject, and, if I venture now to do so, it is with the feeling that I cannot attempt to portray his character or his intellectual abilities, but recall only some of the light and ordinary details of a long and useful life. However, as I was from my youth honored with his confidence and affection, what I may have to tell will be largely personal, for which I must be pardoned, as it is all I have to offer. Yet some of it may be interesting as showing how supremely he was

loved and how closely he attached himself to his people. After his mother's death he was a lonely man with few near relatives, and therefore his affections were largely centered on those bound to him by no ties of blood, but, nevertheless, they were deep and sincere.

HIS IMPRESSIVE PREACHING.

Turning backwards many long years one recalls his frequent preaching in old Christ Church on Broad Street, Middletown, where his sermons were a delight to his hearers; always logical, clear as crystal, and in language that a child could comprehend. Later, in the new and present edifice—now Holy Trinity—he preached, but more infrequently, because of his increasing duties, not only as Bishop of Connecticut but as Presiding Bishop.

I well remember on one occasion when he seemed to be especially impressive and earnest as, in his bishop's robes, he stood towering majestically above his hearers, the idea of an archangel flashed through my mind. He was preaching one of his eloquent sermons, the text taken from his favorite St. Paul, and in conclusion, he exclaimed in tones of deep humility: "And yet I am ready to say with St. Paul, having done all these things I am a most miserable sinner."

Again, I recall his officiating at a funeral on Indian Hill Cemetery. It was a beautiful day, the sun setting in exquisite coloring in the west, and everything so quiet and peaceful that it seemed as if we were outside the busy world entirely. Bishop Williams had read the "committal" and then in tones almost exultant and full of belief and faith, raising himself to the full height of his magnificent manhood he pronounced the words, "I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me—write, 'From henceforth blessed are the dead who die in the Lord'—even so, saith the Spirit, for they rest from their labors."*

I shall never forget that occasion, nor the impression it made on me, for there was such a note of triumph in the tones of his voice, as if he were expressing his own entire belief in his own words, in the presence of God, and utterly unconscious of his surroundings. Never have I listened to a more wonder-

*Note.—The popular Captain West, an officer of one of the great steamship lines, told a Philadelphia friend of mine that during a voyage from England to this country, when he was bringing over the wonderful Swedish singer—Jenny Lind—for, I believe, her first concert tour, she expressed her earnest desire to behold a sunrise at sea. Accordingly, one cloudless morning he had her called at early dawn and she stood by his side on deck, silent and motionless, watching every change of shade and that until the first golden rays shot up from the horizon. As the sun itself leaped up from the waves, she burst into rapturous song, her deeply religious feeling finding expression in the noble music of Handel's "Messiah." No wonder that Captain West, when describing the scene, should have exclaimed: "No one will ever hear 'I Know That My Redeemer Liveth' sung as I heard it that morning."

ful service, nor heard those inspiring words uttered by mortal lips in such a striking and beautiful manner. Had there been present unbelievers, with hearts of stone, they must have been stirred by the comfort of the text so exquisitely rendered.

On another occasion, an Easter Sunday, a collection was planned to pay the parish floating debt. Bishop Williams was to preach, and before his sermon he simply stated the purpose of the collection, and it would please him very much personally if the congregation would contribute sufficient to free the parish from the last of its indebtedness. After the service the rector, or warden, received a note from a gentleman present, not a communicant, stating that if the collection was not sufficient he would personally send his check for any deficit, which he did, amounting to about \$1,500, remarking afterwards that the bishop wanted the debt paid and so he was glad to do it for his sake.

Some years ago when the Berkeley Divinity School needed funds, I told Bishop Williams I believed, from what had been told me, that Mr. S. would contribute if he asked him to do so. The bishop gave me a note of introduction and I was received cordially and stated the object of my call. He replied, "I am not a churchman, nor have I any connection with the Episcopal Church, though my wife was a communicant, but I know Bishop Williams and admire him, and anything he wants he ought to have. I will give him \$1,000 now, and if necessary you can come to me for more."

Another instance, the circumstances of which I am not at liberty to detail, when a very large sum of money was needed for a specific purpose, I asked the bishop to write to a generous friend, stating the case, but it took six month's persuasion on my part to get him to do it, although he constantly said that he would. Finally the letter was sent and the response was instantaneous and the check for \$30,000 received within a week.

Let it not be thought that Bishop Williams did these things frequently. On the contrary he seldom asked for money by personal appeal, and disliked to do so immensely. But when he did the result showed that it was looked upon as a privilege to do what such a man desired, because underneath it all lay silent and unexpressed deep love and personal affection that prompted instant response.

MR. SHEFFIELD'S GENEROUS AID.

Now that Mr. Joseph E. Sheffield of New Haven has long passed to his rest. I can speak of the absolutely confidential and affectionate relations between him and Bishop Williams. Mr. Shef-

necticut River shad and Barnum's circus at the same time every spring. The bishop's house was always a center, and its hospitality generous and abundant. During the days at home you would find him in his library working, writing or reading, and in the evening during his mother's life, and afterwards, sitting in a rocking chair in the southwest corner of the parlor smoking his cigar and reading or chatting.

When the first company of volunteers, in 1861, left for the seat of war I well remember it drawn up in front of the bishop's house to receive a flag made by the women of Middletown and presented in eloquent words by the bishop. He was loyal to the core to that flag and all through those weary years of strife his voice was heard for the Union.

LITTLE GIVEN TO "SOCIETY."

He never went much into society, though often a welcome and much desired guest at the dinner parties so frequent then in the town. But his devotion to his mother was so dutiful and so beautiful that he found his chief relaxation in her society. After her death Miss Tibbs, an elderly lady who had always lived in his family, kept house for him; later, when her health failed, his cousin, Mrs. Field, looked after his household until his death. I recall years ago a trustees' meeting at his house, interrupted by the luncheon hour, when we adjourned, to the dining room. The bishop, eating but little himself, entertained us by telling some dialect stories of the wittiest character, and in inimitable manner, so that our grave and reverend board was so convulsed with laughter, that we could scarcely eat. No professional actor could have excelled him in accent, pronunciation and gesture, and as one story followed another we enjoyed a treat rarely experienced.

Wherever he happened to be, whether in church, society or meeting of any sort, he was instantly accorded the first place, and was the center of attraction. There was absolutely no question as to his precedence, and it seemed to be taken for granted that it belonged to him; and I may add, not so much on account of his office as because of his acknowledged strength and superiority intellectually. Yet he never assumed this superiority by right of position, or his unusual gifts. In fact, his attitude of mind was humble and not assertive, and he was easy of approach by all. No artificial cloak of dignity was needed to remind one that he was a bishop, and a great man. He did not hedge himself about with any barriers of pride, or intolerance; yet I never saw a man who dared to take advantage of his friendship or simplicity of manner. I have

field regarded it as his peculiar privilege and happiness to aid largely in sustaining the work of Bishop Williams in establishing the Berkeley Divinity School and provide for its future endowment, as well as its then present needs. For many years Mr. Sheffield contributed over \$5,000 a year out of his private purse in lieu of New Haven & Northampton dividends, which had been suspended on stock which he had given the school, and his generosity relieved the good bishop of many anxious moments.

In reference to this I quote from a confidential letter from Mr. Sheffield to myself, written in 1881, in which he says:—

"The present investment is safe, and while I am able to sign a check the dividends will be regular; and I feel warranted in saying they will in time be much larger. This, again, private and confidential, and only for the good bishop and yourself. I cannot but realize his anxiety for the future income for Berkeley (indeed the present income); I cannot expect to relieve that anxiety, but, if I can lessen it, I feel that it is my bounden duty to do so."

Once Bishop Williams was dining with Mr. Sheffield at his New Haven residence and Mr. Sheffield, who sat opposite, remarked: "Bishop, how well you look. Who is your physician?" And the reply came, "He sits opposite me, sir." The bishop told me the color rose in Mr. Sheffield's face like a girl, so overcome was he at the deep feeling contained in the good bishop's words and the compliment so beautifully expressed.

EARLY DAYS IN MIDDLETOWN.

Turning back to life in Middletown in the 60's and later, one may remember frequently seeing Bishop Williams on the street and seldom alone. Sometimes amid a group of students or walking with two or three; sometimes with the clergy, of whom many were here—Dr. Goodwin, rector of the parish; Drs. Harwood, Coit, Fuller, de Koven, Davies, Gardiner, Townsend, Binney and others; sometimes stopping for a chat at the old rectory (standing on the present site of Holy Trinity Church) and often meeting his lifelong friends of the lay families—Alsop, Johnson, Casey, Jackson, Russell, Glover, Hackstaff, Hubbard, Pelton and many others. Always a smile, a pleasant word, and a handshake, and whether he met Jew or Gentile, Catholic or Protestant, all knew Bishop Williams and called him friend.

In the earlier days of the school, when the learned and genial Dr. Thomas W. Coit lived in Troy, he would come in the spring and autumn to lecture to the students, and it was remarked by some witty person that we could always expect Dr. Coit, Con-

met in traveling far and wide, in business and socially, many young and old who knew Bishop Williams, and the fact of our mutual acquaintance seemed at once to create a common bond that put me on a friendly basis that was unique. This experience covers, of course, the bishops of our church, and the clergy, as well as a justice of the supreme court of the United States, statesmen, professional and business men, down to the humblest of the land.

"JOHN WILL NEVER FORGIVE HIMSELF."

In 1894, before going abroad, I asked the bishop if he would give me some letters of introduction. Calling for them, he said he had concluded to give me one letter which, if presented to any English cleric, would insure me attention and civility, and especially in Scotland he was sure would give me the "entree" to anything, or any place I wished to visit. He instructed me when I visited Lambeth Palace to send the letter with my card to the archbishop's secretary, and, as he expressed it, "You will be shown everything any American layman ever sees, and probably some things they never see."

When I called I asked for the porter (as the bell was answered by a middle-aged woman) and was told he was not in the palace, I then gave her the letter and my card for delivery to the secretary, and when the woman returned she said the secretary had directed her to guide me through the palace. She then explained that she was the wife of the porter, who was absent on his two weeks' holiday, and added: "Are you from Bishop Williams of the United States?" And when I assented she said: "Ah, John will never forgive himself for being absent when any one from Bishop Williams comes here, or any friend of his." This she kept repeating as we journeyed through the palace, showing me every room and thing of interest she could think of, and finally we reached the Lollard's Tower, where she said Bishop Williams would come often to smoke his cigar, and where I think "John" sometimes accompanied him for a chat.

I parted from my faithful guide, leaving her still repeating her tearful regrets that John should be away when any friend of Bishop Williams called. Evidently when he went to England and Scotland in 1884 he had made devoted friends of the old porter and his wife. Such is an illustration of the character of Bishop Williams, who won the respect and love of the lowly, equally with the friendship of the great. The circular letter of introduction I have in my possession and shall always keep as a valued memento.

Returning home, I immediately called on Bishop Williams, finding him seated in the corner of his library reading and wearing the familiar purple dressing gown. He rose and came forward, putting a hand on each shoulder and kissing me on each cheek, saying, "Well, I'm glad to see you home again. I've felt like an old cat that had lost its kitten." Such a welcome, from such a man, I have always considered as one of the events of my life to be most proud of.

HIS VISIT TO GREAT BRITAIN IN 1884.

Perhaps no event of his life gave him more real enjoyment than his visit to Great Britain in 1884 to participate in the Seabury Centenary, and the account of this together with the services in Connecticut, were published in 1887. In acknowledging the presentation of the staff by the Bishop of Aberdeen, Bishop Williams said:—

"There are times and things concerning which words utterly fail, and must fail, to give utterance to the feelings of the heart, and this let me say, is one of those times—a day that I can never forget, a day for which, though most unworthy of what has been given me, I must always feel the devoutest thankfulness to Almighty God."

I would like to quote the whole page, for what he said is contained within that space. It breathes thankfulness, humility and happiness of spirit, and the prayer that the bond between the Scottish and American churches will be maintained in the years to come. It is all so characteristic of the man—simple, thankful and eloquent.

Some of his letters from abroad (copies of which I have through the kindness of the Misses Beach of West Hartford) are, of course, very interesting, with many little sparkles of humor, and often sentiment, when he encloses a leaf, a flower, or a bit of heather, with a little story accompanying it, of association with somebody or some thing.

Surely, the church made a wise choice in selecting Bishop Williams to represent it at the Seabury Centenary. Physically and intellectually he made a deep impression, and so noble a presence, so eloquent a preacher, and so well informed, a scholar was indeed a delegate of which America might well be proud.

But with all the honors and hospitality so abundantly showered upon him, it is evident through all his letters that he turned with almost homesick longing to his own people and his own home—counting the days before sailing and arriving in Middletown, much as a schoolboy might count the weeks and days before his home-coming.

THE POWER OF IMAGINATION.

So many of the stories and witticisms of Bishop Williams have been published that there is danger of repetition, but a few will not come amiss as showing the lighter side of his character. In his visitations he suffered many inconveniences and discomforts, though he never complained, and probably a strong, inherited constitution many times saved him from serious consequences. He would speak of the "spare room beds" with horror, and in getting in between sheets that were so damp and cold, on beds which perhaps had not been slept in since his last visitation, and, as he expressed it—"it was like getting in between cakes of ice."

When my father heard of this he gave the bishop two flannel gowns, which ever afterwards accompanied him when traveling, and which he said "saved his life." But it was not only cold that he experienced, but sometimes too much heat. Once in winter he was shown to his room, where a base-burning stove was glowing red hot, and a feather bed was the only mattress. Before retiring he tried to open a window, but they were not only nailed down, or fastened, or protected by double windows so no air could be admitted, but the crevices had cotton glued over them. He tried to sleep, but could not, and finally told his secretary to get up, take the hair brush and break a pane in the window. He did so, and presently there was a crash of breaking glass and the bishop said: "Ah, now I can breathe"—and calmly went to sleep. In the morning the only broken pane of glass visible was in the bookcase. Such is the power of imagination even on the greatest intellects!

COOKED HIS OWN VICTUALS.

Arriving late one afternoon in a village where he was to preach in the evening he found his hostess in a flutter for fear that in cooking the supper for the bishop and then getting ready for church she would miss part of the service. So the bishop told her simply to put things on the table and while she was dressing he would cook his eggs himself—which he did. Afterwards, in walking to the church with the rector, he listened to his hostess dilating to a cory of hers on the bishop's accomplishments—what a wonderful man he was, and ending up by saying, "And would you believe it, the critter cooked his own victuals." How few men would have shown such thoughtfulness and consideration and won the gratitude of this poor woman by helping her out of her dilemma in the way he did.



This portrait of Bishop Williams is one of about twenty taken in 1893, through the generous and thoughtful interposition of Miss Edith Kingsbury of Waterbury, who enlisted the aid of Mr. H. St. Gaudens to pose the Bishop. Miss Kingsbury gave a complete set of these photographs to the Berkeley Divinity School and they are now in the Williams Library. Posterity will be grateful to her for preserving so good a likeness of the great Bishop.

Another time he met a most inquisitive Yankee who pelted him with questions as to his business, occupation, etc., and finally after the bishop had evaded his inquiries for some time the man remarked, "You must be a kind of traveling agent," and the bishop brought the interview to a close "by allowing that he was."

WHEN HE WAS TIPPED.

Bishop Williams spent many summers at Lake George and knew every foot of the surrounding country, with all its points of historic interest. He would fish on the lake much of the time and during the day wear old clothes and a soft hat that must have somewhat transformed him. He was met on one occasion by a rather pretentious tourist with his family, who were inspecting one of the old forts, and was addressed as "My man, can you tell us?" etc. To which the bishop responded by guiding them about the place and made himself so useful and interesting in describing the historic points that his tourist friend thanked him and presented him with a half dollar, which the bishop pocketed with much enjoyment of the situation. Imagine the surprise and confusion of the prelate's benefactor, when seated at dinner at the hotel that evening, to see the dining room door opened, his "guide" appear in full clerical attire, accompanied by friends, and conducted with great respect by the head waiter to his table. If the earth had yawned at that moment our tourist friend would have welcomed that method of escape to conceal his deep embarrassment.

During the Civil War a friend of Bishop Williams laid to him: "You know a tax on bachelors is contemplated, and I have figured that, at your age, you will have to pay about \$250 a year." "Well," says the good old bishop with a twinkle in his eye, and as quick as a flash, "it's worth it."

HIS CORRESPONDENCE.

As I entered his library one day he was just in the act of tearing up a letter to drop in his waste basket; and seeing me, he said: "I want to read you a letter from Wilmer" and added, on seeing a look of doubt on my face of whom he was speaking, "Why, you know who I mean—the Bishop of Alabama." Then, proceeding, he explained before reading the letter that at a general convention some years previously the then Bishop of Fond du Lac (long since dead) had proposed a resolution that no candidate for holy orders should be allowed to use tobacco

during the three years they were studying. After it was debated and defeated Bishop Williams asked that all mention of the matter be expunged from the record, for the reason that, if known, it might be said that the church was not in favor of temperance. This was done. Then the bishop read me the letter, as follows, viz:—

By the way, what's become of Fond du Lac and his motion? It's evident he is not "fond du Bac." What did he propose as a "quid pro quo" or rather a "pro quo Quid?"

And so the letter ran on, witty and bright, and ended in the waste basket, where, in fact, all Bishop Williams's correspondence went, greatly to the loss of succeeding generations, no doubt. I may add that he explicitly directed his executors (Rev. John Townsend and myself) to destroy every letter, sermon, etc., that we might find among his effects, but for this injunction there was slight necessity, as he had effectively attended to it himself.

We have all heard of his witty "bon mots" about the Puritans, who "when they landed fell on their knees and then on the Aborigines," and that it was always a question "whether, when the Puritans landed on Plymouth Rock, it might not have been better if Plymouth Rock had landed on them." I am told of others who claimed the authorship, but it belongs to our Bishop Williams.

Bishop Williams was thin and spare, and for so large a man he seemed to eat very little. An English bishop, calling on him, asked why he did not adopt the English dress of his rank and order—knee breeches and silk stockings. "Because," answered Bishop Williams, "if I did I would be arrested." "And why," asked his friend with some astonishment. "For want of means of visible support," was the quick reply. And possibly the Englishman today, if living does not appreciate the witicism.

Showing the feeling towards the Episcopal Church after the Revolution, Bishop Williams used to say it was then looked upon as one large piece of baggage left behind by the British when they evacuated this country. The bishop told me that there was a little Jew tailor in Mobile whom Bishop Wilmer employed, and one day he said his son Jakey would not believe the stories in the Old Testament, and particularly that the whale ever could have swallowed Jonah. "What shall I tell him, bishop?" the father anxiously inquired. "Oh," said Bishop Wilmer promptly, "tell him Jonah was one of the minor prophets."

In all my many years of the closest relations with Bishop Williams, only once did I see him show the least indication of temper, and that was after he had nominated a man for rector

of a large parish, whom the vestry did not elect, but asked me to request the bishop to name some one else. I did so, and he turned to me with some severity and said: "Did I not nominate Rev. Mr.—— and the vestry refused to elect him?" To which I assented. "Very well," he said, "if the vestry does not approve of my nomination made at their request, I have no other name to suggest, and you may tell them that I said so." It was evident that he considered the action taken a reflection upon his own good judgement, after the careful consideration he must have given in making the nomination.



*my truly gr.
J. Williams.*

From a rare pen and ink sketch made by a Divinity Student.

The frankness of his disposition is illustrated by the following incident: Many years ago when the confirmation or election of a certain bishop by the requisite number of dioceses was in doubt, a very prominent layman, interested in the outcome, knowing, though a stranger, of my intimacy with Bishop Williams, wrote me a long letter explaining the circumstances and asked me to ascertain, without mentioning his name, what the prospects were. I confess I was puzzled to know what to do, because Bishop Williams must know that I had no connection with the matter, and I did not like to use my free access to him to obtain confidential information of this character or to disclose the name of my correspondent. So I just went to him and told him the facts, without, of course mentioning from whom my inquiry came, and said he must judge whether to give me the situation or not. He appreciated my dilemma, and with the utmost kindness told me that in his judgement the election would be confirmed, but that what he said must go no further than myself and my correspondent, and his name

must not be mentioned. Thus with simplicity and directness he solved the question that bothered me and satisfied those deeply interested.

Illustrating his affection for old methods, and his dislike of changes in his administration in his later years, at one time the addition of laymen to the standing committee was agitated in the convention. Afterwards in discussing it with the bishop I asked him to tell me frankly what he desired done, if anything. "Well," said he, "I'll tell you. Just leave things as they are until I am gone and then you can do as you think best."

"TIM'S" INTERRUPTION.

Many years ago we had a faithful old janitor named "Tim" at the Divinity School, who always implicitly did what he was told to do, without regard to circumstances or conditions. It happened that Miss Tibbs, who kept house for Bishop Williams wanted a glass of wine for her kitchen, and the bishop had the keys of the sideboard and he was out. Miss Tibbs had forgotten that he was holding service in the chapel, so she directed Tim to find the bishop and get the keys. Tim walked straight into the chapel where the epistle for the day had just been read and addressed the bishop with "Please bishop, Miss Tibbs wants the keys." Without a moment's hesitation the bishop replied, "You go and tell Miss Tibbs she cannot have the keys just now," and proceeded—"the Holy Gospel is written," etc. Thus with dignity and perfect self-possession did he dispose of an astounding interruption.

"BENJAMIN'S MESS."

As a presiding officer he was most efficient and clear. In some meeting, or convention, a man proposed some resolution so involved in its wording that its meaning was very doubtful. Bishop Williams, catching the idea, put it into words which gave its intent clearly and concisely. "Is that what you mean?" he asked, and received rather a stammering though grateful assent, to which the indignant bishop responded under his breath, "Why didn't you say so then?"

And it was also said that a like occurrence took place once in the House of Bishops, when some involved resolution was offered which the chair and house could not comprehend. Several bishops strove to elucidate it, and finally Bishop Benjamin Paddock arose and gave an explanation, asking Bishop Wil-

liams what he thought of it, and the chair instantly replied: "That Benjamin's mess was ten times greater than the others." No one knows better than the graduates of Berkeley how big a heart he had or how affectionately he looked upon them as part of his family. I remember one instance of a young man studying at Berkeley whose home was in the far North, and it was winter. He told the bishop that his mother was very ill, and he replied that he ought to go home and see her. The young man said he could not afford it and Bishop Williams immediately handed him sufficient for his journey. Next day the bishop found him still at the school and asked why he had not started. After some conversation he ascertained that the student had no warm overcoat. Then the bishop handed him a check to purchase one and sent him to his mother rejoicing. No doubt this is only an example of numberless instances where his fatherly love and thoughtfulness brightened the life of many a young man worried and perplexed by financial questions.

WHAT HE DID FOR BERKELEY.

As to what he did for Berkeley I quote from a paper read before the Church Club of Connecticut May 23, 1901, at a meeting commemorating the 200th anniversary for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts (pages 22-23) :—

"No history of Berkeley would be complete without personal reference to our great and lamented Bishop John Williams, and his connection with the school as founder, creator, sustainer, and of his loving care as teacher. No eloquence can do him justice, or portray the noble character of the man, and rare is the life and career which has commanded more truly the loving affection and true devotion of his friends, than was his happy and deserved good fortune; and yet, with all his great gifts, his humility of character was most striking. He gave to Berkeley all he had, freely. He never received one cent of compensation, but, on the contrary, said just before his death that he had contributed from his private purse, for over forty years, at least \$1,000 a year to its support and to aid the young men studying there, and at his death he left his property to help endow it. To say nothing of his incomparable teaching, guidance and influence, his money gifts must have amounted to \$75,000 at the very least. It is impossible to estimate in words, or imagination, the influence this great man has had through the length and breadth of the land, partly by reason of his work in the Berkeley Divinity School. Such a mind, such a personality, such a loving interest in the young men under his care, could not fail to reach far and wide, as they scattered through this great coun-

try; and everywhere one meets those who turn with the tenderest interest to their days at Berkeley, when Bishop Williams led, taught and inspired them to work for the church.

And in conclusion let me speak a word as to the future of Berkeley. I am sure that this school, established so solidly and so long, having achieved such great results, with such a successful past, is not now to become a nonentity and a failure, nor cease to add its share of workers to the church at large. It would be a reflection on the soundness of Bishop Williams' forty-five years of work to suppose that the usefulness of the institution ended with his life. Many feared such a fate would befall St. Paul's School of Concord, when Dr. Henry A. Coit died—one of the greatest teachers ever known—but today St. Paul's stands as a living successful example that men's work lives after them. So I believe it will be with the Berkeley Divinity School. The shock was a severe one, but it has been met and overcome, and it is the duty of the diocese to see that the great work of so grand and farsighted a man, should continue as one of the monuments of his life, his wisdom and his sagacity. He expected it to last, and made every effort to put it on a firm foundation, so that it should remain forever located as it is, which was his most ardent wish."

It gives me the most intense satisfaction and happiness to say that the expectations and hopes expressed above as to the future of the Berkeley Divinity School are being realized and that the foresight and wisdom of Bishop Williams have been justified. It has a strong faculty; it is fairly prosperous and doing a great and good work; its friends and alumni are standing by it, and it is contributing to the church a very large percentage of its most prominent and forceful leaders in the house of bishops and among the clergy.

Bishop Williams desired and planned that the Berkeley Divinity School should always remain in Middletown where he had located it. Years ago it was brought to his attention by the heirs of Edward S. Hall, who had given the original building (now called Jarvis building) to the trustees, that the intent of the donor was that the property should revert to him or his family if ever the school were removed, and that this condition had been omitted in the deed. Bishop Williams took steps to have this omission corrected by the trustees and after we had signed the necessary papers he turned to me with the remark: "That settles the future of the Divinity School. It will remain here." Other evidence of his earnest desire in this regard exists of record, and no doubt had great influence with the trustees a few years ago when the question of removal to New Haven was agitated.

In 1897, when Bishop Brewster was elected assistant bishop, the Rev. Henry M. Sherman, Rev. F. W. Harriman, Hon. F. J. Kingsbury and the writer were appointed a committee to convey to Bishop Williams official notice from the convention of its choice. All met at the bishop's residence and were ushered into his bedroom and delivered our message and then Dr. Harriman asked him to give us his blessing, and, kneeling at his bedside we received it. His voice was strong and unshaken and it was most solemn and touching in its tone, as if he was taking farewell of the diocese, his work and ministrations.

HIS CAPACITY FOR WORK.

We often listen to stories of the travels by buckboard and horseback of our western bishops and missionaries, and, while it is true they covered longer distances, it is also true that Bishop Williams in his visitations covered hundreds of miles in daylight and darkness, in storm and sunshine, by stage or carriage. Many old-time livermen throughout Connecticut could tell interesting tales of these long trips and how pleased and honored they were to have so distinguished a task as safely conveying the bishop to his destination in time for his appointment. This was before the days of many railroads, of Sunday trains, of trolleys and automobiles, and many parishes were far apart, and yet combined in one Sunday's visitation, morning, afternoon and evening in succession. It seems incredible now that such a duty was performed without great weariness and injury to health, but there was never a complaint from him, in spite of his growing years.

Though many years have passed since Bishop Williams's active days, the recollections of the man linger fondly and affectionately in the hearts and memories of those who knew him. Especially in the country parishes do the people like to talk of him and of the days of his visitations (which were always red letter days in their calendar) when he took them by the hand and called them each by name, and how the eye kindles and the voice trembles as they tell of their reminiscences, and how dearly they loved him and looked upon him, as indeed he was, a father of the church and of his people.

He had, undoubtedly, an unusually strong constitution, and his capacity for work both mental and physical was marvelous. He possessed a wonderful memory and the power of concentration of mind, and while he never hesitated for a word to express his meaning, he wasted none in utterance or writing. I have often watched him work at his desk and it was marvelous how

steadily he applied himself and how his pen ran on over the paper with hardly a stop. In short, he was a master of the English language and appreciated the gift in others.

His correspondence was large, in this country and abroad, and it will never be known how many turned to him for advice and counsel. He mentioned this once to me and said many came to him who ought to have gone to their own bishop for guidance and to whom he felt obliged to refer them. It shows his enduring influence on those he taught that they should turn to him in time of trouble and need.

Speaking of his young men in the Divinity School, he said he impressed on them this simple rule, viz.:—"First, have something to say; second, say it, and third, stop." Needless to say it is a rule that might embrace many other classes than the one devoted to sermon writing, and yet in modern education and composition it is a maxim rarely observed.

On one occasion I remarked that I would like to establish a chair of English literature and composition in the Divinity School had I the means, and he answered that the students were supposed to be proficient in those subjects before entering. To which I replied that it was true, but as a matter of fact few were, to which he assented fully. Would that some one in affectionate remembrance of the great founder of Berkeley, and interested in the work of the school and the efficient equipment of young men for the ministry, might be moved to endow such a professorship.

I think, perhaps, the first early communion service in Middletown was held in the room of the Jarvis building set aside as a chapel by Bishop Williams when he lived there. It was a long, narrow room, located directly over the front entrance, and there the services were held up to the time Mrs. Mutter built and gave St. Luke's Chapel to Berkeley. Well do I remember, some time in the 50's, before I was confirmed, I drove my two oldest sisters into town from Walnut Grove, where we were then living, to attend the early Easter service in this chapel, which, I think, was held at 6:30—the bishop himself officiating.

Christmas Day the bishop must have been very lonely after his mother's death, but he made a great deal of it, and the two following notes show how the Christmas season fully possessed him:—

December 26, 1888.

My Dear Mrs. G.—:

Let me thank you earnestly, for your beautiful holly branch. It joins Christmas cheer to the parlor, and Christmas thoughts to the soul.

The berry red, the blood outshed;

The leaves so green, the rainbow seen,

Like emeralds round the throne;

The joys unseen, except in hope,
Which in the far off future ope,
Then only fully known.

With all good Christmas wishes for you all.

Most truly yours,
J. Williams.

My Dear Mrs. G.—:

Many thanks for the beautiful holly which makes my only Christmas green this year. But it is quite enough, for nothing else belongs to Christmas as it does.

I send you on the opposite page, a "Song of the Holly," which I did not write myself, though I wish I had.

With best wishes of the season for the household, I am,
Very truly yours,
J. Williams.

December 29, 1890.

THE SONG OF THE HOLLY.

The holly oh, the holly!
Green leaf and berry red,
Is the plant that thrives in winter
When all the rest are dead;
When snows are on the ground,
And the skies are grey and drear,
The holly comes at Christmas-tide,
And brings the Christmas cheer,

Sing the Mistletoe, the Ivy,
And the Holly-bush, so gay,
That come to us in winter,
No summer friends are they!

Give me the sturdy friendship
That will ever loyal hold.

And give me the hardy Holly
That dares the winters cold;
Oh, the roses bloom in June,
When the skies are bright and clear,
But the Holly comes at Christmas-tide,
The best time o' the year.

Sing the Holly and the Ivy,
And the Merry Mistletoe,
Which comes to us in winter,
When the fields are white with snow.

THE SIMPLICITY OF HIS CHARACTER.

The simplicity of his character needs no better illustration than is contained in his "Directions for My Executors," which I quote in part, dated in 1886:—

No. 1.—I wish my burial to be as inexpensive and simple as may be; a plain pine coffin; no flowers; my body not to be arrayed in Episcopal or other robes, but in a shroud of linen; as few carriages as possible; no outer shell to coffin.

No. 2.—The Burial Service simply to be read by one person, to be designated by the president of the standing committee of the diocese; without any address or sermon: this I distinctly forbid: and with no additions to the Prayer Book service except a hymn after the Lesson, and the hymn to be "Rock of Ages" as it stood in the prayer book in years gone by.

No. 3.—I direct my grave stones to be in form, size and material, the same as those at the grave of my mother. On the headstone nothing to be placed but my name, John Williams, and the date of my death; on the footstone my initials—J. W.

All his property he left to the Berkeley Divinity School, giving, however, the right to several of the bishops and clergy, and certain relatives and lay friends, including his executors, to select from his effects such memorials as they might choose—"an act of gracious thoughtfulness," as Bishop Doane puts it, which made us feel honored and happy that we were so affectionately remembered by so great and good a man.

I cannot close this article better than by quoting from Bishop Doane's eloquent and loving tribute to Bishop Williams, contained in his Connecticut convention sermon in 1899:—

And now I turn from the personal associations which live in his delightful letters, and in the deep places of my memory, to speak to you about his gifts. I cannot but think that there is some strong and subtle connection between the outer and inner man: that sometimes, at least, the mould in which Almighty God casts a piece of Himself, has in it an indication of what man is meant to be, and to do.

This, is quite beside what everybody knows, that there is a faint parable here of what the spiritual man is to be when the soul shall clothe itself with its own body to suit its own capacities, for their untrammelled expression in the day of regeneration. There is a strong suggestion of this in the way in which in almost all men, the spiritual nature fashions and illumines, the outer man, until it speaks its strong emotions in the transfigured face.

And no one could see the gift of natural manhood of Bishop Williams without the sense of dignity, and power and will, and intellect, that were stamped upon it. He was a spiritual prince, from the great dome of his head in every lineament of his face, his keen eye, his firm lips, his strong chin, his over-arching brow, his finely moulded nose, his commanding presence, his firm tread.

He was a man men turned to look at, and stayed to look up to, not for his height in inches, but for the exaltation of his bearing.

The exquisite tribute of Bishop Doane to our great Bishop Williams leaves but little for the pen of a layman, but it is hard to resist the utterances of the heart on such a theme, even though it may savor of repetition.

Of all men I ever knew, he possessed most fully that divine gift of charity. Nothing except deliberate wrong, personal, corporate or political, moved him to sarcastic or strong denunciation. Considerate and patient of all, he was an embodiment of truth and equity. In parish disputes brought to him for adjudication he listened to clergy and laity, and counseled both

fairly. He was so great that no prejudice blinded him, and he stood, as it were, upon a mountain height, towering head and shoulders above his surroundings, and settling the troubles of his people with courage, and justice to all. Sometimes I fear we did not appreciate him in this respect as we ought to have done.

HIS BURIAL.

As the long line of clergy followed him to his burial I could not but notice how large a majority had listened to his teachings and been subject to his fatherly training and interest. And through them let us hope that the impress of his great mind and character may pass to future generations.

No greater memorial could he leave than the work that he has accomplished in training men for the ministry. Those who have been under him will appreciate this, and not only was he their teacher but their friend and counsellor, without whom many would have turned aside to other vocations. No one will ever know his benefactions, for like the dew from heaven, they came silently and passed into oblivion when the night of trouble ended.

At his bier stood Roman Catholics and all Protestant creeds—mourning alike the irreparable loss. The bells of other churches tolled his requiem in union with ours, and both in life and death all men loved and honored him.

One marked evidence of a great mind was his, and that was his attention to detail. To the very last he retained this, and seemed loth to surrender to others the duties he had so long performed. His memory was marvelous, and the tenderness of his heart and consideration for others abounded in his sick chamber as strongly as when in health. Only a few weeks before his death he dictated and signed a note of encouragement and sympathy to a little boy who for many weeks had been critically ill. He took a strong interest in public affairs, and not long before his death, and with impressive utterance, he said to me: "From the time we enter on foreign conquest, and depart from the traditions of our fathers, from that date you may mark the downfall of the republic."

He was indeed a great man, endowed with splendid gifts of heart and intellect, a wise counsellor, a just judge, who as a churchman was preeminent, but who as a statesman, jurist, or in any other profession or walk of life would have been a leader and master. Simple, humble-minded, straightforward, strong—what an example for us all.—

Some of Bishop Williams' Letters written from England and Scotland in the Summer of 1884, from July to October, to Miss Eliza Tibbs, and Mrs. R. W. Field, Rev. Dr. Thomas W. Cost, Rev. Dr. Francis T. Russell and Rev. John Townsend. Copies given me by Miss Edith Beach, Vine Hill, West Hartford, Connecticut.

Post-card from Chester, August 1, 1884.

We came here last Tuesday (29th) and have rested here since. The Dean has been very kind and showed us every attention.

We go to London to-day, and I will write at length from there. All well and enjoying the really pleasant weather.

To-day is like a Summer day at home.

Love to all.

J. W.

To Miss Tibbs,

London, August 3, 1884.

I wrote a postal from Chester which I hope you got. And now for the story. We found Liverpool wet, dirty, cold, and as usual uncomfortable. So on Tuesday, July 29th, we went to Chester. Here we found the Dean (Howson) at home, and had a cordial welcome. We went to service in the Cathedral, and walked round the walls of this queer old town. On Wednesday we breakfasted at the Deanery, and an English breakfast gathering is the pleasantest of all gatherings, and then the Dean took us over the Cathedral. It is small, and not very imposing, but greatly improved from what it was in 1840. Its restoration is the Dean's great hobby. We also drove out to Eaton Hall, the Duke of Westminster's seat, and saw the magnificent gardens covering sixty-four acres, with enormous conservatories, etc. But there is little that is interesting in these modern splendors.

In the afternoon we went to a garden-party in the Dean's gardens where the ground was soggy and damp. A garden-party in England involves a strong exercise of faith, for if it does not rain the ground is still damp, and one generally gets both. I saw here a daughter of Archbishop Longley and two delightful old Churchwomen, the Misses Wilbraham—great friends of Keble and Miss Yonge.

Their father, Sir Richard Wilbraham, was in Canada years ago, and they were great friends with Bishop Mountain and his family.

On Thursday these good old ladies took us to see the "Blue Post Inn." The story written by one of them which I send, will tell you why it is so interesting. Please keep it carefully. The room we saw is just as it was in the days of "Bloody Mary." It was like reading a story of Miss Yonge to talk to these sisters.

On Friday we came to London making the 178 miles in about five hours and seeing a good deal of the garden like scenery as we went along. We travelled second class and found it perfectly comfortable. There is a story here that some one asked a peer of the nation why he travelled

third class and got for his answer "because there is no fourth class." It was not so late but what we went to see "Westminster Hall" with its wonderful roof.

On Saturday we went into "the City" to see Mr. Morgan—whom we did not find—and attend to some other matters of business.

In the afternoon going to the Abbey we did not find, the Dean who was out of town. But we did find, that the canon in residence was Dr. Westcott. Mr. Townsend will tell you what this means. He went round with us showed us what very few people now see—the hideous old wax work, and other things. It was touching to see the flowers on Stanley's tomb and Longfellow's bust.

There is a beautiful altar-tomb, with a recumbent figure, for Stanley. I found a *cat* sitting on a bench under Andre's tomb, very much at home and making herself comfortable. In the evening Nichols and I went to see Madam Tussaud's wax works!

You can easily follow us in Hare's Walks in London. We are unlucky as far as people are concerned in the time we are here; but luck in all else. We have a nice sitting room and bedrooms and are very comfortable. Please let this letter be *circulated* to all friends.

With love to all,
Affectionately.

J. W.

I am getting plenty of photographs. The enclosed Ivy is from Chester Cathedral; the dandelion from King Charles' Tower.

To Miss Tibbs,

London, August 5, 1884.

After I closed my letter on Sunday, we went to St. Paul's and heard Liddon.

Three or four thousand people were under the dome but we had seats in the choir, and heard him perfectly. It was a very eloquent and able sermon; delivered with no gestures.

Monday being Bank Holiday we did little or nothing except that we went out to dine with Mr. Morgan at his country place, a charming spot, where I saw Mr. Duncan formerly of Canandaigua.

Yesterday we went over the Tower and St. Paul's Church; the things I wanted to see were the Traitor's Gate; the Bloody Tower where the princes were murdered, and where Laud was confined. I put my hand out of the window from which he blessed Lord Strafford (the picture is in my study)! Beauchamp Tower where so many prisoners were confined, and where so many names are carved; the old Chapel of St. John—a beautiful specimen of Norman, now lighted with electric lights (!) and used for a Presbyterian service; St. Peter's Chapel where Anne Boleyn and Katherine Howard lie side by side. We saw also the crown jewels and the armory.

In the evening we were taken by one of the M. P's. to the House of Commons and heard Mr. Gladstone and many others speak. To-day

Nichols and I are to dine with Willie Purdy; to-morrow we go to Seven-Oaks, Kent, to spend the night at the White's; Friday to Addington Park to lunch with the Archbishop, and so it goes. I hope we shall have done London early next week and get off for the country. We are all well, but fairly tired out at night. Letters from Scotland show us that we shall need all our strength there.

Give much love to all friends. I must make my letters circulars for I cannot write more than one for each steamer. I hope you will get away for part of August.

Aff. yrs.

J. W.

Not a drop of rain since we came to London!

To Miss Tibbs,

London, August 9, 1884.

We are having terribly hot weather in London, but we all stand it very well. Sight seeing has gone on in spite of it, and we are nearly through here.

On Thursday, we went down to Combe Bank, Kent, where Mr. White lives, and spent the night. It is a charming place, and a breath of fresh country air was very pleasant. Friday, I went down to Addington Park, lunched and spent a good part of the day with the Archbishop. He is a very simple, straight-forward and sensible man. We sat, or rather lay, on the ground under the great cedars of Lebanon in the park, and had a long-long talk over Church matters here and at home. I liked him because we fully agreed in our notions.

To-day we go out to Lambeth and also to see St. Paul's school under the guidance of Mr. Lupton.

I hope we may get off by Wednesday for Canterbury and so work round to Oxford and Cambridge. Everybody is more than kind. I hope we may get off by Wednesday.

Will you thank Dr. Coit and Townsend for their letters. I do not write to Mr. T. by this steamer because I suppose he is away.

But I enclose an order for registered letters which I hope you will give him. I will write to Dr. Coit soon. My love to all. I leave it to you to report progress.

Aff'ty. yours,

J. W.

To Mrs. Field.

Salisbury (Should be no doubt Chichester) August 17, 1884.

Your letter reached me at Canterbury yesterday and was a great relief. From the peculiar wording of Mr. Townsend's letter I was perfectly certain Miss Tibbs was ill, and had felt very anxious. I hope she will be very careful, and avoid fatigue. That is the great trouble.

I have written three letters to her which with my letter to Mr. T. will carry you down to the end, or nearly so, of our stay in London. We

left London on Thursday after a regular heated term, and went to Canterbury. Here we saw the Cathedral, the finest on many accounts in England. St. Martin's Church, the oldest Church in England, dating from A. D. 250, and drove out to Bishopsbourne, where Richard Hooker died. Tell Dr. Coit with my love that I stood in the pulpit from which Hooker preached, and laid my hand on the altar at which he consecrated the eucharist.

I found here Archdeacon Harrison, whom I knew in 1840; we lunched with him, and had a delightful visit. The Dean who had asked me to come for a Sunday and preach, was away. Spending Friday at Canterbury we came on Saturday across country here. This A. M. we have been at the Cathedral, and after evening service are to go to the Deanery for the evening. Dear old Burgon is the Dean here, and we are to meet the Bishop. The Inn here is a real old English one; one of the few left.

It carries me back to the old times when I was here. England is much changed, and not, I fear, for the better. The people do not look as they used to, and are careworn and discontented.

To-morrow we go to Winchester, and from there to Salisbury, where I hope to find the Bishop. We are fairly overwhelmed with kindness. Give my love to Miss T. and all friends.

To-day fills one month since I left M. In a little more than two I hope to be at home again. Give me America to live in.

Yr. Aff. cousin,

J. W.

Do write often.

To Miss Tibbs,

Wells, August 21, 1884.

I was sorry and glad both at reading Rebecca's letter; sorry to hear you had been ill and glad to know you were better. I hope by this time you are quite well and beg you to be very careful.

My letter to Rebecca brought us up to last Sunday noon. After that we went to the Cathedral at Chichester for evening service, and then spent all the rest of the day and evening at the Dean's (Burgon's) and with the Bishop who was at home and gave us a very hearty welcome. He showed us the palace and its gardens and several people came to see us.

On Monday (18th) we breakfasted with Canon Audry, a thoroughly nice fellow, and afterwards he went over the Cathedral with us, and took us to see St. Mary's hospital, a sort of home for poor old women. It is a most curious place, like a church with a nave and chancel thus,



The square places marked off in the nave are rooms, each with a fireplace and bedroom for eight old people, and the chancel is a chapel where they have prayers.

Leaving Chichester at 11 A. M. we went to Winchester where we were at evening service, and then went round the Cathedral. It is 500 feet long, and a magnificent building. We then went out to St. Cross hospital where seventeen poor men and their wives live in snug little houses round a quadrangle.

The old men wear a long black gown with a silver cross on the breast. It dates from the days of King Stephen.

Tuesday 19th. We went to Salisbury, and I went to see the Bishop who is very old and infirm, but very bright. He is Dr. Moberly, and I was very glad to see him.

The Cathedral is to my mind one of the most charming in England. Wednesday—the 20th—In the forenoon Nichols and I drove out to Stonehenge over Salisbury plain, and then to Bemerton to see George Herbert's Church and rectory. The rector was very kind and showed us the house and garden. In the latter is an apple tree planted by George Herbert himself. I enclose five leaves from it. Keep three and give Rebecca one, and Townsend one. The rector's wife is cousin to the Scotch Princes. In the afternoon at his request I took over the clergy to see the good old Bishop; and we were shown the palace and grounds. I have seen nothing more beautiful anywhere.

Thursday—21st. To-day we came to Glastonbury where we saw the ruins of the famous old Abbey, and then came on to Wells. The Bishop is away and I could only leave a card for him. His home is still surrounded by a moat full of water, and entered by a draw-bridge under a portcullis.

To-morrow we go to Bristol, Gloucester and Worcester; and hope on Saturday to go by Stratford on Avon and Warwick to Oxford where we shall stay a few days.

Marvellous weather! Twenty-three days perfectly clear, and with only two showers.

Love to all friends. Take good care of yourself.

Affec. yrs.,

J. W.

All are and have been perfectly well.

To Dr. T. W. Coit,

Oxford, August 24, 1884.

From this old seat of orthodoxy, which I fear is to be—if it is not, a home of unbelief, I send you a word of acknowledgement of your letter. We have now been in England twenty-seven days and in twenty-six of those we have not had a drop of rain, and it has been about as warm as we get it in America. One day in London the thermometer marked ninety-two in the shade.

They have had no such season in many years. The nights, however, are very cool and refreshing.

We have made good use of our time; have seen eleven Cathedrals, counting in Westminster Abbey; and many places of interest, especially

Bishopburne where Hooker died, and Bemerton where George Herbert lived and died. Curiously enough I found the same Rector at Bemerton who was there in 1840. He showed us an apple tree in the garden which Herbert planted, and which renews itself by fresh shoots of its own putting out as the old ones die down. It is a lovely spot, the ideal of a country parsonage.

I have seen the Archbishop at Addington at lunch, and spent several hours with him. He is a very frank, simple and kindly man, and while he sees all the difficulties ahead, is full of heart and courage. He said, when people croak about the future of the Church, I tell them to look at the glass in the windows of Lambeth Chapel. Originally it was copied from the pictures in the Biblia Pauperum. The Protector Somerset smashed it. Laud replaced it, copying the old glass. The Puritans smashed that. It has been renewed again, and if somebody smashes that, somebody else will renew it. That is all there is about the Church. Winchester I missed, but he writes me that he will be in Scotland and urges me to go home with him, which I cannot do. I have also seen Litchfield, Chichester and Salisbury. The latter is, I am sorry to say, very infirm and broken up.

It would cover too much paper to tell you of all the people we have seen. I am sorry to miss Foulkes here, but he is off on his vacation.

We intend to be here for a few days, and then we go to Cambridge and so by the eastern coast to Edinburgh, where I am due for the first Sunday in September. I did not take any license, or whatever it is, for England, and therefore have had an entire rest. But it will be more than overbalanced, I fancy, in Scotland.

Hoping that this will find you well, as also all the rest, and with kind regards to C., the professors, students, and all friends, I am,
Aff'y. y'rs.,
J. W.

Went to St. Mart's this morning. No University sermon now in vacation! No service as of old in vacation in the Chapels! Secularization is the order of the day.

To Miss Tibbs,

Edinboro', September 6, 1884.

We reached here Thursday P. M. (this is Saturday) and are comfortably settled in good lodgings near the Bishop's. He insisted on our all of us coming to him but I flatly refused, and so we are much better off. The house is very clean, the rooms very pleasant, and the table very good. We have a parlor where we have our meals by ourselves, bedrooms and bath room, and we pay for this about two dollars a day apiece. This is certainly cheap living. Our good weather holds, and we have had only two rainy days since I wrote from Wells. Our last point in England was Durham, and I enclose a little photograph of the Cathedral and will bring a larger one.

Edinburgh has changed a good deal since I last saw it, but it is still the same univalled city. If only it was not so smoky there would be nothing like it, and the people in the streets look bright and intelligent. They look more like those one sees at home.

Yesterday we lunched with the Bishop, and I am to preach for him to-morrow morning. How long we shall stay here I do not know, but I think about two weeks. By that time the rush of tourists will be over and the roads open.

I trust this will find you well. We are all as well as well can be. Love to all friends.

Aff'y. y'rs.,

J. Williams.

To Rev. Dr. Francis T. Russell,

Edinboro, September 6, 1884.

I promised the "Daisies" to bring back, or send back, some memorial of Margaret of Scotland.

I am hoping to go to Dunfmline, but am not quite sure of it. And, at any rate, they have or had such an extraordinary way of moving about the mortal remains of saints, that one never feels quite sure of anything in regard to them.

Edinboro Castle is, however, most intimately connected with the memory of Queen Margaret. She often lived in it and in a tower of it long since destroyed. She died on the 10th of June 1093, immediately on receiving the news of the dreadful murder—for it was a base murder—of her husband and one of her sons. Nothing, however, connected with her domestic life in the castle now remains.

But on the very summit of the rock on which the castle stands, and within the citadel, she built a little oratory, or chapel, 25 feet long by 10 wide. This still remains entire, just as she left it, except that stained glass has been lately placed in its four little windows. It was used, I am sorry to say, for a powder magazine and a store for many years; but is now cleaned out, and though not used for its proper purposes, is, still, no longer so shamefully desecrated.

It is a Norman building, which, small as it is, has still a semi-circular chancel and a nave.

These are separated by a Norman archway, which as well as the entrance door has zig-zag mouldings around it.

This arch is given in the enclosed photograph, the only one I could get, for there is none of the outside of the Chapel.

The East window of the little chancel, which you see, has three compartments: (1) St. Margaret founding the Chapel, (2) her ministrations to the poor; (3) her death.

The other side window which you see, has a full length of the queen. In the nave, on the same side, are two windows in one of which is her husband—Malcom Cameron, and in the other, her son, David, founder of

Holyrood and other Abbeys, of whom King James said—"He was a sair saint for the craun".

The Chapel was repaired, and the glass put in in 1853.

We have been wonderfully favored all along. I expect to be called a humbug to the end of my days for not having one moment of seasickness; and the weather has been charming.

We are here for several days, and then hope to get a tour in the Highlands before we go to Aberdeen.

And then, I shall say "Westward Ho!" The best day of the journey will be that in which I see my diocese again.

Give much love to Mary and the household, and especially to them at Mr. Kingsbury's. Tell Edith her gift never leaves me, and doesn't end in smoke either.

Ever aff' y'rs.,

J. Williams.

To Miss Tibbs,

Edinburgh, September 14, 1884.

We are still here and shall be till the morning of the 18th when we hope to be off for the Highlands.

It has been very pleasant here, and the good people have been most hospitable and kind. Indeed nothing could exceed their kindness.

Yesterday we went with Bishop Doane and his wife, and Mr. and Mrs. Eliot to Melrose, Abbotsford, and Dryburgh.

We left Edinboro enveloped in a dense fog, but at Melrose it was clear and bright like one of our own best bright Autumnal days.

There has been great improvement in keeping up the grounds at each of the Abbeys since I saw them, and they are in a less ruinous state. But the beauty of ruin and surroundings is unchanged. I enclose a little blue flower from Sir Walter Scott's grave, or as near it as anything grows; and a little heather which lay beside my plate at a dinner party the other evening. I saw there a canteen belonging to "Prince Charlie."

I am preaching twice to-day, and preached once last Sunday. But have had on the whole a good rest. The weather here is abominable; but it is clear I am told, outside "Auld Reekie." I will write again next Saturday from the Highlands. If Rebecca is with you, thank her for her letter, and Townsend for his. Much love to all.

Aff' y'rs.,

J. W.

To Miss Tibbs,

Oban—In the Highlands.

September 21, 1884.—

We are high up here in the land of mist, which mist to-day is what the Scotch call "an even downpour." But we have had three delicious days since we left Edinboro' on Thursday 18th, I will write you about two of them, and Dr. Coit about the third.

From Edinboro we went by rail to the foot of Loch Lomond and then took steamer for Inversnaid. It was a glorious day and the mountains were superb. From Inversnaid we went by coach to Loch Lomond, and thence by steamer again to Trosachs.

When I went before it was by a boat rowed by Highlanders. The steamer went quicker but the boat was better. However, Ben-Venue and Ben-Aun, were at their best and we walked up a mile thro' the Tro-sachs to the Hotel. Our party had swelled to eight. Bishop Doane and his wife and two young graduates of Trinity being with us.

You will find what we saw, on Loch Katrine described as no where else in the beginning of the Lady of the Lake.

On Friday—29th, we came by coach to Callendar, and thence by a new railway route thro' some of the finest scenery of the Highlands to Oban. There is no describing it! We stopped off over a train at Loch-Ane and went down that lake and back; seeing on the banks among other things "Inversane" which once belonged to the Duncan Campbell of Dean Stanley's Ghost story. After leaving Loch Ane we went thro' the pass of Bronder, the wildest Highland Glen I ever saw, and reached here all well at six P. M.

Yesterday we went to Iona of which I will write to Dr. Coit, and I saw Staffa, and sailed all around the Isle of Mull seeing on all hands the scenery of the Lord of the Isles. It was a day of cloud and sunshine, just what one wanted for the best effects on mountains and on water.

To-morrow we hope to start on our way up the Caledonia Canal making a three days journey of it to Inverness, and reaching there on Wednesday night. I will write from there to some one.

Will you thank Dr. C. and Mrs. T. for their letters tho' I can thank the Dr. myself. My love to Rebecca, if she is, as I hope in Middletown, and to all friends.

Aff' y'rs.,

J. Williams.

To Dr. T. W. Coit,

Oban in the Highlands, September 21, 1884.

I got your letter yesterday, and thank you for it. Miss Tibbs will tell you how we got here from Edinburgh which we left on Thursday—the 18th. But I am going to write you in detail of our visit yesterday to Iona.

Leaving here at eight A. M. and coasting along the southern shore of Mull, we sighted the venerable cathedral about eleven, and were soon on shore, not without a thrill at the thought that we have really set foot on what Dr. Johnson so soundingly discoursed about.

Two things rather bring one down on landing—First you see two paltry looking buildings and are told that one is the "Kirk", and the other the "Free Church"; rather a liberal allowance of Presbyterianism to 240 souls,

big and little, the entire population of the Island. Secondly, you are beset with a host of little ragged children—whose appearance indicates the poverty of the people, selling or trying to sell, shells and the “green stones” of Iona. The popular superstition is that who ever carries one of those will never be drowned or burned.

The first place visited is the old nunnery—built long, long after Saint Columba’s days, of which little or nothing remains, and then one enters on the “street of the dead,” so called because along it were carried the corpses of the forty Scottish Kings—as well as others, brought here for burial in the Holy Isle.

Passing along, we soon reached an old Runic Cross, some ten feet high, called McLean’s Cross. It was here that according to the legend St. Columba sat when he was dying, and the old white horse laid his head on his master’s shoulder and wept. There were once 360 of these beautiful crosses in the Island.

The Presbytery of Argyle ordered forty of them to be flung into the sea! And all that now remain are this one, and St. Martin’s Cross in the Cathedral yard. Not far from McLean’s Cross, the McLeans—the “Lords of the Isles,” were buried. Some of their tombstones remain.

Passing on we reach St. Orian’s Chapel, built by Margaret Queen of Scotland, who died in 903. This is the oldest ruin on the island. It is very small—40 x 20. Near it is the “Reilig Oran,” the Burial ground of St. Oran, and here lie Kings, princes, nobles and ecclesiastics.

Then we reach the Cathedral far later than Columba or Oran. The original burial place of Columba is known and was at the west door of the Cathedral, like most of the mortal remains of the saints his own were carried about from place to place, and if they are anywhere together it is in Ireland.

The Cathedral is a ruin, thanks to John Knox and his crew. His “godly followers and others of ‘that ilk,’ tore it down and dug the silver and brass out of monuments. The “godly” always had a shrewd eye to the main chance.

Half the houses on the island are built of the stones of the Cathedral and the nunnery.

We stood by the high altar, or rather where it once stood, and said the Nicene Creed. The Duke of Argyle, who owns the island—was not there to object. It was a comfort to remember that Columba said the same; no less and no more.

Then we climbed the “Tor Abb” the knoll from which Columba uttered his famous prophecy: “Unto this place, albeit so small and poor, great homage shall yet be paid, not only by the kings and people of the Scots, but by the rulers of barbarous and distant nations, with their people also. In great veneration, too, shall it be held by the holy men of other Churches”.

Our time was up, and we turned unwillingly away, feeling that we had seen what to us almost stands next to Jerusalem itself. It had been a dream of my life to see Iona. I thank God that I have seen it.

Old Johnson was right, a man ought to be a better man after treading the soil of Iona.

We are wending our way now to Inverness, where D. V. I am to preach on the 28th. I am enough of a Jacobite to try to see on the way the old Highland Congregation at Ballachulish which has stuck to the Church from 1688, and the place where “Prince Charlie” set up his standard in 1745.

All are well. Bishop and Mrs. Doane are with us and all send greetings to you.

Mine to C.,

Ever aff’y y’rs.,
J. W.

To Miss Tibbs,

Dundee, October 2, 1884.

My letters to Dr. Coit and John Townsend, which they have read to you, bring me to Inverness, which I reached on Wednesday evening, Sept. 24th.

The next day Mr. Nichols and I went to Eden Court where the Primus lives, a beautiful house near the Cathedral. I found him bright and cheerful, but with the loss of all use of right leg and arm. I went on Thursday to Culloiden Moor and saw the last battlefield of Prince Charlie. Then we stopped at Culloiden House and saw the bed in which the Prince slept the night before the battle, his walking stick and various other things. Bishop and Mrs. Doane were with me, and Mr. and Mrs. Forbes who now own the large and beautiful house were very kind and asked us to luncheon, for which we could not stay.

We saw a good many of the people who were cordial at Inverness. I preached in the Cathedral and, tell Dr. Coit, administered by the Scottish Communion office, on Sunday, and preached at a Church in Inverness in the evening.

On Monday 29th, after a delightful visit, we left and went to Elgin to see the ruins of the Cathedral which are very fine, and then went on to Aberdeen.

There I saw the Bishop and some of the Clergy, and then we went by rail to Ballater, and from thence drove to Braemar, passing Aberfeldie the Prince of Wales’ shooting box, and Balmoral with the royal standard flying from one of its towers. We had a good view of each.

The scenery was fine, but it was dreadfully cold.

To-day we left Braemar and drove thro the wildest and most magnificent scenery—except Glencoe—that I have seen, to Blair—Gowrie and thence came by rail here.

To-morrow we go to Arbroath—St. Ruth’s Priory of the Antiquary and to St. Andrews—the next to Glamis Castle and back to Aberdeen.

There we shall stay till we set our faces towards home, which I shall be too glad to do.

Aff’y y’rs.,
J. W.

The heather is from Culloiden Moor, and the leaf from Culloiden House. All are perfectly well. I will send a daily paper from Aberdeen.

To Rev. John Townsend,

Eden Court, Inverness, September 26, 1884.

As you will see by the date I have reached my northernmost point. Bishop and Mrs. Doane met us in Edinburgh, and with them and two young Trinity graduates we set off for a Highland tour.

I wrote to Miss Tibbs an account of that till we reached Oban, and to Dr. Coit of our visit to Iona. So I will leave that to him to tell you, and go on to something else which delighted me very much, a visit to Ballachulish (pronounced Balla heo-lish).

This, as you know, perhaps, was the only place in all the Western Highlands where the people remained as a body, Churchmen! Here they did, and I determined before I left to go and see place and people.

Our way (on Mon. Sept. 22) lay through Loch Etive and Glencoe. It was a day of heavy showers and bursts of sunlight, stormy sunshine, and the very day for Glencoe with its savage natural features and its more savage history. We reached Ballachulish well damped and well tired at night, but none the worse for it.

The next morning, taking Nichols with me, I sallied forth and after a walk of a mile, reached the church just as service was beginning. After service I sent my card to the Rector, or Incumbent, as they say here, who gave us a very cordial welcome and was a good deal surprised when I told him of my wish to see the old parish. Well he took us into the vestry room and showed us the old paten and chalice from which the "men of Appen" received the Holy Communion just before they went to join Prince Charlie at Culloiden. Then he took me to see some of the very old people who had known those who had suffered from the penal laws against Churchmen. They are all poor people, and as the younger men were away at their work I did not see them. The old people were overjoyed at the thought that a bishop had come 3,000 miles to see them. They knew about Seabury, and had prayers in the Church for me the Sunday after we sailed. It was most touching to hear them speak so earnestly of their love for the Church. And really this was a thing never to be forgotten.

Walking back to the hotel, the Incumbent pointed out to me a hollow on the mountain side where in the times of the persecution they used to gather for service. The clergyman had to come disguised as a sportsman out shooting, and a sentinel was stationed on a high crag to give warning in case the Hanoverian soldiers came upon them. As we were looking at this spot a shower passed across the mountain and "the bow of God" spanned the place where the faithful once met to pray.

From Ballachulish we came by the Caledonian Canal to this place, where Nichols and I are with the Primus. Doane and his wife have gone South again and we shall go on Monday to Aberdeen, not to stay but to leave luggage, etc.

All are well. Will you let Miss Tibbs know of this letter as I have no time to write more. Love to all.

Affy. yrs.,

J. W.

To Miss Tibbs,

Aberdeen, Sat., Oct. 11,

One line to say that we leave Aberdeen to-day, after such a visit and time as no words can describe.

I hope we shall be at N. Y. by Sat., Oct. 25th, but I shall be detained there at least a day by business at the Custom House and with Mr. Morgan. Love to all.

Aff' y'rs.,

J. W.

"Aberdeen, Oct. 8.—The sermon by the Bishop of Conn., on the occasion of the opening of the Seabury centenary in this city yesterday was," "delivered in St. Andrew's Church. In the course of the sermon he" "referred to the marvellous growth and awakened life of the Church" "during the past century."



CHRIST CHURCH, WEST HAVEN.
Oldest church building in Conn. Built 1741.

We should not have been so foolish
 As to go to Ballachulish
 On a day when ne'er a native
 Would have ventured on Loch Etive.
 But we all were somewhat mulish,
 And would go to Ballachulish
 Though the clouds looked most appalling
 And the mountain dew was falling
 And the glass of the Professor
 Should have cautioned its possessor.
 Our beloved itinerarius,
 Of the dangers multifarius,
 But Lord John he said "What think you
 Shall we try the Pass of Glencoe?
 When so near, 't would be most foolish
 Not to visit Ballachulish.
 There we'll find Ye Ancient Churchman."
 We'll not leave you in the lurch, man,
 We all said, and so we started
 Every one a bit half hearted;
 And it grew more dark and damp
 As we neared the Pass of Glencoe.
 Still we kept up brave and frisky
 Wet ourselves inside with whiskey.
 Took the water all external
 From the soaking and supernal
 Supernatural descending
 Of Scottish mists and showers blending
 All their wondrous wetting powers
 Through the long and chilly hours
 That we spent upon the coaches
 Through the pass between "the loches,"
 Till, soaked through and slightly coolish
 We arrived at Ballachulish
 But as Virgil's hero habit
 Memimisse haec juvavit.

September 22nd, 1884. [By William C. Doane]

Through Loch Etive, Glen Etive and Glencoe to Ballachulish. What a day! rain and sunshine and such history. The greatest blot on the not unblotted history of Dutch William."
 From Bishop Williams' Journal.

The Churchman

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1899.

John Williams, Presiding Bishop.

In the death of Bishop Williams, Connecticut loses the third in the succession of her episcopate since Bishop Seabury. the American Church loses one who has been for twelve years her Presiding Bishop, and the whole Anglican communion its senior in consecration, since 1894. This, however, is but a fortuitous loss. Another might have been all these things. They belong to the chances of survival. Bishop Williams's claim on our veneration and loving memory is something more and deeper than this.

Perhaps no bishop in America ever came into direct contact as instructor and spiritual father with so many of our clergy as he who has passed away. None perhaps ever identified himself so completely with the Church life of his diocese. The number of those bound to him by personal spiritual ties will never be known. This side of his half-century's activity, the affectionate regard in which he was held by all who came under his gentle influence, and the constant, loving care with which he watched over his spiritual children, is witnessed elsewhere in THE CHURCHMAN of this week by him who of all others could speak most fittingly of the leader we have lost, as having somewhat of the burden of his cares and responsibilities.

ties hardly less national.

The simple story of Bishop Williams's devoted life as scholar, teacher, priest and bishop; we have told elsewhere. The sturdy traits of his New England ancestry impressed themselves alike on his life and on his features. But in the consciousness of strength he was gentle and in the firmness of conviction he was ever seeking the peace of the Church. He has eased her of many a burden and has often saved her from confusion.

His intellect was less commanding than controlling. He wrote much and well, but he leaves no monument of scholastic learning. He was a finished rather than a profound scholar, intent rather on teaching truth than on exploring it. But his literary aims were broad and far-reaching for good in the Church.

It was he who first saw the need of a representative journal for the whole national communion, not for any section, whether of area or of theological thought. It was to further this object that, by his suggestion and under his fostering counsel, the journal in which these words appear dropped "Connecticut" from its title and became THE CHURCHMAN. From the very first, indeed even to this present year, Bishop Williams by contribution and by counsel aided to make this paper a generally representative journal, such as he thought essential to a healthy correlation of the work of the American Church.

There is no department of the life of our Church and no field of her labor in which Bishop Williams's influence will not be remembered with gratitude. Wise, serene, holy, his presence among us was a blessing, and his memory will be a benediction.

THE PRESIDING BISHOP.

The cry of "the sons of the prophets that were at Bethel" rings in our ears and rises to our lips: "Know ye not that the Lord hath taken away our master from our head to-day?" And we know it, and from murmurings and complainings we "hold our peace," because the old man rests from his labors and from the patient weariness of his long illness. But we cannot hold our peace from the record of the grateful and loving remembrance of God's great gift of him to this American Church.

John Williams, Bishop of Connecticut, and Presiding Bishop, has been master to us all in an unwonted degree. I speak, I am quite sure, the feeling of all the bishops in our House, who knew him in his presence among us, in his presiding over us, and in his prime of influence and power, when I say that we counted him our master in all the ways in which men look up to, and are led by, a masterly man. Whatever may have been true of those who have gone before, or whatever may be true of those who shall come after him in the office of Presiding Bishop, *he presided*, he occupied the seat of rule and honor, not merely by the accident of seniority of consecration, but by eminent and evident fitness. He succeeded to the position of primacy on the death of the late Bishop of Delaware, in 1887. Before that he was "the presiding officer" in the House of Bishops, having been elected as its first chairman when that office was created in 1883. And by the same common consent that made him the presiding officer of the House, he was hailed as the Presiding Bishop, *naturally*, when the Bishop of Delaware died.

Consecrated in 1851, the fifty-fourth bishop in the line of the American succession, he had well-nigh filled out the half century of one of the most distinguished episcopates in our American Church. I am glad to be among those who recall his presence and his power in the fulness of his strength. No man of all our 190 bishops can be counted his superior, as a theologian and canonist, and a teacher of the truth. As his splendid figure towered among his brethren, there was not a "goodlier person than he"; and his stature, like that of the old king of Israel, "higher from his shoulders up than any of the people," was the physical parable of the intellectual fact. His clear mind, thoroughly trained and furnished in the Queen of sciences, theology, in Holy Scriptures, in canon law, in history, ecclesiastical and secular, in the classics and in English literature, had in it a marvellous power of memory, and that rare quick-wittedness which instantly, without need of reference or study, had all resources at its immediate command. And when he spoke, it was with the force of concise and crystal statement, out of boundless resources of accumulated knowledge, in the undefiled English which he had learned in the study of the great beginners and builders of the English language. An old-fashioned gentleman, a scholar whose scholar-

ship was burnished and kept bright by the continuous habit of teaching, a preacher of directness and force and simplicity and courage, "an Anglican divine," moulded in the pattern of the fathers of the English Reformation, such a theologian as few men are in our times, and steeped and imbued with the traditions and characteristics of the American episcopate, there has gone out with him, from this life, a store of associations and recollections and illustrations, whose gathering would have made a chapter of intensest interest in our Church history. Only the third in the line as Bishop of Connecticut from Seabury, consecrated one hundred and fifteen years ago, his death breaks the last and the most brilliant link between the present and the past of our Church in America.

Connecticut has loved and honoured him and always will love and honour him, as it has the right to do, for he honoured and loved the old diocese, and felt himself, before all other relations, its chief pastor. So that for years and years, until the old hand was held back from any needless words, he signed his official papers, "J. Williams, Bishop of Connecticut and Presiding Bishop." And while for the last few years he has been withheld by physical infirmity from the active exercise of his diocesan episcopate, the old love between him and his clergy and people lingered and lived on, ever since, to his infinite relief and satisfaction, one who had been son and brother to him came to snare, and finally to take, all the toils and labors of his office. "I am sorry I am not Bishop Williams," his beloved coadjutor said to an old Churchwoman at a parish reception the other day; and, to Bishop Brewster's great delight, the answer was, "And so are we."

And the Episcopal Church in America will love and honour him for his wisdom as counsellor, for his mastership as ruler, for his soundness and thoroughness in all godly and good learning, for his wisdom and power as a bishop, for his conservative catholicity as a teacher of divinity, for the benefaction of his service as the founder and chief teacher in one of its schools of theology, and for the imprint of the most intelligent and loyal Churchmanship which, through the large number of clergy trained in the Berkeley School, he has left for all time upon the Church.

And then, nearer and closer comes the love in which *we* held him, who were near and close to him in the personal intimacies of affection. Never was there more genial and gracious companion than he. Never man was fuller than he of all that makes communication among men intelligent and attractive. And whether in the delightful vein of literary recollections, or in his rare humor, or in his personal reminiscences, or in his wealth of illustrations on all subjects that men love to talk of, or in the graciousness of his personal manner, he was, to young and old, the most choice and cherished companion.

It is thirty-five years since first he made me welcome to his diocese, as the

rector of St. John's church, Hartford; and from that time on, year by year, and more and more, he has been father, brother and friend to me. And I count it among the chief privileges and refreshments of my life as a bishop, to have had close association with him in work and thought, in the counsels and committees of our House, in the great commissions of Prayer Book revision and of work upon the constitution, in the adjustment of our Mexican troubles, and in all the great subjects which have occupied the mind of this Church during the last years. And later on, as his representative in the conduct of our missionary work, as his assessor in the House of Bishops, and in the incessant communication and correspondence between us, which, however official in its character, had always the touch of personal love, the sense comes closely home to me to-day, not only that "a prince and a great man has fallen in" our "Israel," but that one of the tenderest traditions of my life, and one of its closest ties, is severed. I may, I think, without impropriety quote now, what until his lips were sealed I could not speak of, and which will be kept among my household treasures, the note that he sent me on my consecration anniversary, only four days ago:

"*Carissime:*

"Loving congratulations on your thirtieth anniversary. '*Ad multos annos*' is my prayer for you, your diocese and the Church; I cannot tell you all you have been to me in all these years.

"Your most affectionate,

"(Signed) J. W.

"Middletown, Conn., Jan. 31, 1899."

And his prayers will still avail and prevail for me, and for the diocese and for the Church, while we remember him in our poorer prayers, that he may be numbered among "the glorious company of the apostles," and be "rewarded with God's saints with glory everlasting."

WM. CROSWELL DOANE.

Feb. 7, A.D. 1899.

BISHOP WILLIAMS.

HIS DIRECTNESS AND SIMPLICITY.

If I were asked to indicate what, among other things, of which others will doubtless speak, always impressed me, in the late Bishop of Connecticut, I should say his directness and simplicity. I wrote him, often, in one or other of those perplexities in which we all turned to him; and his answer, or counsel, was always clear, candid, explicit. If he did not know, he frankly said he did not know. If he had an opinion or conviction, he as frankly uttered it. In a sermon, yesterday, delivered on the birthday of the latter, I ventured to bracket him with Lincoln—the two so unlike in their traditions and training, so often like in their unadorned and columnar directness and simplicity. Bishop Wil-

Williams's pine coffin and plain black suit were fine notes of his impatience of costly ornament or personal display. No more beautiful example has been given to the Church than his modest home, his frugal and inexpensive surroundings, his large indifference to the decorative and the ornamental. His learning, his rare powers (the two things are by no means identical) of imparting learning; his unwearied devotion to the work of his great office; his tenacity of opinion or, rather, conviction, in matters of the Faith, coupled with a noble charity—I wish I could violate the privacy of others and illustrate this—toward those who differed from him; his stately presence; his power in the pulpit; his influence over men—all these the Church has large reason gratefully to remember. But not less, in an age over-given to ostentation, tawdriness, and mere ornamentation in men's worship and persons, has it reason to hold in grateful memory the consistent example which he gave us all of masculine and dignified simplicity.

HENRY C. POTTER.

JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT.

BY ROBERT CLARKSON TONGUE.

Saint of Northumbria! Well may England prize
Her priestly scholar and revere his name.
The long millennium doth not dim the eyes
Of those whose lamps are kindled at his flame.
First of a dynasty that has no end,
This is the teacher's heritage, to mark
The lives of men unborn, and so to send
His ageless purpose gleaming down the dark.

New England Baeda, thou of yesterday,
The years are all before thee. Year on year
Shall speed thy purpose on its widening way,
When we are dust who looked upon thy bier.
We bear thine impress, we are of thy line,
And we shall be forgot; the torch we hold
Was of thy lighting, that more clear shall shine
After the long millennium is told.

Berkeley Divinity School, Feb. 10, 1899.

BISHOP WILLIAMS AS A SCHOLAR.

Bishop Williams's mind must have been built from the first on the model of the scholar. Although he was wont to attribute his knowledge of the classics to the fact that he studied in an old-fashioned school, where there were two lessons in grammar each day, "well whipped in," yet it is hard to believe that Greek or Latin ever caused him much trouble.

And certainly he remembered well, and could quote readily and to advantage, his Homer and Virgil and Horace, and other authors less commonly known. When a new edition of Persius came out not so very many years ago, he re-read the satires, and made at once a beautiful translation into verse of that fine passage in which the writer acknowledges his obligations to his old tutor Cornutus; and the writer remembers with gratitude how he once called his attention to a short poem of Claudian which contains a graceful description of the happy life of the simple countryman. He had a like pleasure in the study of all polite literature, his taste having been moulded from the first by a father with an enthusiastic admiration for Sir Walter Scott, whose writings the future bishop began to read when he was four years old, and never laid aside. It made a strange parallel between the working of his mind and the late Dean Stanley's, besides the delight in this romance of history which they had in common, that Bishop Williams had a dislike, and at least professed a lack of aptitude, for mathematical studies; and at one time the whole tenor of his life was nearly changed by the fact that the only position which his *alma mater* seemed able to offer him was that of a Professor of Mathematics, which he knew he could not accept. The Professorship of History and Literature which he held during his presidency was admirably suited to him, as he was admirably suited to it; and as he studied and taught history and literature, they were not two departments of thought and activity, but each illustrated and completed the other.

In his theological work, he learned from Dr. Jarvis to go to original sources and "verify his references"; and if he had to search all the tomes of St. Augustine's works, only to be sure that a certain familiar quotation ("*In necessariis unitas,*" etc.), was not to be found there, it was time well spent. Those who read the references, as well as the text, in his lecture-notes on doctrinal theology, will remember how constant and how full were the references to Roman and Protestant divines as well as to the writers, most of them eminent, but others not well known, of the English Church; and these were, in large part if not entirely, taken at first hand and due to a careful study of the authors. The writer gained his first adequate idea of the "painfulness" of the bishop's scholarship (to use an old word), when he stated, as if it were a trifle, that he had once read through the whole of the prolegomena to Walton's Polyglot; and most of us need to refresh our memories as to the number of the huge folio pages of small type in Latin, to get an adequate idea of what the task was.

In later years, the bishop was by no means negligent of the heavier material for study which embodied the work of theological scholars. He not only mastered volumes on different aspects of doctrinal theology, Bampton lectures and the like, and those on topics or periods of ecclesiastical history, of varying degrees of dryness, but he read thoroughly the introduction volume of Westcott and

Hort's Greek Testament, fully as hard reading as some Scottish Church history; the more delightful pages of Salmon's Introduction to the New Testament he read through twice, and quite recently Mason's volume on the Relations of Confirmation to Baptism attracted his careful attention. In fact, there was hardly any work of importance published by scholars of the English Church or our own which he did not read, and hardly any of lasting importance which he did not study. At the beginning of his work as a theological teacher, he laid out his system of theology, and stated, and defended so fully his position on certain matters, such as the articles of the Creed, the controversy with Rome, and the positions of the English Reformation, that in future years he could draw upon the materials already collected as he had need of them; on other topics, such as the doctrine of the Eucharist and the "*Quatuor novissima*," he restated his conclusions at a somewhat recent day, basing them upon new investigations and supporting them by newly stated arguments.

Such was the wide range of his scholarship and such the way in which he had learned to use it, that he made it of service to those who were entering upon the study of divinity and at the same time supplied them with material and referred them to sources of which they might make use as they carried on their studies and knew how to work by themselves. And he never forgot the truth which he stated in an "improvement" on a famous phrase of Juvenal's and wrote at the beginning of his copy of Horne's Introduction, "*Nemo repente fuit doctissimus.*"

SAMUEL HART.

BP. WILLIAMS AND THE

BERKELEY DIVINITY SCHOOL

The graduates of the Berkeley Divinity School will never forget the founder of that institution. At their reunions for now these many years they have delighted to honor him and to refresh their memories by interchange of anecdote and incident concerning him. And the men who from this time forth shall go out of the school without personal knowledge of him will carry the old traditions with them. Bishop Williams will be remembered longest in his work as the dean of the Berkeley School.

At the Berkeley reunion in Washington at the time of the General Convention a message was sent to the faculty, in addition to that sent to the bishop, assuring them of the loyalty of the alumni. They will need that assurance in the present crisis. The bishop has so long been failing and so much of his work has of necessity been in other hands, that the word "crisis" is perhaps too strong to describe the situation. The school will go on without pause. Dr. Binney has been

acting dean long enough to know the administrative work thoroughly, and he has the affection and confidence of all the Berkeley men. Nevertheless, it must at best be a season of anxiety. There will be serious problems to solve. It is a satisfaction to those who appreciate the

place which Berkeley has had, and is to have, in the life of the Church, that the solving of these problems comes to those who are able to do it. Berkeley, in the nature of things, will be Bishop Williams's best memorial, and by reason of his influence it will be a better school for the training of a wise, devout and loyal ministry.

SKETCH OF BISHOP WILLIAMS'S LIFE.

Bishop Williams came of good New England stock. He was born in that part

of Deerfield, Mass., known as Old or North Deerfield, in a house still standing in that pleasant village, on Aug. 30, 1817. His father was Ephraim Williams, who was

born in 1760, the year of the accession of King George III.; he was well known as a lawyer and in public life, beginning practice as a partner of Theodore Sedg-

and Indians. Dr. Thomas Williams's wife was a niece of the Rev. Colonel Elisha Williams, rector of Yale College, and both were descended from Isaac Williams, of Newtown, and his father, Robert Williams, of Roxbury, the founder of the family in this country, who died in 1693, aged at least a hundred years. Through his grandmother, the bishop was also descended from the Rev. John Cotton, the first minister of Boston, and the Rev. Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton. The bishop's mother, much younger than her husband, was Emily Trowbridge, whose mother was

a daughter of the Rev. Timothy Woodbridge, of Hatfield, through whom he was descended from Governor Welles, of Connecticut.

The future bishop was prepared for college in the academies at Deerfield and Northfield, and was entered at Harvard College in 1831, when he had just completed his fourteenth year. His parents had been Unitarians; but the young man, while at Harvard, largely owing to the influence of the Rev. Benjamin Davis Winslow, after much discussion and study, became in his convictions a Churchman. At the end of his sophomore year, with the cordial consent of his parents, he came to Trinity (then Washington) College, where he was brought into close relations with the members of the faculty, men of whom he always spoke with respect for their learning and their character, and in particular with the very learned Dr. Samuel Farmer Jarvis, who was afterwards his teacher in theology. He also began his life-long intimacy with Bishop Brownell, who had resigned the presidency of the college, but was still residing in Hartford. His college room-mate was James Roosevelt Bayley, then known as "Commodore," afterwards Roman Catholic Bishop of Newark and Archbishop of Baltimore; and among his other classmates were John Turner Wait, afterwards LL.D. of the college and long Member of Congress, for many years the oldest legal practitioner in Connecticut; Robert Tomes, to become well known as a physician and historian; and Edwin Martin Van Deusen, later a prominent clergyman and

once elected to the presidency of the college. Mr. Williams was, even in his early years, a brilliant scholar, and though his late admission into his class did not allow him to take the highest honors, he received a high appointment at graduation and delivered a poem on Commencement Day. While in college he was an active member of the Athenaeum Literary Society and a contributor to a college magazine, called the *Hermethenaeon*.

Upon his graduation, which was before he had completed his eighteenth year, Mr. Williams became a candidate for Holy Orders in the Church. He entered the General Theological Seminary in New York, but was soon called from his studies by the serious illness of his father. After his father's death, he resumed his theological studies with the Rev. Dr. Jarvis, who had become rector of Christ church (now the Church of the Holy Trinity) in Middletown. By him he was trained in those principles of theological learning and of strong Churchmanship which were afterwards so prominent in his own teaching from the pulpit and in the class-room; and on Sept. 2, 1838, he and his friend, Abner Jackson, afterwards President of Hobart College and of Trinity College, were ordained to the diaconate in Middletown. In the preceding year he had entered upon a tutorship at Trinity College; there he continued for two years longer. In 1840 he went abroad with his mother and spent about a year in England and Scotland, making also a short visit to Paris. At Oxford he met Pusey, Newman, Keble, Copeland and Isaac Williams, al-

ready men of influence and destined to be still better known; and while there he received a copy of the "Athanasian" of Arthur Cleveland Coxe, still a theological student, and introduced him through his works to the kindred poets of the English Church. In Paris he acted as chaplain to Bishop Luscombe, who had been ordained by Scottish bishops for work on the continent; and he was also a witness of the grand procession at the time of the interment of the remains of Napoleon the Great in the Invalides. When he was travelling in the lake country of England, Mrs. Sigourney



wick in Stockbridge, but afterward removing to Deerfield, and was editor of the first volume of Massachusetts Reports. The father of Ephraim Williams was Dr.

Thomas Williams, Lake George, in who was a surgeon 1756, when his in the British army brother, Colonel under Sir William Ephraim Williams, Johnson, and was the founder of Williams College, met a and massacre at cruel death at the Bloody Pond, near hands of the French



THE RIGHT REVEREND JOHN WILLIAMS, D.D., LL.D.,

Presiding Bishop 1887-1899.

was with him and his mother; and together they visited the poet Wordsworth.

Soon after his return from Europe, Mr. Williams completed his twenty-fourth year, and was of the canonical age for ordination to the priesthood. He was ordained by Bishop Brownell on Sept. 26, 1841, in Christ Church, Middletown, and became for a year assistant-minister of that parish. On Dr. Jarvis's resignation, he declined an offer to become his successor, but presently accepted the rectorship of St. George's church, Schenectady, N. Y. He remained there for six years, in a happy pastorate which was always affectionately remembered both by himself and by those to whom he ministered. From the parsonage of St. George's church, in 1844, he dated the introduction of a little volume of trans-

was afterwards placed in the Hymnal. Four years later he published, dedicating it to his parishioners, a volume of "Thoughts on the Gospel Miracles," the substance of which had been delivered as a course of Lenten lectures.

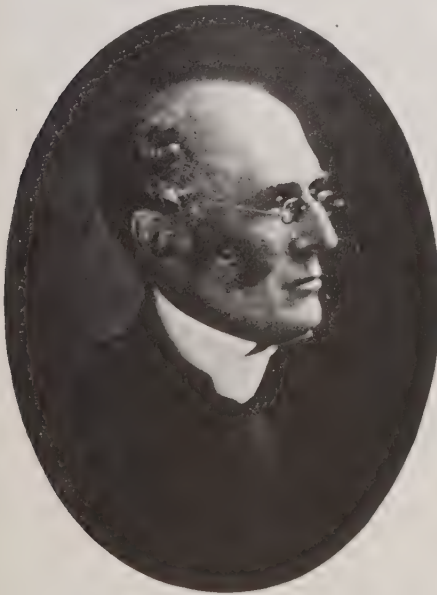
In 1848, the Rev. Dr. Silas Totten, who had been President of Trinity College for eleven years, resigned; and immediately, on Aug. 3, the trustees elected Dr. Williams (he had received a Doctorate in Divinity from Union College in 1847) to be his successor. The election was received with great enthusiasm by officers, alumni, and students, and by the Church and the community at large. In all the vigor of youth—the youngest person, it is believed, ever chosen to be head of a college—a man of graceful and accurate and wide scholarship, a born teacher, with the heart of a boy and the dignity of a man, he entered upon the position at a very important time. He maintained and advanced the position of the college; while, as Professor of History and Literature, he gave an inspiration to the studies of the undergraduates, with whom, as well as for whom, he lived. The library funds and the general funds were considerably increased; and an informal theological department was established. The catalogue for 1852-53 and that of the following year each contained the names of eighty-nine academic students, of whom eighty-five were candidates for the Arts degree; while in the former year there were twenty-three and in the latter sixteen theological students. The college was thus in a condition which betokened great prosperity, while the new president was carrying out in a manner both scholarly and enthusiastic the principles which he had well expressed in his inaugural address.

In 1850 the diocesan convention of Connecticut met at New London, at which time the new St. James's church was consecrated and Bishop Seabury's remains were removed to a resting-place beneath the chancel. The convention sermon, on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, was delivered by Dr. Williams. In October of this year, at the convention of the diocese of New York, which had been without a canonically competent bishop since the suspension of Bishop B. T. Onderdonk, in 1845, it was decided to elect a provisional bishop. On the second ballot Dr. Williams, who had received a good number of votes at the first, received five more than a majority of the votes of the laity, but lacked three of a majority of the clerical votes. Five other ballots followed, with increasing excitement, in each of which Dr. Williams had a majority of the lay vote, but not quite a majority of the clerical vote; and finally the convention adjourned without

making an election. In the following June (1851) at the convention of the diocese of Connecticut, Bishop Brownell, who six years before had brought the matter of an assistant-bishop before the convention, asked that an assistant might now be chosen. The convention acceded to the request; and, on the first ballot of the clergy, Dr. Williams received seventy-three out of ninety-seven votes, and the lay delegates confirmed the nomination by an affirmative vote of eighty-seven out of one hundred and one, the negative votes, we are told, being due not to opposition to Dr. Williams, but to doubts as to the expediency of electing an assistant. In accepting the election, the "unanimity and heartiness" of which he gratefully acknowledged, Dr. Williams wrote: I am most willing to devote my life to the service of a diocese in which I was confirmed and received both orders, in whose principles I was educated, to which I am warmly attached, and whose spotless history I reverence and love."

He was consecrated in St. John's church, Hartford, on Oct. 29, 1851, by Bishop Brownell, assisted by the bishops of all the other New England dioceses and the Bishop of Western New York. Bishop Burgess, of Maine, was the preacher; and eighty-six clergymen were present, most of them, as was noted on account of the novelty, wearing surplices. Bishops Brownell and Williams soon made together an extended visitation of the diocese, the newly consecrated assistant preaching, while the senior bishop confirmed the candidates and addressed them. But very soon nearly the whole of the diocesan work devolved upon the junior bishop, Bishop Brownell's health not allowing him to take long journeys. Bishop Williams remained president of Trinity College until 1853, when it became evident that his other duties required all his time. He resigned at Commencement in that year, and was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. Daniel R. Goodwin. At the same time he was elected vice-chancellor of the college, a title which he held until, on the death of Bishop Brownell, he became chancellor; he was also appointed Lecturer on History, and the students of the college had the advantage of his learning in this department of study for nearly forty years, until 1892.

On Dr. Williams's retiring from the presidency, it seemed best that the theological school should take a more formal shape; and, largely in consequence of liberal gifts of Middletown people, it was decided to locate it in that city. A charter was obtained for it in 1854 under the name of the Berkeley Divinity School, in honor of the great Dean of Derry and Bishop of Cloyne, to whom sound learning in America owes so much; the old Washington Tavern, more recently Dr.



BISHOP WILLIAMS.

From a photograph taken about 1865.

lations of Latin hymns under the title "Ancient Hymns of Holy Church," which was published at Hartford in the following year, and dedicated to Mr. Coxe, then rector of St. John's church, Hartford, "in memory of many conversations on the sacred ritual of the Church of God." A part of one of the hymns for Easter, beginning "Once the angel started back,"

Jarvis's residence, was purchased, and the bishop made that the home of himself and his students. A convenient room was fitted up for an oratory, in which the daily services were held; the assistance of learned clergymen as professors or lecturers was secured; and the work of the school, in many ways a typical "school of the prophets," was begun. The life there was well described, under hardly a veil of fiction, by the Rev. Walter Mitchell in his "Bryan Maurice." To trace the history of the institution thus established would be out of place here; it must suffice to say that in the course of forty-five years it has prepared many candidates for the ministry; and it has in them a living monument, as it has in its chapel and library and other buildings a memorial almost eloquent, to its founder and first dean, the instructor and friend of all its students, their master in all divinity, but especially in the theology of the scholastic



BERKELEY DIVINITY SCHOOL AND EPISCOPAL RESIDENCE.



Bishop Whipple.

Bishop Williams.

Bishop Potter.

Bishop Doan.

BISHOP WILLIAMS AT BALTIMORE IN 1892. THE LAST GENERAL CONVENTION HE ATTENDED.

type, in the history of the Reformation and the whole Roman controversy, and in the worship of the Church.

In those early days of his episcopate Bishop Williams made an extensive visitation of the diocese every year, but with much economy of time, not infrequently preaching and holding confirmation in twenty parishes or even more in the course of eight consecutive days. He was thus enabled to devote much continuous time to his lectures at the Berkeley School; and in the summer he made excursions to Lake George and the Adirondacks, not only as a fisherman of the type of I s a a k Walton, but also as a mountain-climber and explorer. He was one of the first to ascend Mount Marcy; and he travelled about in the wild parts of New York, always uniting with the excitement of the explorer the pleasure which the student of history has in visiting and studying the places where important events have taken place. In this respect he closely resembled the eminent Dean Stanley, from whom he differed so widely in many theological matters; and when the dean was in this country and visited the bishop, their special delight was in talking of the scenes of the romantic and momentous events of the French and Indian War. But the bishop also found time for theological writing; his syllabus on doctrinal theology, the references in which showed the wide extent of his reading, was prepared at this time, as also was his full conspectus, in the form

of question and answer, of ecclesiastical history. And he wrote many valuable papers, some of which are preserved in the early volumes of the "Church Review," and treat of matters of permanent interest, although their immediate occasion has passed into history.

Bishop Brownell very soon left to his assistant the practical administration of all the affairs of the diocese; and in fact, when, on the death of Bishop Chase in 1852, Dr. Brownell became Presiding Bishop, the responsible duties of that office were also discharged in large part



THE PRESENT PRESIDING BISHOP.

The Rt. Rev. Thomas March Clark, D.D., LL.D.,
Bishop of Rhode Island.

by Bishop Williams's hands. When Bishop Brownell died, on Jan. 13, 1865, the assistant became in title as well as in fact the Bishop of Connecticut; but the change in title brought him in reality no new duties and could not enhance either the esteem in which he was held or the position which was willingly accorded to him, either here or elsewhere. Already a prominent member of the House of Bishops, he became after a time the chairman of its committee on constitution and canons; when it was decided to elect a chairman of the House to be assessor to the Presiding Bishop, he was chosen to that position; and in 1887, only twenty-two years from Bishop Brownell's death, he became himself the senior bishop by consecration and therefore Presiding Bishop. It is certainly noticeable that during the one hundred and ten years which have elapsed from 1789 since the complete organization of the Church in this country, Bishops of Connecticut have been the senior bishops for nearly one-third of the time: Dr. Seabury for twelve years, Dr. Brownell for thirteen years, and Dr. Williams for twelve years. On the death of the aged Bishop of British Guiana, several years ago, Bishop Williams became the senior bishop having jurisdiction in the whole Anglican communion, and in 1894, when Bishop Southgate died, he became the senior, reckoning from the date of consecration, of all the bishops

throughout the world in communion with the see of Canterbury. As his opportunities were enlarged, so his influence increased; and the burden of the formal work attaching to the office of Presiding Bishop was little, compared with the demands made upon his attention and his time by the general work of the Church, its organized bodies and their committees, and also by appeals that were made to him to state some theological doctrine, to determine some question of ecclesiastical law, to settle some personal controversy, or to find a parish suitable

for a man or a man who would be acceptable to a parish. With all this he united work in the Divinity School, in which, though it was well furnished with a faculty of professors and lecturers, he kept for himself as long as possible a good share in the work of instruction. And besides these duties for many years, as has been already noted, he lec-

tured to the upper classes in Trinity College on the outlines of general history and on the history of the Holy Roman Empire, of England, and of the United States, giving to many young men an idea of the true character and meaning of history which they could not have so well attained in any other way.

Of Bishop Williams's strictly episcopal work within his diocese this is not the place to speak in detail. To say that he admitted about 265 young men to Holy Orders, and that he laid hands in confirmation upon about 48,000 per-



THE HOUSE IN OLD DEERFIELD, MASS., IN WHICH BISHOP WILLIAMS WAS BORN.

sons—18,000 more than the whole number of communicants now enrolled in Connecticut—is but to suggest the extent and influence of that work. And the sermons which he delivered in the course of his visitations, at first written but later delivered almost always from memory, and still more the special addresses which he made to those whom he had confirmed, were such as to make a lasting impression and exercise a strong influence. These brief addresses were earnest and practical, dwelling on the importance of apparently simple duties and urging that what God asked of His servants was, above all things else, that they should be faithful. That they have been of great power in moulding the life and character of more than one generation of Connecticut men and women cannot be doubted.

The bishop's published works, besides those of his earlier years, already noticed, were not as numerous or as extensive as many hoped that he would make them. He delivered but one formal charge to his clergy, in 1865, on "Everlasting Punishment." In 1883 and the two following years he delivered three valuable historical sermons in connection with the observance of the Seabury centenaries; and these, with a sermon delivered at Aberdeen in 1884 on the occasion of the observance of the centenary in Scotland, were published in a volume. Many of his occasional sermons were printed, in large part memorial sermons of singular felicity and discernment; and his General Convention sermon, delivered in Boston in 1877, was worthy of the occasion and the man. In 1864 he edited, with a few additional notes, Bishop Harold Browne's "Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles"; in 1882 he was appointed the first lecturer at the General Theological Seminary on the Bishop Paddock foundation, and gave a course of lectures on the English Reformation; and in the following year he had the further honor of delivering at Kenyon College the first course of the Bishop Bedell Lectures, his topic being "The World's Witness to Jesus Christ"; both of these series of lectures were published. An historical and doctrinal discussion of the seventeenth of the Thirty-Nine Articles, "On Predestination and Election," first contributed to the Church Review and then republished; was his most notable contribution to dogmatic theology; his full lecture-notes, though printed for the use of his students, as were also his notes on ecclesiastical history, were never published. In 1888 he published the first part of "Studies in the Book of the Acts of the Apostles," a permanent memorial of his lectures on that book and of the way in which he approached and expounded many very important questions.

For a few years Bishop Williams was unable to make as extended visitations as had been his custom, and at times he was obliged to withdraw appointments which he had made; but, with a little as-

sistance from other bishops, he was able to carry on all the necessary work of the diocese. During a considerable part of the year 1895-96 he was unable to go far from home; but he attended the diocesan convention at St. John's church, Hartford, in June, 1896, and presided over it with remarkable vigor. In the latter part of that month he laid the cornerstone of St. Gabriel's church in East Berlin. This and a confirmation in the same place on the Sunday before the following Christmas were his last official acts outside of Middletown, and the last times that he officiated in a service except at the confirmation of one person in the chapel of the Divinity School. In the year 1896-97 the needful confirmations and ordinations in the diocese were held by different bishops who were invited for the purpose; and in the spring of 1897 Bishop Williams announced his intention of asking the convention of the diocese to elect a coadjutor, to whom he could assign a large part of his official duties. Accordingly, at the convention held in Waterbury, the Rev. Chauncey Bunce Brewster was elected, and he was consecrated on Oct. 28, 1897.

Yet though for some time unable to leave the house and practically confined to his bed, the bishop kept a constant interest in the affairs of the Church, both here and abroad, and in many details of administration; and at the same time he continued his wide acquaintance with works of literature and of history. In all his life he was a student of men and of events; and his ever active mind was occupied with the record of what had been done and the possibilities of the future. Toward the close of January he was attacked by the grip in a mild form that caused at first but little anxiety. He was, however, unable to resist the treacherous disease, and passed away quite unexpectedly at about six o'clock on the evening of Feb. 7, his mind clear and active to the last.

SAMUEL HART.

The Churchman
February 18, 1899
Page 274

Middletown.—The funeral of Bishop Williams was held in the Church of the Holy Trinity, on Friday, Feb. 10, at two o'clock. During the morning hours the body lay in state in St. Luke's, the chapel of the Berkeley Divinity School, where it was tenderly watched by the students of the school, of

which the bishop was founder and head. Hundreds of the bishop's friends came to take a last look at the face of him whom all had loved so well. At the hour appointed for the services, not only was the church filled to its utmost capacity, but the chapel in which the clergy were to vest was thronged with a great concourse of clergy, not only from the diocese but from all over New England, while New York state was represented by many of the most eminent clergy in its several dioceses. Before the service the casket containing the body of the great bishop was borne by the students of the Divinity School and deposited before the altar. It bore the simple inscription: "John Williams, fourth Bishop of Connecticut. Born, Aug. 30, 1817. Died, Feb. 7, 1899."

In accordance with the bishop's wishes, everything pertaining to the funeral was of the quietest and most dignified character. The funeral procession passed from the chapel to the chancel to the subdued tones of the organ, Bishop Doane reading the sentences. The choir of Holy Trinity sang the chants and after the bishop had read the lesson, "Rock of Ages" was solemnly and beautifully sung. Bishop Doane, in rich and resonant voice, rendered doubly effective under the stress of his own deep emotion, said the Committal and concluded the service. Retiring slowly from the great church, Dr. Townsend bore the pastoral staff before Bishop Brewster, following whom came the officiating bishop, the Bishops of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Western New York, Brazil and the Bishop-coadjutor of Rhode Island.

Before unvesting, Bishop Brewster called a meeting of all the clergy present. He touchingly referred to "the prince and leader who had fallen in Israel" and requested the clergy of the diocese to drape portions of their churches in mourning. With pathetic voice he asked the prayers of the Church for all the bishop's great family of spiritual sons and daughters, and for himself. Bishop Doane thereupon, being called to the chair, appointed the secretary of the diocese secretary of the meeting, and then spoke in tender and touching terms of him whom "God had taken away from our head to-day." "The message is the same as to those men of old, 'Hold ye your peace.'" He then explained how he came to be the sole officiant at the service. Bishop Williams requested that only one clergyman should officiate at his funeral. The president representing the Standing Committee had asked him to perform this last sad duty for his beloved friend. "It was my happy lot to have served under him in this diocese in years gone by, and, among all those who loved him, I venture to think, none loved more than myself." The bishop read a telegram of sympathy from the Bishop of Georgia. A committee, consisting of the officers of the meeting and Bishop Neely, Dr. Vibbert, Dr. Lines, Dr. Grint and Dr. Binney, were appointed to draft suitable resolutions. The signatures of all the clergy present were secured for record. Bishop Doane then placed the pastoral staff in the hands of Bishop Brewster and declared the meeting adjourned. Bishop Potter was present at the services (though not in the procession) together with large delegations representing the Board of Missions, the Woman's Auxiliary, the Brotherhood of St. Andrew and the Daughters of the King. The vestry of Trinity church, New Haven, attended in a body. Bishop Brewster officiated at the interment, which was private. The honorary pall-bearers were: The Rev. Drs. S. O. Seymour, of Litchfield; W. G. Andrews, of Guilford; Sylvester Clark, of Bridgeport; the Rev. Messrs. F. W. Braithwaite, of Stamford; F. T. Russell, D.D., of Waterbury; Louis French, of Darien; Peter L. Shepard, of Clinton, and Samuel Hart, D.D., of Trinity College, Hartford.

The body of Bishop Williams rests beside that of his mother, in beautiful Indian Hill Cemetery.

The book now issued is intended to present an exact reprint of the MS. which was left by Bishop Burgess, with certain suggestions for slight alterations in a few places, and many additions."

Anyone who has had occasion to use this *List* in his researches will certainly be most grateful to the bishop, and on the theory that we are never quite satisfied, will wish that he might have carried out his intention to give the date of death in each case, and, whether or not it was his intention, to give the date of ordination to the priesthood, and the bishop ordaining.

Bishop Seabury ordained forty-nine candidates to the diaconate. Of these he advanced to the priesthood all except the following:—

DAVID BELDEN (1764-1832), Yale 1785: Apparently never advanced to the priesthood. After serving a year or two in the ministry, he retired to his farm in Wilton, Connecticut, where he remained until his death, March 2nd, 1832.

DANIEL BARBER (1756-1834), entered Roman priesthood in 1818.

REUBEN GARLICK (about 1742-809).¹

CHARLES SEABURY (1770-1844), ordained priest by Bishop Provoost, July 17th, 1796.

WILLIAM GREEN (1771-1801), ordained priest probably by Bishop Claggett.²

CALEB CHILD. Never ordained priest. Deposed June 2nd, 1802.³

MANOAH SMITH MILES (1766-1830), Yale 1791. Ordained priest by Bishop Provoost, July 31st, 1796.

Comparing the *List* of Bishop Burgess with the original record of Bishop Seabury, only the following minor errors appear:—

	Seabury	Burgess
Walker Maury	July 2, 1786	June 2, 1786
William Skelly	July 2, 1786	June 2, 1786
Philo Perry	September 21, 1786	September 22, 1786
David Belden	September 21, 1786	September 22, 1786
Tilley Brunson	September 21, 1786	September 22, 1786
Reuben Ives	September 21, 1786	September 22, 1786
Daniel Burlhans	June 5, 1793	July 5, 1793
Charles Seabury	June 5, 1793	July 5, 1793

After the entry of Ambrose Hull, Bishop Seabury inserts the *Note*, that the "Ordinations of Mr. Foot and Dr. Nisbett ought to have pre-

¹Sketch of him in *Journal Centennial Convention of Vermont*, p. 287.

²See *The Archives of the General Convention, Hobart Correspondence*, Vol. III, p. 423.

³*Records of Convocation, Diocese of Connecticut*, p. 58.

A REGISTRY OF ORDINATIONS

by

BISHOP SEABURY AND BISHOP JARVIS OF CONNECTICUT

With Introduction and Notes by William A. Beardsley

THE volume containing the record of these ordinations came into the possession of the registrar of the diocese of Connecticut about 1882, and in the journal for that year were printed in full as a matter of historical interest. "Registry" is the term employed by Bishop Seabury.

It has been thought that now after a lapse of more than sixty years, this record may still have a certain historical interest, and may well be made available, through HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, to those who may not readily be able to consult this journal of 1882. And furthermore, the preparation of it will furnish an opportunity to check over these records with Bishop Burgess' (1809-1866) *List of Persons Admitted to the Order of Deacons in the Protestant Episcopal Church*, commonly called Burgess' *List of Deacons*.

His pamphlet, consisting of sixty-four pages, was published in 1874, and is now catalogued as *very scarce*. A word or two about that pamphlet will not be out of place at this point. A *Note* at the end of it by the Rev. William I. Bartlett of Massachusetts, says:—

"There were probably but very few persons living twenty years since who could have compiled such a 'List' as that prepared by the late Bishop Burgess, and which forms the staple of this book. It was only by unwearied labor, the exercise of no little tact, and a large expenditure of money on the part of the deceased Prelate that he drew from a variety of sources the information which he has digested into a volume. Such universal love and respect were felt for him, that doubtless he succeeded in collecting material for his work when most others would have failed. If the compilation of a 'List of Persons Ordained Deacons in the P. E. Church' had been left to the present day, it would be next to impossible to find any individual who could successfully execute such a work.

*Dr. Beardsley is rector emeritus of St. Thomas' Church, New Haven, Connecticut, and historiographer of the diocese of Connecticut. *Editor's Note*.

hood, who became the bishop of the Eastern Diocese (1811-1843) and one of the outstanding episcopal leaders in the revival of the Church which became increasingly visible after 1811.

THE REGISTRY OF BISHOP JARVIS

We now come to the Registry of Bishop Jarvis. He ordained thirty-three candidates to the diaconate. Of these he advanced to the priesthood all except the following:—

BETHEL JUDD (1776-1858), Yale 1797. Ordained priest by Bishop Moore of New York, November 22, 1801.

EZRA BRADLEY (1776-1853), Yale 1797. Deposed 1804.

JOHN CALLAGHAN [CALLAHAN] (-1800). Probably never advanced to the priesthood.

JAMES KILBOURN (1770-1850). Apparently never advanced to the priesthood. Engaged in secular work. Left the ministry in 1821.

JOSEPH PERRY (1778-1829). He is listed in the Connecticut Journal for 1866 as having been ordained priest by Bishop Jarvis in New Haven, December 13, 1802. The Bishop's record does not show this.

BARZILLAI BUCKLEY [Bulkeley] (1780-1820). Ordained priest by Bishop Moore of New York, January 6, 1807.

NATHANIEL HUSE (1782-1864). Ordained priest by Bishop Griswold, September 3, 1813.

STEPHEN JEWETT (1783-1861). Ordained priest by Bishop Hobart, October 5, 1813.

ORIN CLARK (1788-1838). Ordained priest by Bishop Hobart in 1813.

BIRDSEY G. NOBLE (1791-1848), Yale 1810. Ordained priest by Bishop Griswold, May 5, 1815.

Comparing the *List* of Bishop Burgess with the original record of Bishop Jarvis, only the following minor errors appear:—

	Jarvis	Burgess
Samuel Griswold	November 27, 1803	November 7, 1803
Russel Wheeler	June 9, 1805	June 6, 1805
Barzillai Buckley	June 9, 1805	June 6, 1805
John Blackburn	June 9, 1805	June 6, 1805
Virgil H. Barber	June 9, 1805	June 6, 1805
Roger Searl	June 9, 1805	June 6, 1805
Salmon Wheaton	September 16, 1807	September 1, 1807
Benjamin Benham	September 16, 1807	September 1, 1807
David Baldwin	September 16, 1807	September 1, 1807

Even as Bishop Seabury was careful about the order of names, so was Bishop Jarvis, for after the name of Galen Hicks he inserts:—

ceded that of Mr. Hull". Apparently, in his desire to give the correct order, he neglects to enter the right date of Hull's ordination. It can't be October 12th, 1788, but sometime after October 22nd. The date of his ordination is, therefore, not known. It occurred sometime between October 22nd, 1788, and June 7th, 1789, when he was ordained priest.

This matter of the order of names raises an interesting point. If, as seems altogether probable, Bishop Burgess had before him Bishop Seabury's "Registry", why did he not follow his order of names? In other words what prompted him to change the order, and not make a straight copy? We do not know.

Of those four men ordained on August 3rd, 1785, by Bishop Seabury, there has been some speculation in days gone by as to which was the first to be ordained. The tradition in Connecticut has been that it was Philo Shelton, a tradition handed down by the older men, confirmed to some extent by the statement in the obituary notice of his widow, who died in 1838, that he was the first clergyman ordained by the first American bishop. But that is not conclusive. It may not mean anything more than that he was in that first group ordained. The Rev. Dr. E. E. Beard(sley, the historian of the Church in Connecticut, is quite certain, in his own mind, that he was ordained first, but his only authority is tradition.

But aside from all tradition and recollections of older men, is not the bishop's own record significant? Why did he enter the names in that order? They are not alphabetically arranged, nor by age. It would seem as if the obvious explanation were that he entered them in the order in which they were ordained. Colin Ferguson was a guest, so to speak, coming from Maryland, and the bishop may have thought to show him the courtesy of ordaining him first. It is quite conceivable that Bishop Seabury would do that sort of thing. But it is not a momentous question, just one of those things the inquisitive mind loves to play with.

When Bishop Seabury died (February 25, 1796), 161 persons had been ordained deacon in the American Episcopal Church, according to Burgess' *List of Deacons*. Of these 161 Seabury had ordained in the eleven years of his episcopate 49 deacons, or 30.4 per cent of the total. He had ordained in that same period 44 to the priesthood, making a total of 93 ordinations of deacons and priests at his hands. Fifty-one different persons, ordained either deacon or priest or both by Bishop Seabury, are in this list.

Perhaps the most significant of Bishop Seabury's ordinations was his last—that of Alexander Viets Griswold (1766-1843) to the priest-

"Note, the following registry of the Ordination of the Rev'd Abraham Bronson, Priest, ought to have preceded that of the Rev'd Mr. Hicks."

Now from this comparison of the *List* of Bishop Burgess with the records of Bishop Seabury and Bishop Jarvis, it is clear that Bishop Burgess did a very painstaking bit of work, for, after all, the discrepancies pointed out are inconsequential. Of course this is only a small segment of his great task, and while mistakes are known to exist elsewhere, if the number of them is no larger in proportion, and no more serious in character, the real value of his work is beyond question. There is, no doubt, room for a revision of the whole *List*, with such additions as he himself had in mind, but it is not an easy task. Ordinations to the priesthood in the earlier days are quite elusive, and dates of death are not always readily obtained. These are as varied as the sources from which they are gathered. A false date seems to have the secret of eternal life.

The *Register* itself is a leather-bound book, eight by twelve inches. In Bishop Seabury's Registry the name of every ordinand is underscored. That is not the case in the record of Bishop Jarvis. Down the margin of both records, opposite each paragraph, are the names of the men mentioned in that paragraph. As there is no index this is a great help in locating a name.

Both bishops were good penmen, though Bishop Seabury excelled, and, generally speaking, the pages of his record have a somewhat neater appearance. In the Jarvis record every paragraph is separated by a line. In the opening paragraph Bishop Seabury says that "every page is signed with our own hand", and in both Registers that is the case.

BISHOP SEABURY'S OWN RECORD

A REGISTRY OF ORDINATIONS BY THE BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT

Samuel Seabury, S. T. P. Oxon., elected Bishop of Connecticut by the Episcopal clergy of that State, was consecrated at Aberdeen in Scotland, on the 14th of November, 1784, by the Right Reverend Robert Kilgour, Bishop of Aberdeen, *Primus*; The Right Reverend Arthur Petrie, Bishop of Ross and Murray; and the Right Reverend John Skinner, Bp. Coadjutor.

In the Name of the Holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; Amen. The following is a true Record of Ordinations performed by Us, the Bishop of Connecticut; every page of which is signed with our own hand. Samuel Connect.

[1785]

At an Ordination held in Christs Church in the City of Middleton on the third day of August, 1785.

Colin Ferguson, A. M., } Recommended by Dr. Wm. Smith, Rev'd Messrs. John McPherson, Wm. Thompson and others.

Henry Van Dyke, A. M. } Recommended by the Clergy of Connect.
Ashbel Baldwin, A. M. }
Philo Shelton, A. M. }
were admitted *Deacons*.

At an Ordination in the same Church, Aug. 7th, 1785,

Thomas Fitch Oliver of Providence } Recom by Rev'd Messrs. Parker, Bass,
was admitted *Deacon*, and } Badger and Fisher.
Colin Ferguson, *Priest*.

At an Ordination held in Trinity Church in the City of New Haven, on the 16th of September, 1785.

Samuel Spraggs of Mount Holly, New Jersey, and
Samuel Roe of Burlington, New Jersey; both recommended by The Rev'd Dr. White, Dr. Magaw, and Mr. Blackwell of Philadelphia; and Mr. B. Moore of N. York.

Samuel Armor, late of Washington College, Maryland, recommended by The Rev'd Lawrence Gerelius, Commissary of Swedish Congregations, Wilmington, Delaware; Dr. White, Dr. Magaw, & Dr. Andrews of Philadelphia, were admitted *Deacons*. And

Henry Van Dyke,
Philo Shelton,
Thomas Fitch Oliver
were ordained *Priests*.

At an Ordination held in Trinity Church, in New Haven on Sunday, the 18th of September, 1785.

Ashbel Baldwin,
Samuel Spraggs,
Samuel Roe,
Samuel Armor,
were ordered *Priests*.

by Samuel Connect.

At an Ordination held in Trinity Church, New Haven, on Sunday, the 16th of October, 1785.

At a special Ordination held on the 15th day of March, 1786, the above named *John Bisset* was ordered *Priest*. N. B.—Mr. Bisset brought ample testimonials of his sober life &c., from Dr. Campbell & Dr. Gerard, Professors of Divinity in the Marshell (Marischal) & Kings Colleges, Aberdeen.

by Samuel Bp Connect.

At an Ordination held in Christs Church in Stratford on the 9th day of June, 1786,

Bryan Fairfax, recommended by the Rev'd Messrs. David Griffiths, Alex'r Balmain, Benj'n Blagrove, John Bracken, Samuel Shields & John Buchanan. And

Abraham Lynsen Clarke, A. B., recommended by the Clergy of Connecticut, were admitted *Deacons*. And

At an Ordination held in the same Church on Trinity Sunday, June 11th, 1786, the above named *Bryan Fairfax* was ordered *Priest*.

At a special Ordination held in Trinity Church in New Haven on the second day of July, 1786,

Walker Maury, recommended by the Rev'd Messrs. J. Madison, J. Bracken, Rob. Andrews, Wm. Bland, John Page & J. Blair; all of Maryland.* And *William Skelly*, recommended by the Rev'd Mr. J. Bowie, & the Vestry of Broad Creek in Maryland were admitted *Deacons*.

At an Ordination held in the same Church on the third day of July, 1786, the above named

Walker Maury and

William Skelly were ordered *Priests*.

At a special Ordination held in Christs Church in Guilford on the twenty-sixth day of July, 1786,

Benjamin Lindsay, recommended by the Church Wardens and Vestrymen of the Episcopal Church in New Bern in North Carolina, which Recommendation was supported by the Rev'd Mr. Abraham Beach of New York,—was admitted *Deacon*. And at a special Ordination held in the same Church on the 27th day of July, 1786, the said

Benjamin Lindsay was ordained *Priest*, and Licensed for North Carolina. —Present, Rev'd Messrs. Hubbard, Jarvis & Van Dyke.

At a special Ordination held in Trinity Church, in New Port, Rhode Island, on the twenty-seventh day of August, 1786,

Henry Moscrop, recommended by the Rev'd John Bracken, Visitor, and the Rev'd Samuel Shield, R. Y. H. P. [Rector York Hampton Parish], of the Pres-

*This should be Virginia instead of Maryland. All the persons mentioned in this entry were clergymen or laymen of the diocese of Virginia. *Editor's note*.

Hatch Dent, recommended by Rev'd T. J. Clagget, Geo. Goldie, Jno. Stewart. *William Duke*, recom. by Rev'd Ed. Gould, T. J. Clagget, Walt Magawan, were admitted *Deacons*. Maryland.

At an Ordination held in Trinity Church in New Haven on St. Luke's day, the 18th of October, 1785,

Hatch Dent,

William Duke, were ordered *Priests*.

At an special Ordination held in St. George's Church in Hempstead, Long Island, New York, on Nov'r 2d, 1785,

John Lowe of Fredericksburg, Virginia, recommended by The Rev'd Messrs. Robt. Buchan, Francis Wilson, Rodham Kenner, was admitted *Deacon*. And

At an Ordination in the same Church on Nov'r 3d, 1785, the above named *John Lowe* was ordered *Priest*.

At a special Ordination held in St. Paul's Church in Wallingford on the 27th day of November, 1785,

Joseph Pilmore, recommended by The Rev'd Mr. Charles Wesley of London, the Rev'd Mr. William Stringer of Barnet in England, the Rev'd Mr. John Bowden of Norwalk, Connect. & Joseph Galloway, Esqr., late of Pennsylvania, was admitted *Deacon*. And

At a special Ordination held in the same Church on the 29th day of November, 1785, the above named

Joseph Pilmore was ordered *Priest*.

[1786]

At a special Ordination held in Christs Church in Norwich on the fourth day of January, 1786,

John Wood, A. B., of Trinity College, Dublin, recommended by Rev'd Messrs. Joseph Gibbanks, Curate of Maryport, Anth. Sharp, Vicar of Dearham, Richard Mally, Assistant Curate of Maryport, & Thomas Wilson, Curate of Crosscanonby, all in the diocese of Carlisle, & certified by Edm. Lord Bishop of Carlisle, was admitted *Deacon*. And

At a special Ordination held in the same Church on the sixth of January, 1786, the above named

John Wood was ordered *Priest*.

At a special Ordination held in Trinity Church in New Port, Rhode Island, on the 12th of March, 1786,

John Bisset, recommended by the Rev'd Mr. John Bowie, and the Honb. Wm. Hindman, both of Maryland, was admitted *Deacon*. And

At a special Ordination held in Christs Church in Middleton on Sunday, July 29th, 1787,

Reuben Garlick, A. M., recommended by the Wardens and Congregation of the Church in Manchester in Vermont; And by the Rev'd Messrs. Ab'm Jarvis of Middleton, Gideon Bostwick of Great Barrington & James Nichols of Arlington in Vermont, was admitted *Deacon*, & licensed to perform the office of a *Deacon*, & to preach.

[1788]

At an Ordination held in S. Jameses Church in New London, on the Festival of S. Matthias, Sunday the 24th February, 1788,

Edward Blakeslee was ordained *Deacon*, being recommended by the Rev'd Messrs. Leaming, Mansfield & Hubbard, & licensed to preach. And

Reuben Ives, A. B. } Presented by the Rev'd Mr. Jarvis, were ordained
Tillotson Brunson, A. M. } *Priests*.
Chauncy Prindle, A. M. }

Mr. Ives was appointed to the Cure of Cheshire, Mr. Prindle,—Watertown & Northbury, Mr. Brunson, Stafford in Vermont.

by Samuel Bp. Connect.

At a special Ordination held in Trinity Church in Boston, Massachusetts on the 27th day of March, 1788,

John Cosens Ogdén, presented by the Rev'd Mr. Samuel Parker, Rector of said Church, was ordained *Priest*, upon a Title from the Congregation of Queen's Chapel in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, & licensed to perform there the office of a *Priest*.

At a special Ordination held in S. Jameses Church in New London on the Feast of S. Barnabas, June 11th, 1788,

David Foot, A. M., of Dartmouth College, was ordained *Deacon*, being presented by the Rev'd John Tyler, Rector of Christs Church, Norwich Landing, and was licensed to preach, & directed to serve in the Congregations of Hebron & Chatham.

At a special Ordination held in S. Jameses Church in New London on the Eighteenth day of August, 1788,

Adam Boyd, of the State of Georgia, recommended by the Parishioners of S. Pauls Parish, Richmond County in said State—By a number (22) of the Inhabitants of Wilmington, North Carolina—By Alex. Martin Esqr., late Govr. of North Carolina—Brigr. Genl. H. Clark, Majr. Genl. Lach'n McIntosh—Geo. Matthews, Esqr. (in Council) late, & Geo. Handley Esqr. the present Govr. of Georgia, and presented by the Rev'd Mr. Tyler, Rector of Christs Church, Norwich Landing, was ordained *Deacon*: And at another special Ordination held in the same Church on the Nineteenth day of August, 1788, the said

bytery of York &c., Virginia; and by the Hon'l Rich'd Henry Lee, was admitted *Deacon*. And

At a special Ordination held in the same Church on the thirtieth day of August, 1786, the said *Henry Moscrop* was ordained *Priest*, & Licensed for Virginia. Present at the Ordination the Rev'd Messrs. Moses Badger, James Sayre & T. F. Oliver.

At an Ordination held in Christs Church in Derby on the twenty-first day of September, 1786.

Philo Perry, A. M. } Recommended by the Convocation were admitted
David Belden, A. B. } *Deacons*; and together with Ab'm Lynson Clarke,
Tilley Brunson, A. B. } were on the twenty-second licensed to preach.
Reuben Ives, A. B. }

by Samuel Bp. Connect.

At an Ordination held in Christs Church in Derby on the twenty-fourth day of September, 1786,

John Cosens Ogdén, A. M., recommended by the Convocation, was admitted *Deacon*, and on the 25th was licensed to preach.

At a special Ordination held in Christs Church in Middleton on Sunday the 29th day of October, 1786,

Daniel Barber, recommended by the Rev'd Mr. Veits, late of Symsbury, The Rev'd Mr. Nichols of Arlington in the State of Vermont—the Church Wardens & Vestrymen of Pownal and Sandgate in Vermont, from whom he had his Title, & by others, was, with the approbation of the Rev'd Messrs. Leaming, Mansfield, Hubbard & Jarvis, admitted *Deacon*, being presented by the Rev'd Mr. Jarvis—Letters of Orders, & License to Preach in Vermont bearing date the same day.

[1787]

At an Ordination held in St. John's Church in Stamford on Friday the first day of June, 1787,

Chauncy Prindle, A. M., and } Recommended by the Convocation.
Ambrose Todd, A. B., and }

Belhucl Chittenden, recommended by the Church Wardens of Timmouth & Castleton in the State of Vermont, & approved of by the Convocation, were admitted *Deacons*. The two former were at that time licensed to preach, and Mr. Chittenden was afterward, viz. the latter end of July, was licensed at Middleton, & his license sent to him by the Rev'd Deacon Reuben Garlick.

At an Ordination held in S. John's Church in Stamford on Trinity Sunday, the third day of June, 1787,

Philo Perry was ordained *Priest* upon a Title from Christs Church, Newtown, and from the Church at Newberry.

Adam Boyd was ordained *Priest*, and By Samuel Bp Connect. licensed to perform the office of a *Priest* in the State of Georgia, & wherever else he shall be duly called thereto.

At a special Ordination held in Trinity Church in New Haven on Sunday the 12th day of October, 1788,
Ambrose Hull, A. M., recommended by the Convocation held at North Haven, & presented by the Rev'd Mr. Leaming, was ordained *Deacon*, licensed to preach, & appointed to officiate as Deacon at Reading.

Note: The following Registry of the Ordinations of Mr. Foot and Dr. Nisbett ought to have preceded that of Mr. Hull.

At a special Ordination held in Trinity Church in New Haven, on Sunday the 19th of October, 1788,
Samuel Nisbett, M. D., recommended by the Clergy, and presented by the Rev'd Mr. was ordained *Deacon*.

At an Ordination held in St. Johns Church in North Haven on Wednesday the 22d of October, 1788,
David Foot, A. M. and
Samuel Nisbett, M. D. were ordained *Priests*.

by me Samuel Bp Connect.

[1789]
At a special Ordination held in St. Pauls Church in Norwalk on Wednesday the third day of June, 1789,
Mr. Solomon Blaklee, recommended by the Clergy of Connecticut, was ordained *Deacon*, licensed to preach & perform the office of a Deacon in Connecticut, & wherever else he shall be duly called thereto.

At an Ordination held in S. Pauls Church in Norwalk in Connecticut on Trinity Sunday, the 7th day of June, 1789,
Abraham Lynsen Clarke,
Ambrose Todd, and
Ambrose Hull } Were ordained Priests

At a special Ordination held in S. James' Church in New London on Sunday the 13th of December, 1789,
Robert Fowle, A. B., recommended by Dr. Bass of Newbury-Port, Dr. Parker of Boston, The Rev. Mr. T. F. Oliver of Marblehead, Massachusetts, And by the Rev. Mr. J. C. Ogden of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, was ordained *Deacon*, licensed to preach, and, at the desire of the Congregation of New Holderness in New Hampshire, appointed to officiate to them.

[1790]

At a special Ordination held in the meeting house at Litchfield on Wednesday the second of June, 1790,
Truman Marsh, (ordained Deacon by Bp. White of Pennsylvania) was, by the recommendation of the Clergy, ordained *Priest*.

At a special Ordination held in St. Michaels Church in Litchfield on Sunday the 6th of June, 1790,
David Perry was, upon the recommendation of the Clergy, ordained *Deacon* & licensed to preach.

At an ordination in Christs Church in Newtown on the third of October, 1790, Sunday,
William Ogilvie (ordained Deacon by the Right Rev'd Bp. Provost of New York) was ordained *Priest*, for Norwalk.

At an Ordination in St. James' Church in New London on the 28th of November, 1790, Sunday,
Joseph Warren, Recommended by Dr. Parker, & Mr. Montague of Boston, & the Congregation at Cambridge in Massachusetts, was ordained *Deacon* & licensed to preach.

[1791]

At an Ordination held in St. Johns Church, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on St. Peters day, June 29th, 1791,
Mr. Robert Fowle, presented by the Rev'd Dr. Bass of Newbury Port, was ordained *Priest*, for Holderness in New Hampshire.

At an Ordination held in Christs Church, Westbury, on Sunday the 9th of October, 1791,
Seth Hart, presented by the Rev'd Chauncy Prindle, was ordained *Deacon*, licensed to preach, and directed to officiate at Waterbury.

At an Ordination held in St. John's Church, Statfield, on Sunday, the 16th of October, 1791.
David Perry presented by the Rev. Mr. Philo Shelton, was ordained *Priest*, for Reading, Danbury, and Ridgefield.

by me Samuel Bp Con.

[1792]

At an Ordination held in Trinity Church, New Haven, on the tenth of June, 1792, being the first Sunday after Trinity,
Russel Catling and

John Usher, presented by the Rev. Mr. Clarke, was ordained *Priest*. Mr. *Usher* was appointed to be an itinerant Clergyman in Rhode Island, & to have his residence at Bristol.

By me Samuel Bp Connect. and Rh. Island.

At an Ordination held in St. James' Church, in New London, on St. Lukes day, October, the 18th, 1793,

William Green, presented by the Rev'd Mr. John Tyler, of Norwich Landing, was ordained *Deacon*. Mr. Green was ordained on my own personal knowledge of him, and on the recommendation of the Rev'd Dr. Bela Hubbard of New Haven. Mr. Green was licensed to preach, & purposes to go into Maryland.

[1794]

At an Ordination held in Trinity Church, in New Haven, on Whitsunday, June the 8th, 1794,

Daniel Burhans, presented by the Rev'd Dr. Bela Hubbard, was, on the recommendation of the Clergy of Connecticut ordained *Priest*.

At an Ordination held in St. James' Church in New London on Sunday, the 29th of June, being St. Peters day,
Bethuel Chittenden, recommended by the State Convention of Vermont, & presented by the Rev'd Mr. Solomon Blakslee of East Haddam, was ordained *Priest* for Shelburn, Vermont.

[1795]

At an Ordination held in Christs Church in Stratford, on the seventh day of June, 1795, being the first Sunday after Trinity,

Caleb Child,

Alexander Vets Gristwold, and

Manoah Smith Miles, recommended by the Clergy of Connecticut in Convocation, and presented by the Rev'd Mr. Ashbel Baldwin, the Rector of the Church, were ordained *Deacons*. They were all licensed to preach. Mr. Child is to officiate at Great Barrington, in Massachusetts. Mr. Gristwold was directed to officiate at Cambridge (alias Bristol), Harrington and Northfield. Mr. Miles at Branford, Guilford and Cohabit.

At an Ordination held in St. Matthews Church, in Plymouth, formerly Cambridge, in Connecticut, on Wednesday, the twenty-first day of October, 1795, being the day of the Consecration of that Church,

David Butler were ordained *Deacons*, having been recommended by the Convocation, and presented by the Rev. Dr. Hubbard, the former to officiate at Arlington in the State of Vermont, from whence he had his title; the latter at North Guilford, Guilford, and Killingworth. They were both licensed to preach.

At a special Ordination held in St. Pauls Chapel in New York, by the permission of Bp. Provost,

Joseph Warren, presented by the Rev'd Mr. Uzal Ogden, was ordained *Priest*. This Ordination was held, Sept. 18, 1792. Present, Dr. Jarvis and the Rev'd Mr. Bowden, of Connecticut; Dr. Moore and the Rev'd Mr. Rich. Moore, of New York.

At an Ordination held in St. Paul's Church in Huntington in Connecticut, on the fourteenth of October, 1792, being Sunday,

Seth Hart, presented by the Rev'd Mr. Abm. L. Clarke, was ordained *Priest*, & appointed to the cure of the Church in Waterbury.

[1793]

At an Ordination held in Christs Church, in Middleton, on the 5th day of June, 1793,

Daniel Burhans and

Charles Seabury, presented by the Rev'd Dr. Jarvis, were on the recommendation of the Clergy, ordained *Deacons*. And at another Ordination held in the same church on Sunday, the 9th of June,

Solomon Blakslee,

Edward Blakslee,

Russel Catling, and

David Butler,

} Were on the recommendation of the Clergy, presented by the Rev'd Dr. Jarvis, and were ordained *Priests*.

Solomon Blakslee was appointed to the Cure of East Haddam and Pettypaug, Edward Blakslee, to the Cure of Woodbridge for one-half his time, the other half as assistant to the Rev'd Dr. Mansfield at Derby,

Russel Catling went to Arlington in Vermont, and

David Butler was appointed to the Cure of North Guilford, Guilford, and Killingworth.

At an Ordination held in Trinity Church, New Port [Rhode Island], on Sunday, the 28th day of July, 1793,

John Usher of Bristol, recommended by the Convention of Rhode Island, and presented by the Rev. Mr. Smith, was ordained *Deacon*.

And at an Ordination held in Kings Ch'ch, Providence, on the 31st day of July, 1793,

At a special Ordination held in St. John's Church in Stratfield on Wednesday the fifth of June, 1799, *John Callaghan* & *Evan Rogers*, the former recommended by the Bp. of South Carolina & by other Testimonials from Charles Town, accompanied with the Bishop's Letter dimissory; the latter recommended by the standing committee in Connecticut, were ordained *Deacons* & licensed to preach.

At a special ordination held in St. Peter's Church, in Cheshire on Sunday, the first day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & ninety-nine, *Calvin White*, recommended by the standing committee & presented by the Rev'd Mr. Hubbard, was ordained *Priest*.

By us ABRAHAM Bp of CONNECTICUT.

At an Ordination held in St. Peter's Church, Cheshire, on christmas day, 1799, *Abraham Bruison*, assistant instructor in the Academy, recommended by Dr. Bowden, the principal of the Academy, & the Rev'd Mr. Ives, Rector of the church in Cheshire; the standing committee expressed their concurrence, & gave their reason for not transmitting a Testimonial in form, that they had not received the previous certificate required by the canon; upon this virtual, tho' not formal Testimonial it was judged best to proceed; and the said *Abraham Bruison* was accordingly presented by the Rev'd Dr. Bowden and ordained *Deacon* & licensed to preach.

[1800]

At an Ordination held in St. Peter's Church, Cheshire, on Trinity Sunday, June eighth, eighteen hundred, *Jasper Davis Jones* and *Ganaliel Thatcher* were ordained *Deacons*, examined and presented by the Rev'd Dr. Bowden, Mr. Jones assistant instructor in the Academy, recommended by the Clergy of Connecticut in convocation. Mr. Thatcher recommended by the same, and ordain'd at the request of the right Rev'd Dr. Bass, Bp. of Massachusetts, as he was to officiate at Lanesborough and exhibited a Title from the Church in that Town. Both were licensed to preach.

At a special Ordination held in St. James's Church, New London, on Thursday, Oct'r 16, 1800, *Evan Rogers*, presented by the Rev'd Charles Seabury, was, on the recommendation of the Clergy then present in convocation, ordained *Priest*.

[1801]

At an Ordination held in St. Peter's Church, Cheshire, on Sunday, Jan'y 18th, 1801, *Nathan B. Burgess*, presented by the Rev'd Dr. Bowden, was, on recommendation of the standing committee, ordained *Deacon* and licensed to preach.

At an Ordination held in Trinity Church, New Town, on Wednesday, the 3d day of June, 1801, *Ganaliel Thatcher* presented by the Rev'd Daniel' Burhans; on the recommendation of the Clergy at that time met in convention, was ordained *Priest*.

Alexander Veits Griswold was on the recommendation of the Clergy of Connecticut in Convocation assembled, and presented by the Revd., ordained *Priest*, and appointed Rector of that Church, of Harrington, and Northfield.

by us Samuel Bp Connect. and Rho. Isl.

[Bishop Seabury, born November 30, 1729, died on February 25, 1796, aged 66, in the twelfth year of his episcopate. *Editor's note.*]

BISHOP JARVIS' OWN RECORD

REGISTRY OF ORDINATIONS

[For the convenience of the student the names of Bishop Jarvis' ordinees, and the office to which each was ordained, are *italicized*, although they are not thus designated in the original Registry.]

ABRAHAM JARVIS, D. D., elected Bishop of Connecticut, by the episcopal Clergy of the State, was consecrated in Trinity Church in the City of New Haven, State of Connecticut, on the Festival of St. Luke, the eighteenth of October, in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, By the right reverend William White, Bishop of Pensilvania, *presiding Bishop*; and the right Reverend Samuel Provoost, Bishop of New York; and the right reverend Edward Bass, Bishop of Massachusetts.

[1798]

At a special Ordination held in St. John's Church, in Stratfield, on the twenty-eighth day of June, 1798, *Calvin White*, on my own personal knowledge of him, and also being recommended by the Rector, assistant Minister, and vestry of the Church in Newark, and by the Rev'd Mr. Croes and Col. Sam'l Ogden, of the State of New Jersey; and by the Standing Committee of the State of Connecticut; was presented by the Rev'd Mr. Shelton. and ordained *Deacon*. He was licensed to preach.

At a special Ordination held in St. Peter's Church in Cheshire on Sunday, the thirtieth day of September, 1798, *Bethel Judd* and *Ezra Bradley*, recommended, the former, by the clergy in convocation, the latter, by the standing committee, and presented by the Rev'd Dr. Bowden, were ordained *Deacons*. Mr. Judd was licensed to preach. Mr. Bradley was referred to the Bishop of Massachusetts for a license to preach in a church belonging to his diocese.

[1799]

At a special ordination held in Christ's Church in Middletown, on Sunday, the twentieth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, *Amos Pardoe* recommended by the standing committee of the church in the state of Vermont, and the Wardens and Vestrymen of the church in the Towns of Paulet and Wells in that state; and presented by the Rev'd Dr. Bowden, was ordained *Priest*.

1789, having their full belief and expectation that he will be received and Settled as a pastor, by some one of the vacant Churches in this State, and being presented by the Rev'd Reuben Ives, Rector of the said Church was ordained *Deacon*.

[1804]

At an ordination held in Trinity Church, New Haven, on Sunday, the seventh day of October, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and four, *Asa Cornwall*, recommended by the standing committee, and presented by the Rev'd Bela Hubbard, D. D., was ordained *Deacon*.

[1805]

At an ordination held in Christ's Church in Middletown, on Thursday, the sixth of June, 1805, Rev'd *Samuel Griswold*, *Clement Meriam* & *Timothy Hilliard*, entitled and recommended according to the Canons of the church, and presented by the Rev'd Dr. Hubbard, were ordained *Priests*.

ABRAHAM Bp. of CONNECTICUT.

On Sunday, the ninth of June, 1805, being Trinity Sunday in the same church, being duly recommended according to the canons of the church, and presented by the Rev. Mr. Meriam, Messrs. *Russel Wheeler*, *Barzillai Buckley*, *John Blackburn*, *Virgil H. Barber*, *Roger Searl*, were ordained *Deacons*.

At an ordination held in Trinity Church, New Haven, on advent Sunday, the first day of December, 1805, *John Ward*, recommended by the standing committee, and presented by the Rev'd Dr. Hubbard, was ordained *Deacon*.

[1806]

At an ordination held in Trinity Church, New Haven, on Sunday, the eighth day of June, 1806, *John Lynn Blackburne*, and *Roger Searl* were ordered *Priests*. The former recommended by the Rev'd Alexander Viets Griswold and the Rev'd Theodore Dehon, & the Wardens & Vestry of St. John's Church, Providence, State of Rhode Island, who have elected him their Rector, and by the standing committee of Connecticut; which committee also recommended the latter.

At an ordination held in Trinity Church, New Town, on Sunday, Oct'r 12, 1806, *Elijah G. Plum*, recommended by the standing committee, and presented by the Rev'd Mr. Burhans, was ordained *Deacon* and licensed to preach.

[1807]

At an ordination held in Christ's church, Watertown, on Thursday, June 4th, 1807, *Russel Wheeler*, recommended by the Standing Committee, & presented by the Rev'd Mr. Shelton, was ordained *Priest*, & inducted Rector of Christ's church in Watertown on the same day.

At an ordination held in St. John's church, Bridgeport on Wednesday the sixteenth, being the first ember day in September, 1807, *Salmon Wheaton*, *Ben-*

[1802]

At an Ordination held in St. Peter's Church, Cheshire, on Sunday, the 24th day of January, 1802, with advice and consent according to the canon 2d of 1801, and being recommended by the standing committee of Connecticut; *James Kilburn*, presented by the Rev'd John Bowden, was admitted *Deacon*, and licensed to preach.

At an Ordination held in St. Peter's Church, Cheshire, on Tuesday, the 13th of April, 1802, *Nathan B. Burgess*, recommended by the standing committee, and presented by the Rev'd Reuben Ives, was ordained *Priest*.

ABRAHAM Bp of CONNECTICUT.

At an ordination held in St. Peter's Church, Cheshire, on Wednesday, the 14th day of April, 1802, *Clement Meriam*, recommended by the standing committee, and presented by the Rev'd Reuben Ives, was ordained *Deacon*.

At an Ordination held in St. Peter's Church, Cheshire, on Wednesday, the 19th of May, 1802, *Jasper Davis Jones*, recommended by the standing committee, and presented by the Rev'd Reuben Ives, was ordained *Priest*.

At an Ordination held in (——) Church, Huntington, on Wednesday, the 2d day of June, 1802, *Henry Whitlock*, recommended by the Clergy then met in convention, and presented by the Rev'd Mr. Todd, Rector of the church, was ordained *Priest*.

At an Ordination held in Trinity church, New Haven, on Tuesday, the 19th of Oct'r, 1802, *Joseph Perry*, recommended by the standing committee, & presented by the Rev'd Daniel Burhans, was ordained *Deacon*.

[1803]

At a special Ordination held in Trinity Church, New Haven, on Sunday, the 25th day of September, 1803, *Galen Hicks*, A. M., of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, recommended by the standing committee of convention of the church in the state aforesaid, and presented by the Rev'd Mr. Hubbard, Rector of Trinity Church, was ordained *Priest*.

Note, the following registry of the Ordination of the Rev'd *Abraham Brunson*, Priest, ought to have preceded that of the Rev'd Mr. Hicks.

At an Ordination held in St. James Church in Danbury, on Wednesday, the first day of June, in the year of our Lord, 1803, the day of the annual State convention, *Abraham Brunson*, recommended by the Clergy of Connecticut in convention, & presented by the Rev'd David Butler, was ordained *Priest*.

At an Ordination held in St. Peter's Church in Cheshire, on Sunday, the twenty-seventh day of November, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and three, *Samuel Griswold*, recommended by the Clergy of Connecticut, in convocation and the standing committee, agreeable to the 5th canon of

presented by the Reverend Tillotson Bronson principal of the episcopal Academy. They were licensed to preach.

At a private ordination held in Trinity Church, New Haven, on Friday the 13th day of April, 1810, *Nathaniel Huse* was ordained *Deacon*. He was recommended by the standing committee; at the joint request of the committee and a number of other Clergymen, he was ordained at the above mentioned time, and presented by the Rev'd Mr. Shelton, Rector of the Church in Bridgeport; said Huse was licensed to preach at Warehouse point East Windsor.

At a public ordination held in Trinity Church, New Haven on Sunday, December 23d, 1810, *Sturgis Gilbert* and *Joseph D. Welton*, were promoted to the order of *Priests*. Presbyters present, the Rev'd Dr. Mansfield, Dr. Hubbard and Rev'd Mr. Bronson. They were presented by the Rev'd Dr. Mansfield.

[1811]

At a special Ordination, held in Trinity Church, New Haven, on Friday, April 5, 1811, *Samuel Farnar Jarvis*, was promoted to the order of *Priests*. Recommended by the standing Committee, and the Presbyters present were the Rev'd Philo Shelton, Rev'd Ashbel Baldwin, and the Rev'd Henry Whitlock. He was presented by the Rev'd Mr. Shelton.

At a special ordination held in Trinity Church, New Haven, on Sunday, June 23, 1811, *Frederick Holcombe* was admitted to the order of *Deacons*. Recommended by the standing committee, and presented by the Rev'd Dr. Hubbard. Mr. Holcombe was licensed to preach.

ABRAHAM Bp of CONNECTICUT.

At a special ordination held in Trinity church, New Haven, on Sunday, Sep'r 15, 1811, *Stephen Jewett* was ordained *Deacon*, he was presented by the Rev'd Tillotson Bronson. Mr. Jewett was admitted to orders without the Testimonials required by the 12th Canon, for the following reasons. Mr. Jewett had contracted with the members of the church in the Town of Paulet, State of Vermont, to become their minister. A valuable parcel of Land, belonging to the church in that Town was in danger of being lost; an action in law was then pending for trial before the circuit court, which was to sit early in the ensuing October; the Judge of the state had given his opinion that a Clergyman who should be minister of that church, & holding possession of the land according to the Statute of the State must be present at the court. Information of these particulars came to Mr. Jewett at the Academy in Connecticut so near the time of the Session of the court, as rendered it impracticable to obtain testimonials in proper form, or to go for ordination to Bristol in the state of Rhode Island, where the Bishop resides, whose diocese includes the church and lands in question. Under these imperious circumstances, the Bishop of Connecticut, judged it expedient and justifiable to deviate from the rules provided for general use, and to ordain Mr. Jewett, as above recorded.

At a special ordination held in Trinity Church, New Haven, on Sunday the 27th of October, 1811, *Orin Clarke* was ordained *Deacon*, was duly recommended, and presented by the Rev'd Mr. Whitlock.

Jamin Benham, and *David Baldwin*, recommended by the standing committee, and presented by the Rev'd Mr. Shelton, were ordained *Deacons*. At the unanimous recommendation and request of all the standing committee, the knowledge of the Latin language, in respect of Mr. Benham, was dispensed with. The above named *Deacons* were licensed to preach.

At a public ordination held in St. John's church, Bridgeport on Sunday, the 20th of September, 1807, *Asa Cornwall* and *Virgil H. Barber*, recommended by the Standing committee, and presented by the Rev. Mr. Shelton, were ordained *Priests*.

At an ordination held in St. James's church, New London, on Sunday the eleventh day of October, 1807, *John Ward*, recommended by the Wardens & Vestry of Trinity Church, Newport, and the Standing committee of convention of the State of Rhode Island, and presented by the Rev'd Charles Seabury, Rector of the said St. James's church was ordained *Priest*.

[1808]

At an ordination held in Christ's church in Norwalk on Wednesday the thirty-first day of August, 1808, *Elijah G. Plum* and *Benjamin Benham*, Recommended by the standing committee of convention in the State of Connecticut, and presented by the Rev'd Mr. Whitlock, were promoted to the order of *Priests*.

ABRAHAM Bp of CONNECTICUT.

At an ordination held in Christ's Church, Norwalk, on Sunday, the fourth day of September, 1808, *Salmon Wheaton* recommended by the standing committee of the convention in the State of Connecticut and presented by the Rev. Mr. Whitlock was promoted to the order of *Priests*.

At a public ordination held in Trinity church Newhaven on Sunday, the 18th of December, 1808, *Joseph Davis Welton* and *Sturgis Gilbert*, recommended by the standing Committee, and presented by the Rev'd Mr. Shelton, were ordained *Deacons*. Mr. Sturgis Gilbert was licensed to preach in the Towns of Salisbury, Sharon, Kent & Canaan. Mr. Welton was licensed to preach in St. Peter's church, Plymouth, and the church in the parish of Northfield.

[1809]

At an ordination held in Christ's church Guilford on Sunday the thirtieth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and nine, *David Baldwin*, *Deacon*, was promoted to the order of *Priests*. Presbyters present, Dr. Mansfield, Dr. Hubbard, and the Rev'd Mr. Bronson. He was recommended by the Clergy, and presented by the Rev'd Dr. Richard Mansfield.

[1810]

At a public ordination, held in Trinity Church, New Haven, on Sunday, March 18, 1810, *Samuel Farnar Jarvis*, and *Daniel McDonald*, were ordained *Deacons*; They were recommended by the standing committee of Connecticut, and

At a special Ordination held in Christ Church, Hartford on Tuesday, the second day of June, one thousand eight hundred and twelve, *Birdsey G. Noble*, A. B., having been duly recommended, was ordained *Deacon*, and presented by the Rev'd Mr. Burhans.

At a special ordination held in St. James's church, Danbury, on Monday, the thirty-first day of Aug's, 1812, the Rev'd *Reuben Hubbard* was ordained *Priest*. Presented by the Rev'd Mr. Burnhans.

At a public Ordination held in Trinity church, New Haven, on Sunday, December the twentieth, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred & twelve, *Daniel McDonald*, and *Frederick Holcombe*, were ordained *Priests*. They were regularly recommended, and presented by the Rev'd Mr. Bronson.

[Bishop Jarvis, born May 5, 1739, died on May 13, 1813, aged 74, in the sixteenth year of his episcopate. *Editor's note.*]



REV. BELA HUBBARD, D.D.

APPENDIX I

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF BISHOP SEABURY'S ORDINEES

NAMES AND DATES OF BIRTH & DEATH	Number in Burgess' List of Deacons	DATES OF ORDINATION	
		As Deacon	As Priest
ARMOR, SAMUEL	6	September 16, 1785	September 18, 1785
BALDWIN, ASHBEL (March 7, 1757-Feb. 8, 1846) Yale, 1776	1	August 3, 1785	September 18, 1785
BARBER, DANIEL (Oct. 2, 1756-1834) Hon. M. A. Dartmouth, 1801	26	October 29, 1786	No record. [Deposed, 1818.]
BEIDEN, DAVID (1764-March, 1832) Yale, 1785	21	September 21, ¹ 1786	Never priested.
BISSETT, JOHN (c. 1762-c. 1810)	14	March 12, 1786	March 15, 1786
BLAKESLEE, EDWARD (June 27, 1766-July 15, 1797)	52	February 24, 1788	June 9, 1793
BLAKESLEE, SOLOMON (Nov. 9, 1762-April 10, 1835) Yale, 1785	76	June 3, 1789	June 9, 1793
BOYD, ADAM (Nov. 25, 1738-March 7, 1803) BRUNSON (BRONSON), TILLEY (TILLOTSON) (Jan'y 8, 1762-Sept. 6, 1826) Yale, 1786	65	August 18, 1788	August 19, 1788
BURHANS, DANIEL (July 7, 1763-Dec. 30, 1853) BUTLER, DAVID (1763-July 11, 1842) Washington (Trinity), D.D., 1832.	22	September 21, ² 1786	February 24, 1788
BURHANS, DANIEL (July 7, 1763-Dec. 30, 1853) BUTLER, DAVID (1763-July 11, 1842) Washington (Trinity), D.D., 1832.	121	June 5, ³ 1793	June 8, 1794
BUTLER, DAVID (1763-July 11, 1842) Washington (Trinity), D.D., 1832.	110	June 10, 1792	June 9, 1793
CATLING [CATLIN], RUSSEL	111	June 10, 1792	June 9, 1793 [Deposed between 1814 and 1817.]
CHILD, CALEB	152	June 7, 1795	Never priested [Deposed 1801.]
CHITTENDEN, BETHUEL (c. 1738-c. 1809)	29	June 1, 1787	June 29, 1794
CLARKE, ABRAHAM LYNSEN (d. 1811) Yale, 1785.	17	June 9, 1786	June 7, 1789

¹Burgess has "Sept. 22."

²Burgess has "Sept. 22."

³Burgess has "July 5th."

"Tillotson Bronson" was his correct name.

DENT, HATCH (c. 1757-1800)	9	October 16, 1785	October 18, 1785	MARSH, TRUMAN (Feb. 22, 1768-March 28, 1851) Yale, 1786.	75	[March 8, ⁷ 1789 by Bishop White]	June 2, 1790
DUKE, WILLIAM (Sept. 15, 1757-1840)	10	October 16, 1785	October 18, 1785	MAURY, WALKER (1752-October 11, 1788)	15	July 2, ⁸ 1786	July 3, 1786
FAIRFAX, BRYAN (b. 1737-August 7, 1802) He became 8th Lord Fairfax of Folston in Yorkshire in 1793, and returned to Eng- land.	18	June 9, 1786	June 11, 1786	MILES, MANOAH SMITH (March 22, 1769-January 31, 1830) Yale, 1791.	184	June 7, 1795	[July 31, 1796, by Bishop Provost]
FERGUSON, COLIN (Dec. 8, 1751-March 10, 1806) Washington College (Md.), D. D.	2	August 3, 1785	August 7, 1785	MOSCROP, HENRY (d. 1817)	20	August 27, 1786	August 30, 1786
FOOT [FOOTE], DAVID [DANIEL] ⁴ (Oct. 5, 1760-August 1, 1793) Dartmouth, 1788.	61	June 11, 1788	October 22, 1788	NISBETT, SAMUEL M. D.	70	October 19, 1788	October 22, 1788
FOWLE, ROBERT (Aug. 31, 1766-Oct. 12, 1847) Harvard, 1786	88	December 13, 1789	June 29, 1791	OGDEN, JOHN COSENS (d. 1800) Princeton, 1770.	25	September 24, 1786	March 27, 1788
GARLICK, REUBEN (c. 1742-1809)	42	July 29, 1787	Never priested.	OGILVIE, WILLIAM [GEORGE] ⁹ (Bapt. Sept. 25, 1757-April 3, 1797) King's College, 1774.	41	[July 15, 1787, by Bishop Provost]	October 3, 1790
GREEN, WILLIAM (1771-December 28, 1801) Dartmouth, 1791.	127	October 18, 1793	No record. [See <i>Archives of General Conven- tion</i> , Vol. III, p. 423]	OLIVER, THOMAS FITCH (1749-January 25, 1797) Harvard, 1775.	5	August 7, 1785	September 16, 1785
GRISWOLD, ALEXANDER VIETS (April 22, 1766-Feb. 15, 1843)	153	June 7, 1795	October 21, 1795 [<i>Records of Convo- cation</i> have Oc- tober 22, 1795.]	PERRY, DAVID (B. 1747-d. May 8, 1822) Yale, 1772.	95	June 6, 1790	October 16, 1791 [Deposed June 3, 1795, and re- sumed practice of medicine.]
HART, SETH (June 21, 1763-March 14, 1832) Yale, 1784.	104	October 9, 1791	October 14, 1792	PERRY, PHILO (Dec. 22, 1752-Oct. 26, 1798) Yale, 1777.	24	September 21, ¹⁰ 1786	June 3, 1787
HULL, AMBROSE Harvard, 1785.	69	October 12, ⁵ 1788	June 7, 1789 [Left ministry, 1821 (?)]	PILMORE, JOSEPH (c. 1734-July 24, 1825)	12	November 27, 1785	November 29, 1785
IVES, REUBEN (Oct. 26, 1762-Oct. 4, 1836) Yale, 1786.	23	September 21, 1786	February 24, 1788	PRINDLE, CHAUNCEY (July 13, 1753-August 25, 1833) Yale, 1776.	30	June 1, 1787	February 24, 1788
LINDSAY [LINDSLEY], ⁶ BENJAMIN	19	July 26, 1786	July 27, 1786	ROE, SAMUEL (d. February 8, 1791)	7	September 16, 1785	September 18, 1785
LOWE, JOHN	11	November 2, 1785	November 3, 1785	SEABURY, CHARLES May 20, 1770-Dec. 29, 1844) [Son of Bishop Seabury]	122	June 5, 1793	[July 17, 1795, by Bishop Provost]
				SHELTON, PHILLO (May 5, 1754-Feb. 27, 1825) Yale, 1775.	3	August 3, 1785	September 16, 1785

⁷March 8th is the date given by Burgess. Dexter in his *Yale Biographies*, Volume IV, p. 493, gives March 5, 1789. Dexter is probably right.

⁸Burgess has "June 2."
⁹"George" was his right name, not "William." Bolton's *History of the Church in Westchester County* gives his birth date as Oct. 16, 1758, but the researches of his descendant, Samuel Willett Comstock, give the above baptismal date.

¹⁰Burgess has "September 22."

⁴Burgess has "David Foote"; New York Convention Journals have it: "Daniel Foote." "David" is correct.

⁵So Bishop Seabury's Registry states, but a note immediately following the entry indicates that the date of October 12 is an error. The only certainty is that Hull was ordered deacon between October 22, 1788, and June 7, 1789. See above: Dr. Beardsley's "Introduction."

⁶Burgess has "Lindsley."

GILBERT, STURGIS [STURGES] (d. September 3, 1847)	264	December 18, 1808	December 23, 1810	NOBLE, BIRDSEY [BIRDSEYE], G[lover] Yale, 1810	300	June 2, 1812	[May 5, 1815, by Bishop Griswold of Eastern Dio- cese]
GRISWOLD, SAMUEL Instructor, Episcopal Acad- emy, 1802-1804.	220	November 27, 1803	June 6, 1805				
HICKS, GALEN (d. 183-)	218	[July 3, 1803, by Bishop Bass of Massachusetts]	September 25, 1803	PARDEE, AMOS (1770-December 2, 1849) Yale, 1793	175	[...], 1798 by Bishop Bass. Month and day not recorded.]	January 20, 1799
HILLIARD, TIMOTHY (d. January 2, 1842)	213	May 24, 1803, by Bishop Bass of Massachusetts]	June 6, 1805	PERRY, JOSEPH (1778-Dec. 13, 1829)	209	October 19, 1802	[December 13, 1802, according to Con- necticut Diocesan Journal of 1866. Not in Bishop Jarvis' Register.]
HOLCOMBE [HOLCOMB], FREDERICK (Oct. 13, 1786-May 26, 1872) Williams, 1809.	292	June 23, 1811	December 20, 1812	PLUMB, ELIJAH G. (March, 1780-April 26, 1821)	244	October 12, 1806	August 31, 1808
HUBBARD, REUBEN (d. February 10, 1859)	275	[December 22, 1809 by Bishop Moore of New York]	August 31, 1812	ROGERS, EVAN (d. January 25, 1809)	188	June 5, 1799	October 16, 1800
HUSE, NATHANIEL (1782-1864 [buried March 31, 1864])	282	April 13, 1810	[September 3, 1813 by Bishop Gris- wold, of Eastern Diocese]	SEARLE, ROGER (July 8, 1775-Sept. 6, 1826)	234	June 9, 1805	June 8, 1806
JARVIS, SAMUEL FARMAR (Jan'y 20, 1786-March 26, 1851) Episcopal Academy, 1798- 1802; Yale, 1805	277	March 18, 1810	April 5, 1811	THATCHER, GAMALIEL (d. 1806)	193	June 8, 1800	June 3, 1801
JEWETT, STEPHEN (August 18, 1783-August 24, 1861) Episcopal Academy, 1807-1811	295	September 15, 1811	[October 5, 1813, by Bishop Hobart]	WARD, JOHN (Sept. 12, 1779-May 2, 1860)	240	December 1, 1805	October 11, 1807
JONES, JASPER DAVIS (Jan'y 20, 1775-1824) Princeton, 1800.	192	June 8, 1800	May 19, 1802	WELTON, JOSEPH DAVIS (April 15, 1783-Jan'y 16, 1825) Episcopal Academy, 1805- 1808.	265	December 18, 1808	December 23, 1810
JUDD, BETHEL (May, 1776-April 8, 1858) Yale, 1797.	182	September 30, 1798	[November 22, 1801, by Bishop Pro- voost]	WHEATON, SALMON (Feb. 11, 1782-Aug. 24, 1844) Yale, 1805.	251	September 16, 1807	September 4, 1808
KILBURN [KILBOURNE], JAMES (October 19, 1770-April 9, 1850)	205	January 24, 1802	Never priested. [Deposed at own request, 1821.]	WHEELER, RUSSEL (May 2, 1783-Feb. 18, 1861; aged 77 years, 9 months, 16 days) Williams, 1803	235	June 9, 1805	June 4, 1807
MCDONALD, DANIEL (c. 1785-March 25, 1830) Episcopal Academy, 1802- 1806; Columbia, Hon. S. T. D., 1821	278	March 18, 1810	December 20, 1812	WHITE, CALVIN Dec. 17, 1762-March 21, 1853) Yale, 1786	180	June 28, 1798	December 1, 1799 [Deposed, 1822.]
MERRIAM [MERRIAM], CLEMENT (d. circa 1807) Instructor, Episcopal Acad- emy, 1801.	206	April 14, 1802	June 6, 1805	WHITLOCK, HENRY (1778-Dec. 25, 1814) Williams, 1798	195	[October 12, 1800 by Bishop Pro- voost]	June 2, 1802

⁸Burgess has "September 1."⁹Burgess has "June 6."⁷Burgess has "November 7."

LISTS OF ORDINATIONS

AND OF

CLERGYMEN DECEASED,

TO JULY 1, 1886.

[Corrected by W. W. C.]

[From the Journal of 1886.]

LIST OF ORDINATIONS

IN THE

DIOCESE OF CONNECTICUT,

TO JULY 1, 1886.

CONSECRATIONS OF BISHOPS.

	DIOCESE.	DATE.
BROWNELL, THOMAS CHURCH, D.D., LL.D.	Connecticut	Oct. 27, 1819
BURGESS, GEORGE, D.D.	Maine	Oct. 31, 1847
JARVIS, ABRAHAM, D.D.	Connecticut	Oct. 18, 1797
WILLIAMS, JOHN, D.D.	Connecticut (Asst.)	Oct. 29, 1851

ORDINATIONS OF PRIESTS AND DEACONS.

NOTE.—All these ordinations were held by the Bishops of Connecticut unless otherwise specified: Bishop Seabury, Nov. 4, 1784, to Feb. 25, 1796; Bishop Jarvis, Oct. 18, 1797 to May 3, 1813; Bishop Brownell, Oct. 27, 1819, to Jan. 13, 1865; Bishop Williams, Assistant (ordinations marked with a *), Oct. 29, 1851, to Jan. 13, 1865; Bishop Williams, since Jan. 13, 1865.

Ordinations by other Bishops are designated thus: *a*, the Bishop of New York; *b*, the Bishop of Massachusetts; *c*, the Bishop of New Hampshire; *d*, the Bishop of Tennessee; *e*, the Bishop of Rhode Island; *f*, the Bishop of Vermont; *g*, the Bishop of the Eastern Diocese; *h*, the Bishop of North Carolina; *i*, the Bishop of Central New York; *k*, the Bishop of Western New York; *l*, the Bishop of Delaware; Bishop Hobart of New York was acting Bishop of Connecticut from Oct. 16, 1816, to Oct. 27, 1819.

	ORDAINED DEACON.	ORDAINED PRIEST.
Ackley, William Nichols	May 30, 1866	July 15, 1867
Adams, Charles Collard	* Dec. 21, 1864	June 23, 1865
Andrews, George B.	-----	Sept. 6, 1821
Anketell, John Henry	* Dec. 29, 1859	* Dec. 22, 1860
Armor, Samuel	Sept. 16, 1785	Sept. 18, 1785
Arnold, Adoniram Judson	May 26, 1875	June 1, 1876
Atwill, William	<i>a</i> Sept. 8, 1841	Oct. 21, 1842
Ashley, Richard Kempton	March 19, 1872	-----
Ashley, William Bliss	July 8, 1838	Aug. 27, 1839
Babcock, Edward Wilcox	June 4, 1879	May 27, 1880
Bailey, Melville Knox	<i>b</i> May 30, 1883	May 29, 1884
Baldwin, Ashbel	Aug. 3, 1785	Sept. 18, 1785
Baldwin, David	Sept. 16, 1807	April 30, 1809
Baldwin, Leonidas Bradley	* May 27, 1863	-----

ORDAINED DEACON.	ORDAINED PRIEST.
Ball, Clarence Ernest	June 2, 1886
Banks, David Francis	* May 22, 1861
Barber, Daniel	Oct. 29, 1786
Barber, Virgil H.	June 9, 1805
Barbour, John Humphrey	May 31, 1875
Barker, William Morris	June 4, 1879
Barnett, Francis Walter	May 31, 1876
Barnwell, Robert Woodward	Nov. 1, 1873
Barry, Joseph Gayle Hurd	June 2, 1886
Bates, John Mallory	May 31, 1876
Bayley, James Roosevelt	Oct. 23, 1839
Beach, Alfred Baur	June 29, 1845
Beach, Amos Billings	July 10, 1836
Beardsley, Eben Edwards	Aug. 11, 1835
Beckwith, Isbon Thaddeus	July 7, 1875
Beeman, Allen Everett	June 2, 1880
Beers, John Samuel	Sept. 26, 1869
Belden, David	Sept. 21, 1786
Benedict, Samuel	Nov. 20, 1850
Benham, Benjamin	Sept. 16, 1807
Benjamin, William Henry	-----
Bennett, Lorenzo Thompson	July 1, 1834
Bennett, Moses P.	Jan. 30, 1822
Bennitt, George Stephen	Sept. 28, 1873
Benton, George	July 10, 1836
Berry, Joshua Downing	Dec. 2, 1841
Betts, John Herbert	Oct. 21, 1846
Bielby, William Foster	May 29, 1878
Bingham, Joel Foote	April 15, 1871
Binney, John	June 5, 1868
Birchmore, John Woodbridge	March 4, 1848
Bishop, David	Nov. 15, 1865
Bishop, Edwin Ruthwen	-----
Bishop, Ethan Ferris	* May 21, 1860
Bishop, Nathan Kendrick	May 31, 1876
Bissell, Linus Parsons	Dec. 27, 1881
Blackburn, John Lynn	June 9, 1805
Blakeslee, Edward	Feb. 24, 1788
Blakeslee, Solomon	June 3, 1789
Bolles, James Aaron	March 24, 1833
Booth, Louis Norman	May 30, 1883
Bostwick, William Lewis	Oct. 2, 1853
Botsford, David	Sept. 6, 1821
Bowden, James S.	June 29, 1845
Bowles, Ralph Hart	Dec. 21, 1883
Boyd, Adam	Aug. 18, 1788
Boylston, Charles Walter	June 1, 1881

ORDAINED DEACON.	ORDAINED PRIEST.
Bradin, James Watson	Sept. 25, 1843
Bradley, Charles William	Sept. 10, 1830
Bradley, Ezra	Sept. 30, 1798
Bradley, Leverett	March 17, 1878
Brady, Charles Otis	June 16, 1869
Brainard, John	Dec. 18, 1853
Brandegge, John Jacob	July 3, 1846
Brathwaite, Francis Windsor	* June 17, 1862
Breed, George Fitch	May 26, 1875
Brewer, Alfred Lee	* July 6, 1856
Brewster, Chauncey Bunce	May 29, 1872
Brewster, Joseph	-----
Broadwell, Homer James	March 22, 1879
Bronson, Abraham	Dec. 25, 1799
Bronson, Tillotson	Sept. 21, 1786
Brown, Alfred Constantine	-----
Brown, Edward Rutledge	June 8, 1870
Brown, J. Eldred	June 2, 1886
Brush, Jesse	July 17, 1880
Buck, George	June 5, 1868
Buck, Horace Hall	May 31, 1882
Buckingham, William Byron	May 29, 1872
Bulkley, Barzillai	June 9, 1805
Bulkley, William Howard	May 31, 1876
Burgess, Francis Guild	^b June 1, 1881
Burgess, George	-----
Burgess, Nathan B.	Jan. 18, 1801
Burhans, Daniel	June 5, 1793
Burrighs, Arthur William	June 4, 1884
Bush, Francis Leonard	June 5, 1867
Bush, Leverett	^a May 26, 1818
Bushnell, Francis Henry	Dec. 19, 1852
Butler, David	June 10, 1792
Cæsar, Gustavus V.	Aug. 6, 1830
Callaghan, John	June 5, 1799
Camp, Charles Clark	June 4, 1884
Camp, Riverius	Oct. 16, 1834
Capron, Alexander	-----
Carpenter, Samuel T.	-----
Carter, George Galen	Oct. 9, 1867
Carter, Timothy Jarvis	Feb. 28, 1847
Carver, Thomas George	* Feb. 12, 1857
Catlin, Russell	June 10, 1792
Chamberlain, Nathan Henry	-----
Chapin, Alonzo Bowen	June 12, 1838
Chapin, Seth Smith	June 18, 1851
Chapin, William Merrick	May 30, 1877

ORDAINED DEACON.	ORDAINED PRIEST.	
Chapman, Adelbert Putnam	Dec. 19, 1879	
Chapman, Robert Martin	Dec. 22, 1839	
Child, Caleb	June 7, 1795	
Chittenden, Bethuel	June 1, 1787	
Church, Frank Henry	June 3, 1885	
Clapp, Howard Saxstone	May 26, 1875	
Clark, Jacob Lyman	June 29, 1835	
Clark, James Walters	June 5, 1868	
Clark, Joseph T.	Sept. 7, 1825	
Clark, William Henry	June 29, 1845	
Clarke, Abraham Lynsen	June 9, 1786	
Clarke, Orin	Oct. 27, 1811	
Clarke, Peter Gilchrist	May 26, 1858	
Clarke, Sylvester	May 26, 1858	
Cleaveland, Charles	Aug. 5, 1846	
Clerc, Francis Joseph	Jan. 4, 1826	
Cloud, John Wurts	March 12, 1854	
Coe, James Roger	Nov. 12, 1845	
Coe, James Wells	Nov. 8, 1843	
Coe, Jonathan	Aug. 8, 1830	
Coit, Gurdon Saltonstall	June 7, 1826	
Coit, Thomas Winthrop	May 31, 1876	
Coleman, William Barnard	May 26, 1858	
Coley, James Edward	June 5, 1868	
Colton, Clarence Winship	March 22, 1879	
Converse, John Holmes	April 25, 1855	
Converse, Rob Roy McGregor McNulty	June 24, 1862	
Cook, William Henry	July 8, 1838	
Cooley, Benjamin Franklin	Oct. 7, 1804	
Corbyn, William Bestor	Jan. 16, 1831	
Cornish, Andrew Hiram	June 24, 1877	
Cornwall, Asa	May 30, 1877	
Cornwall, Nathaniel Ellsworth	Oct. 16, 1816	
Corson, Levi Hanaford	May 29, 1884	
Cotton, Henry Evan	May 5, 1815	
Coxe, Arthur Cleveland	June 4, 1828	
Craik, Charles Ewell	Sept. 28, 1832	
Cranston, Walter	Sept. 13, 1837	
Crockett, John Addison	June 4, 1862	
Croswell, Harry	Jan. 25, 1829	
Croswell, William	April 10, 1861	
Cummins, Alexander Griswold	Aug. 2, 1832	
Curtis, William A.	July 10, 1836	
Curtis, William Preston	June 4, 1862	
Cushing, John Turner	Jan. 25, 1829	
Darkin, Edward John	April 10, 1861	
Darrell, Aubrey Spencer	Aug. 2, 1832	

ORDAINED DEACON.	ORDAINED PRIEST.	
Davis, Thomas Frederick	May 18, 1856	* May 27, 1857
Davis, George Ransom	* Feb. 12, 1857	-----
Davis, Sheldon	April 12, 1840	-----
Davis, Thomas Jefferson	Sept. 4, 1831	Sept. 4, 1832
deKoven, Henry	June 4, 1843	-----
DeKoven, James	* Aug. 6, 1854	-----
Dennis, Frederick Ward	June 1, 1881	-----
Denslow, Herbert McKenzie	May 29, 1878	May 30, 1879
Dent, Hatch	Oct. 16, 1785	Oct. 18, 1785
DesBrisay, William Almon	* June 17, 1864	March 8, 1865
Deshon, Giles Henry	July 7, 1843	-----
Dewey, John Shethar	* Nov. 4, 1855	* April 12, 1857
Dorman, Lester Morse	Feb. 10, 1872	Dec. 19, 1873
Douglas, William Kirtland	May 22, 1853	* July 23, 1854
Doupé, Charles Henry	June 11, 1883	July 8, 1884
DuBois, John Clarkson	* June 3, 1855	* June 27, 1855
Duffie, Cornelius Roosevelt	June 29, 1845	-----
Duffield, Silas Brainard	* May 27, 1863	* May 19, 1864
Duke, William	Oct. 16, 1785	Oct. 18, 1785
Dunlap, Martin Ball	-----	March 28, 1885
Dyer, Palmer	June 6, 1822	-----
Early, William Townsend	-----	* July 8, 1857
Easton, Giles Alexander	* May 26, 1858	-----
Eastwood, Benjamin	* June 16, 1863	* Dec. 19, 1863
Eddy, Clayton	* May 25, 1859	* Jan. 17, 1861
Edwards, Henry	Sept. 16, 1847	* Aug. 13, 1848
Ellsworth, Jared Wells	June 19, 1879	July 3, 1880
Elmer, William Timothy	June 2, 1886	-----
Emery, Rufus	* May 26, 1858	* April 27, 1859
Emery, Samuel Moody	-----	May 14, 1837
Ensforth, Henry Boardman	April 29, 1874	June 26, 1875
Everest, Charles William	Aug. 7, 1841	May 17, 1843
Everett, William	-----	Oct. 27, 1845
Fairfax, Bryan	June 9, 1786	June 11, 1786
Ferguson, Colin	Aug. 3, 1785	Aug. 7, 1785
Ferguson, Henry	May 29, 1872	-----
Finch, Harry	July 13, 1828	Sept. 5, 1829
Finch, Peter Voorhees	-----	* July 3, 1860
Finney, James LeGrand	* May 7, 1861	-----
Fisher, Charles Richmond	Dec. 21, 1845	June 9, 1847
Fisher, Thomas Legate	* May 31, 1883	-----
Fitch, Augustus	May 26, 1818	-----
Fitch, Henry	July 6, 1837	June 12, 1838
Flagg, Edward Octavius	Aug. 22, 1849	June 22, 1850
Flagg, Jared Bradley	* June 11, 1854	May 17, 1855
Floyd, William Frederick	-----	* July 8, 1873
Fogg, Thomas Brinley	* July 2, 1856	* Nov. 5, 1858

	ORDAINED DEACON.	ORDAINED PRIEST.		ORDAINED DEACON.	ORDAINED PRIEST.
Foot, David	June 11, 1788	Oct. 22, 1788	Guion, Thomas Tompkins	Nov. 6, 1841	Oct. 20, 1842
Foot, George Louis	June 9, 1840	Nov. 6, 1841	Hall, Charles Henry	-----	Nov. 12, 1845
Fowle, Robert	Dec. 13, 1789	-----	Hall, Samuel	* May 26, 1858	* May 10, 1859
Fowler, Morelle	* May 30, 1860	* April 10, 1861	Hallam, Isaac William	-----	Dec. 18, 1833
Fox, Charles	June 11, 1839	-----	Hallam, Robert Alexander	Aug. 2, 1832	Aug. 2, 1833
Fox, James Angel	-----	Aug. 3, 1826	Hanson, Augustus William	July 10, 1842	-----
Freeland, Charles Wright	May 30, 1883	Nov. 1, 1884	Hanson, John H.	-----	Oct. 14, 1842
French, Louis	* June 30, 1855	* March 30, 1856	Harding, John Butterworth	May 31, 1882	June 6, 1883
French, William Glenney	April 11, 1843	-----	Harriman, Frederick Durbin	Sept. 24, 1848	Sept. 18, 1849
Frisbie, William Henry	July 2, 1843	-----	Harriman, Frederick William	May 31, 1876	June 7, 1877
Fuller, Samuel Richard	* May 29, 1872	Jan. 7, 1874	Harris, William Robert	* May 22, 1861	* July 4, 1862
Fuller, Simon Greenleaf	* May 22, 1861	* Sept. 12, 1862	Hart, Samuel	June 2, 1869	June 28, 1870
Gardiner, Frederic	June 3, 1885	-----	Hart, Seth	Oct. 9, 1791	Oct. 14, 1792
Gardner, Edward Coffin	June 5, 1868	Feb. 17, 1869	Hassard, Samuel	June 17, 1835	-----
Gardner, George Edward	* May 30, 1883	-----	Hawks, Francis Lister	-----	Jan. 25, 1829
Gardner, Henry Vibber	Aug. 8, 1845	Aug. 7, 1846	Hawksley, Samuel	June 10, 1845	-----
Garfield, John Metcalf	Aug. 11, 1822	June 4, 1823	Hawley, Fletcher John	-----	Oct. 11, 1845
Garfield, Nathaniel Lyon	-----	Dec. 21, 1849	Hayden, Gilbert Brush or Burnet	Sept. 19, 1849	Nov. 24, 1850
Garlick, Reuben	July 29, 1787	-----	Hayward, William Stone	May 30, 1866	-----
Gear, Ezekiel Gilbert	* May 5, 1815	-----	Heald, Jesse Elliot	* June 12, 1860	* May 31, 1861
Geer, Alpheus	-----	* May 5, 1815	Henry, Francis Augustus	May 29, 1872	Sept. 21, 1873
Geer, George Jarvis	June 29, 1845	-----	Hermann, Samuel	* May 25, 1859	-----
George, James Hardin	May 26, 1875	-----	Heyer, William Grant	July 6, 1837	Nov. 14, 1838
George, John Francis	June 2, 1880	June 7, 1881	Hilliard, Timothy	-----	June 6, 1805
Gilbert, Joseph Morgan	June 3, 1819	-----	Hitchcock, Solomon Gilbert	July 6, 1837	Nov. 9, 1838
Gilbert, Sturgis	Dec. 18, 1808	Dec. 23, 1810	Hitchcock, William Augustus	* June 7, 1857	* April 29, 1858
Gilliat, Charles Ghequiere	* May 25, 1864	March 8, 1865	Hitchings, Horace Baldwin	* June 7, 1857	* June 23, 1858
Gilliat, Francis	* May 25, 1864	Oct. 9, 1867	Hicks, Galen	-----	Sept. 25, 1803
Gilliat, John Henry	* Nov. 22, 1859	July 16, 1867	Holbrook, Charles Albert	June 7, 1865	May 14, 1868
Gilliland, John Dickson	June 8, 1870	May 28, 1871	Holcomb, Frederick	June 23, 1811	Dec. 20, 1812
Gillogly, James Lee	June 8, 1870	-----	Holcomb, Origen Pinney	-----	July 12, 1820
Glover, Bennett	Sept. 6, 1821	-----	Holden, Seaver Milton	June 3, 1885	May 26, 1886
Godfrey, Jonathan	* Feb. 20, 1853	* May 17, 1854	Holley, William Wells	June 7, 1865	-----
Goodhue, John Elbridge	* May 30, 1860	* May 31, 1861	Holly, James Theodore	-----	* Jan. 2, 1856
Goodrich, Alfred Bayley	July 31, 1853	* Oct. 15, 1854	Holmes, Stephen Ferris	May 30, 1866	Sept. 10, 1867
Goodrich, James Brainerd	June 2, 1869	June 28, 1870	Hopson, Oliver	July 7, 1833	Sept. 23, 1834
Goodridge, Edward	* May 25, 1864	March 8, 1865	Horne, George White	May 26, 1850	Dec. 22, 1850
Goodwin, Francis	* May 27, 1863	* Dec. 19, 1863	Houghton, George Hendrie	Oct. 27, 1845	-----
Gordon, George S.	-----	Oct. 19, 1840	Howland, Robert Shaw	Oct. 27, 1845	-----
Gordon, Thomas Henry	May 27, 1874	June 26, 1875	Hoyt, Melancthon	Oct. 14, 1834	-----
Gray, John	Dec. 21, 1877	Dec. 20, 1878	Hubbard, Reuben	-----	Aug. 31, 1812
Green, William	Oct. 18, 1793	-----	Hudson, Robert	June 4, 1873	-----
Gregory, Henry Trowbridge	* May 26, 1858	* May 10, 1859	Hull, Ambrose	Oct. ---, 1788	June 7, 1789
Griffith, George William	June 2, 1886	-----	Hull, John Gould	July 5, 1840	-----
Griswold, Alexander Viets	June 7, 1795	Oct. 21, 1795	Hull, Lemuel Beach	Aug. 4, 1822	June 4, 1823
Griswold, George Chapman	-----	Oct. 1, 1867	Humphrey, Aaron	-----	* May 5, 1815
Griswold, Samuel	Nov. 27, 1803	June 6, 1805	Humphreys, Hector	March 21, 1824	March 6, 1825
			Huntington, Enoch	Nov. 4, 1823	-----

	ORDAINED DEACON.	ORDAINED PRIEST.
Huntington, John Taylor	Aug. 28, 1853	* May 30, 1862
Huse, Nathaniel	April 13, 1810	March 7, 1868
Hyde, Frederick Schwartz	-----	June 26, 1872
Hyde, Melancthon Cleveland	-----	-----
Ingersoll, Edward	July 14, 1869	-----
Ives, Caleb Smith	June 4, 1873	June 2, 1828
Ives, Edward John	Oct. 18, 1834	Jan. 6, 1869
Ives, Reuben	Nov. 7, 1833	May 30, 1879
Jackson, Abner	Nov. 4, 1823	Dec. 21, 1874
Jackson, Augustus	Sept. 21, 1886	July 27, 1886
Jacobi, John Christian	Sept. 2, 1838	* July 15, 1856
Jarvis, Herbert Munson	* June 4, 1862	Dec. 27, 1874
Jarvis, Samuel Farmar	Dec. 14, 1856	June 12, 1849
Jarvis, Samuel Fernor	July 27, 1869	Dec. 21, 1870
Jarvis, William	March 18, 1810	June 9, 1847
Jarvis, William Oscar	* Sept. 24, 1854	Dec. 21, 1875
Jefferson, Henry Bridges	Aug. 7, 1822	-----
Jennings, Albin Barlow	Sept. 19, 1849	Sept. 3, 1829
Jessup, Edward	Dec. 28, 1878	* Sept. 29, 1852
Jessup, Emerson	* May 25, 1864	May 26, 1886
Jewett, Stephen	Dec. 22, 1850	May 16, 1867
Johnson, Edwin Emerson	May 31, 1871	* May 22, 1853
Johnson, George Dowdall	Sept. 15, 1811	Dec. 20, 1812
Johnson, Myron Alfred	* May 22, 1861	-----
Johnson, William Everett	* May 30, 1860	-----
Jones, Edward	-----	Aug. 7, 1846
Jones, George	May 31, 1882	-----
Jones, Jasper Davis	Aug. 6, 1830	June 23, 1866
Jones, Lucius Henry	Jan. 16, 1831	-----
Judd, Bethel	June 8, 1800	* March 16, 1863
Judd, Thomas Sylvester	* May 18, 1856	March 18, 1840
Judd, William Heron	Sept. 30, 1798	-----
Judkins, Benjamin	June 29, 1835	June 2, 1790
Keeler, James	Aug. 9, 1828	May 29, 1884
Kellogg, Charles Thompson	-----	* Oct. 15, 1854
Kellogg, Day Otis	* July 10, 1856	-----
Kidder, Pascal Paoli Pembroke	-----	-----
Kilburn, James	July 3, 1840	July 3, 1786
Kingsbury, Nathan	Jan. 24, 1802	-----
Knowles, William Clark	Sept. 2, 1827	-----
Lambert, John Richards	Feb. 21, 1875	-----
Lanpher, Louis Albert	June 4, 1884	June 15, 1867
Larom, Walter Haskins	May 30, 1883	June 6, 1805
Lee, Alfred	May 30, 1883	Aug. 16, 1871
Leffingwell, Christopher Starr	May 21, 1837	-----
Leonard, William Andrew	* May 18, 1856	Feb. 21, 1875
LeRoy, Jacob	May 31, 1871	Sept. 28, 1842
	May 29, 1872	-----
	-----	* Feb. 9, 1859
Lewin, Frederic D.	-----	-----
Lewis, Alonzo Norton	-----	-----
Lewis, Frank Bradley	April 14, 1866	-----
Lewis, Samuel Seymour	May 31, 1871	-----
Lewis, William Henry	June 10, 1832	-----
Lewis, William Henry	Jan. 21, 1827	June 2, 1828
Lincoln, George William	May 10, 1868	Jan. 6, 1869
Lines, Edwin Stevens	May 29, 1878	May 30, 1879
Lindsley, Benjamin	May 27, 1874	Dec. 21, 1874
Linn, John Blair	July 26, 1786	July 27, 1786
Linsley, Carlos Shelton	* June 3, 1855	* July 15, 1856
Littlejohn, Abram Newkirk	-----	Dec. 27, 1874
Lombard, James Kittredge	-----	Dec. 12, 1849
Long, William	Jan. 2, 1870	June 21, 1870
Lounsbury, Dexter Lewis	-----	June 9, 1847
Lounsbury, George Edward	June 13, 1874	Dec. 21, 1875
Lucas, William	May 30, 1866	-----
Lumsden, David Foster	April 6, 1851	Sept. 3, 1829
McCrackan, John Henry	c June 3, 1885	* Sept. 29, 1852
McCook, John James	May 30, 1866	May 26, 1886
McClory, Henry	June 6, 1852	May 16, 1867
McDonald, Daniel	March 18, 1810	* May 22, 1853
MacEwan, William Lancaster	May 30, 1877	Dec. 20, 1812
Mackay, James	Aug. 8, 1845	-----
Mackay-Smith, Alexander	Dec. 12, 1876	Aug. 7, 1846
Magill, William Ingram	June 7, 1865	-----
Mahan, Milo	Oct. 27, 1845	June 23, 1866
Mallory, George Scovill	* June 4, 1862	-----
Mansfield, Zebediah Hyde	June 12, 1838	* March 16, 1863
Marks, William Lounsbury	Oct. 8, 1878	March 18, 1840
Marsh, Truman	-----	-----
Martin, Theodore Dwight	-----	June 2, 1790
Marvin, John Nathaniel	-----	May 29, 1884
Mason, Arthur	* Jan. 16, 1853	* Oct. 15, 1854
Mason, Charles Jeremiah	* June 7, 1857	-----
Maury, Walker	b May 30, 1883	-----
Maynard, Newland	July 2, 1786	July 3, 1786
Mead, James Banks	June 2, 1869	-----
Mead, James Donaldson	May 29, 1878	-----
Meech, Robert	June 11, 1839	-----
Merriam, Clement	May 30, 1866	June 15, 1867
Metcalf, Henry Aiken	April 14, 1802	June 6, 1805
Miles, Manoah Smith	J 2, 1869	Aug. 16, 1871
Miller, Alexander James	June 7, 1795	-----
Miller, Frederic	June 4, 1873	Feb. 21, 1875
Miller, Herbert Clarkson	Oct. 27, 1841	Sept. 28, 1842
Mines, John Flavel	May 31, 1871	-----
	* June 7, 1857	* Feb. 9, 1859

ORDAINED DEACON.	ORDAINED PRIEST.	ORDAINED DEACON.	ORDAINED PRIEST.
Roberts, Daniel Crane	Aug. 8, 1845	Sherwood, Reuben	g May 5, 1815
Roberts, Henry Floy	June 4, 1879	Short, David Hawkins	July 10, 1836
Roberts, Walter Coe	-----	Short, William	May 29, 1872
Roberts, William Jackson	-----	Short, William Seymour	June 2, 1886
Robinson, Joseph Baxter	* Sept. 11, 1857	Sill, Frederick	June 12, 1849
Rockstroh, Johannes	Sept. 21, 1879	Silvester, William Wallace	-----
Roe, Samuel	Sept. 16, 1785	Simonson, Leopold	Nov. 27, 1868
Rogers, Evan	June 5, 1799	Skelly, William	July 2, 1786
Rogers, Robert Cooper	July 9, 1848	Sleight, George N.	June 29, 1845
Root, Nathaniel William Taylor	* May 25, 1859	Smith, Cornelius Bishop	* Dec. 12, 1858
Rossiter, Rodney	-----	Smith, Isaac	-----
Rouse, John Hill	June 15, 1834	Smith, John Derby	July 7, 1833
Rowland, Edmund	* May 30, 1860	Smith, John Eaton	July 7, 1833
Rudder, William	April 6, 1851	Snively, Summerfield Emory	* May 22, 1861
Russell, Francis Thayer	March 25, 1855	Snow, Theodore William	June 4, 1879
Rutledge, Edward	Nov. 17, 1819	Somers, Daniel	-----
Salter, Thomas G.	Dec. 16, 1838	Spalding, James Field	Aug. 30, 1820
Sanderson, James Augustus	* June 4, 1862	Spencer, William Gabriel	* Oct. 1, 1854
Sanford, David Lewis	June 4, 1879	Spooner, Charles Albert	May 4, 1836
Sanford, David Platt	Aug. 8, 1845	Spraggs, Samuel	Sept. 16, 1785
Sanford, Elihu Turner	July 21, 1872	Stanley, Albert Upham	-----
Sanford, Frederick Rufus	June 1, 1881	Stanley, George Milnor	-----
Sartwell, William Dinsmore	March 18, 1876	Starr, Samuel	-----
Saunders, Erastus Huntington	-----	Starr, William Cole	July 7, 1833
Savage, Thomas Staughton	-----	Steele, Ashbel	May 26, 1875
Schmitt, Erit Bartholomew	June 2, 1886	Stephenson, James	Nov. 4, 1823
Schulte, Bernard	June 4, 1873	Sterling, George A.	June 29, 1845
Scott, David	* April 28, 1859	Stevens, Charles Ellis	Aug. 25, 1837
Scott, Joseph	June 1, 1831	Stevens, John Milton	May 26, 1875
Scott, Robert	July 21, 1872	Stimson, Levi Burt	May 31, 1876
Scudder, Henry Townsend	May 30, 1877	Stocking, Sabura Stebbins	Aug. 24, 1851
Seabury, Charles	June 5, 1793	Stocking, Servilius	Dec. 22, 1839
Searle, Roger	June 9, 1805	Stoddard, James	-----
Sears, Lorenzo	-----	Stokes, Eli Worthington	May 27, 1874
Selleck, Charles Melbourne	March 11, 1865	Stone, Hiram	-----
Sellon, John	-----	Stone, John Seely	Oct. 2, 1853
Sexton, John Frederick	June 2, 1886	Stone, Morton	-----
Seymour, Charles Henry	* May 5, 1856	Stone, Stewart	May 30, 1883
Seymour, Storrs Ozias	* May 22, 1861	Strong, Charles Hall	May 30, 1883
Shears, Alonzo Groesbeck	-----	Stryker, John V.	-----
Shelton, George Augustus	Aug. 3, 1826	Studley, William Harrison	* Sept. 23, 1859
Shelton, Philo	Aug. 3, 1785	Sturgis, Isaac Chauncey	Aug. 28, 1853
Shelton, William	Aug. 4, 1823	Sumner, William Graham	May 31, 1876
Shepard, Peter Lake	* June 3, 1855	Swift, Henry	Dec. 28, 1867
Shepard, George Champlin	Aug. 3, 1826	Talbot, Baylies Philips	May 29, 1872
Shepard, Daniel	Aug. 23, 1839	Talbot, Charles Remington	June 29, 1845
Sherman, Henry Beers	June 12, 1838	Tarrant, Henry	May 28, 1878
Sherman, Henry Martyn	* May 25, 1864	Taunt, James Ferdinand	June 2, 1880
			Oct. 12, 1875
			Dec. 21, 1877

	ORDAINED DEACON.	ORDAINED PRIEST.
Taylor, Elbert Burr	May 31, 1876	July 3, 1877
Taylor, Joseph Pemberton	Oct. 21, 1846	Sept. 14, 1847
Thatcher, Gamaliel	June 8, 1800	June 3, 1801
Thomas, Elisha Smith	-----	* April 5, 1862
Thompson, Frederick	May 10, 1880	-----
Thorne, Robert Townsend	June 5, 1868	Sept. 28, 1869
Ticknor, Joseph Almon	May 30, 1883	July 3, 1884
Timlow, Heman Rowlee	-----	May 26, 1877
Tocque, Philip	* Oct. 3, 1852	-----
Todd, Ambrose	June 1, 1877	June 7, 1879
Todd, Ambrose Seymour	-----	June 30, 1823
Todd, Charles Jarvis	Nov. 4, 1823	-----
Tomlinson, David Gibson	Nov. 17, 1831	Jan. 17, 1833
Tompkins, Edwin Staats DeGrote	June 4, 1884	-----
Torrence, George Paul	May 29, 1878	May 30, 1879
Totten, Silas	May 5, 1833	Aug. 7, 1836
Townsend, Henry	Oct. 5, 1839	Nov. 12, 1840
Townsend, John	* May 18, 1856	* May 27, 1857
Treat, Charles Russell	Dec. 23, 1882	-----
Trentaine, Charles Henry Belknap	June 2, 1869	June 28, 1870
True, Edward Hyde	* May 25, 1859	* April 22, 1860
Tuttle, Isaac Henry	July 3, 1839	Oct. 13, 1840
Tuttle, Reuel Hotchkiss	June 30, 1850	-----
Tyler, Joseph Dennie	-----	Aug. 11, 1835
Upjohn, Samuel	May 30, 1866	Nov. 24, 1867
Vail, Thomas Hubbard	June 29, 1835	-----
VanBuren, James Heartt	May 31, 1876	June 25, 1877
VanDyke, Henry	Aug. 3, 1885	Sept. 16, 1885
Vibbert, William Elisha	Feb. 14, 1845	Nov. 12, 1845
Vibbert, William Henry	* June 4, 1862	* Oct. 28, 1863
Vinton, Alexander Hamilton	July 11, 1877	-----
Wainwright, Jonathan Mayhew	June 29, 1845	May 29, 1818
Waite, Joseph Moore	June 29, 1845	Sept. 1, 1846
Walker, Mflidige	-----	June 11, 1875
Walker, William Bohler	May 30, 1877	-----
Walter, William Henry	Aug. 2, 1832	Oct. 17, 1834
Ward, John	Dec. 1, 1805	Oct. 11, 1807
Ward, Julius Hammond	* June 4, 1862	* May 5, 1863
Warland, William	-----	June 13, 1837
Warner, Beverley Ellison	June 4, 1879	May 27, 1880
Warner, George Russell	Nov. 30, 1880	March 6, 1882
Warner, Ransom	Dec. 29, 1822	Nov. 4, 1823
Warner, Thomas	Nov. 16, 1821	Nov. 18, 1821
Warren, Joseph	Nov. 28, 1790	-----
Waterman, Lucius	May 31, 1876	-----
Watkins, Schureman Halsted	* June 3, 1885	May 26, 1886
Watson, John Henry	May 31, 1871	July 21, 1872
Watson, William	July 1, 1835	Oct. 17, 1836
Webb, Benjamin	* May 27, 1863	* July 28, 1864

	ORDAINED DEACON.	ORDAINED PRIEST.
Webb, William Walter	c June 3, 1885	-----
Wellman, Merritt Hubbell	-----	* March 4, 1855
Wells, Edward Livingston	* Dec. 29, 1859	* Jan. 17, 1861
Wells, Eleazar Mather Porter	June 7, 1826	-----
Wells, Lemuel Henry	June 2, 1869	f Dec. 17, 1870
Wells, Thomas Bucklin	* Dec. 20, 1861	-----
Wells, William Goodhue	June 8, 1870	f Dec. 21, 1870
Welton, Joseph Davis	Dec. 18, 1808	Dec. 23, 1810
Welton, Ximenes Alanson	* March 4, 1855	-----
Westcott, Frank Nash	May 30, 1883	-----
Westermann, Charles	Feb. 7, 1885	-----
Whaley, Percival Hanahan	May 30, 1877	July 5, 1878
Wheaton, Salmon	Sept. 16, 1807	Sept. 4, 1808
Wheeler, Russell	June 9, 1805	June 4, 1807
Whitcome, Ephraim L.	-----	July 12, 1868
White, Calvin	June 28, 1798	Dec. 1, 1799
White, John Hazen	May 26, 1875	June 1, 1876
Whitlock, Harlow Ruggles	June 4, 1873	Dec. 19, 1873
Whitlock, Henry	-----	June 2, 1802
Whitlesey, Elisha	June 18, 1871	Nov. 15, 1871
Wilcoxson, Timothy	Feb. 24, 1848	Sept. 18, 1849
Wildman, Joseph Edmund	June 5, 1867	March 7, 1868
Wilkins, Gouverneur Morris	May 31, 1871	July 7, 1872
Willey, Junius Marshall	-----	June 10, 1845
Williams, Chauncey Camp	May 27, 1874	-----
Williams, John	Sept. 2, 1838	Sept. 26, 1841
Williams, John Robinson	* June 7, 1857	* July 10, 1858
Williams, William Henry	* June 3, 1855	* May 21, 1856
Witherspoon, Orlando	* May 25, 1859	-----
Wolcott, Luther	Sept. 22, 1871	-----
Wood, John	Jan. 4, 1786	Jan. 6, 1786
Woodcock, Charles Edward	May 31, 1882	June 6, 1883
Woodruff, Curtiss Trowbridge	-----	* Feb. 12, 1857
Woodward, Frederick Bird	-----	Sept. 3, 1840
Worthington, Edward William	May 29, 1878	May 30, 1879
Yardley, Henry Albert	* Dec. 22, 1860	-----
Yarrington, Benjamin Mowatt	-----	* June 23, 1840

Whole number of names, 666.

SUMMARY OF ORDINATIONS IN CONNECTICUT.

By Bishop Seabury	45	Deacons	37	Priests
By Bishop Jarvis	33	"	28	"
By Bishop Brownell	179	"	143	"
By Assistant-Bishop Williams	95	"	85	"
By Bishop Williams to July 1, 1886	184	"	143	"
By Bishops of other Dioceses	23	"	22	"
Total	559	Deacons	458	Priests

SUPPLEMENTARY.

CONSECRATION OF BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT BY SCOTTISH BISHOPS.
SAMUEL SEABURY, D.D. Nov. 14, 1784

ORDINATIONS OF CANDIDATES FROM CONNECTICUT BY ENGLISH BISHOPS.

NOTE.—Those whose names are marked with a † returned to duty without the Colony.

		ORDAINED DEACON.	ORDAINED PRIEST.
Yale 1759		Aug. 23, 1761	Aug. 24, 1761
Yale 1723		1735 or 1736	1735 or 1736
Yale 1757		May 17, 1767	June 14, 1768
Yale 1721	Andrews, Samuel	1732	1732
Columbia 1761	Arnold, Jonathan	Aug. 23, 1761	Aug. 24, 1761
Yale 1762	†Beach, Abraham	Feb. 24, 1770	Mar. 11, 1770
Yale 1714	Beach, John	March 22, 1723	March 31, 1723
Yale 1729	Beardsley, John	1733	1733
Yale 1743	Bostwick, Gideon	March 22, 1752	March 25, 1752
Yale 1724	Browne, Daniel died in Eng.	1727	1727
Yale 1724	Browne, Isaac	1741 or 1742	1741 or 1742
Yale 1736	Camp, Ichabod	Feb. 1767	Feb. 1767
Yale 1762	Caner, Henry	Mar. 1752	Mar. 1752
Yale 1762	Caner, Richard	March 22, 1723	March 31, 1723
Yale 1745	Clarke, Richard Samuel	Aug. 23, 1761	Aug. 24, 1761
Harv. 1701	Colton, Jonathan d. on voyage home	Nov. 21, 1745	Nov. 1745
Yale 1758	†Cutler, Timothy	Sept. 1748	Sept. 1748
Yale 1737	Davies, Thomas	Feb. 5, 1764	Feb. 19, 1764
Yale 1737	Dean, Barzillai lost at sea	Feb. 5, 1764	Feb. 19, 1764
Yale 1734	Dibblee, Ebenezer	March 22, 1723	March 31, 1723
Yale 1758	Hubbard, Bela	1765	1765
Yale 1761	Jarvis, Abraham	1744 or 1745	1744 or 1745
Yale 1761	Johnson, Samuel	June 5, 1748	June 19, 1748
Yale 1714	Kneeland, Ebenezer	Aug. 7, 1748	Aug. 1748
Yale 1761	Lamson, Joseph	July 1771	July 1771
Yale 1741	Leaming, Jeremiah	July 25, 1755	July 27, 1755
Yale 1741	Mansfield, Richard	1774	1774
Yale 1745	Marshall, John Rutgers	Oct. 1754	Oct. 1754
Yale 1741	Newton, Christopher	1759	1759
Columbia	Nichols, James	1734	1734
Yale 1740	Palmer, Solomon	1759	1759
Yale 1771	Peters, Samuel	1731	1731
Yale 1729	Punderson, Ebenezer	Dec. 21, 1753	Dec. 23, 1753
Yale 1757	Scovill, James	1743	1743
Yale 1726	Seabury, Samuel	June 24, 1768	June 29, 1768
Yale 1757	†Thompson, Ebenezer	1763	1763
Harv. 1724	Tyler, John	1743	1743
Yale 1748	Viets, Roger	July 25, 1723	1723
Yale 1748	†Watkins, Hezekiah		
Yale 1733	†Wetmore, James		
Yale 1765	Whole number, 38.		
Yale 1758			
Yale 1737			
Yale 1714			

ADDENDA AND DESERVING OF MENTION

Yale 1755	Babcock, Luke	-----1770	-----1770
Yale 1745	Chandler, Thomas Bradbury	-----	-----
Yale 1748	Johnson, William d. in Eng. of smallpox	June 20, 1756, aet. 25	
Yale 1726	Miner, Richardson	Captured by French. Died at Salisbury, Eng-land, 1744, aet. 40, before recg. orders.	
Yale 1748	Ogilvie, John	? Received orders in Scottish Church.	
Yale 1753	Usher, James	Died in French prison before ordination, 1758 aet. 24	

ORDINATIONS BY BISHOPS OF CONNECTICUT WITHOUT THE DIOCESE.

NOTE.—Bishop Seabury was Bishop of Rhode Island from Nov. 18, 1790, to Feb. 25, 1796.

ORDAINED.	DIOCESE OR STATE.	DATE.
Allen, Edward B.	New York	Aug. 13, 1867
Barnwell, Stephen Elliott	Albany	July 15, 1873
Bissett, John	Rhode Island	Mar. 12, 1786
Bissett, John	Rhode Island	Mar. 15, 1786
Cornwall, Nathaniel Ellsworth	New York	June 29, 1834
Deshon, Giles Henry	New York	May 1, 1844
Drown, Edward Livingston	R.I.	*Aug. 30, 1853
FitzGerald, Frederick	Penna.	*Sept. 4, 1853
Fowle, Robert	New Hampshire	June 29, 1791
French, William Glenney	New York	June 30, 1844
Frisbie, William Henry	New York	June 30, 1844

Gray, Edward Powers Priest **R.I.** *Aug. 30, 1853

Hovey, Henry Emerson	Massachusetts	Feb. 21, 1869
Hoyt, Melancthon	New Jersey	Aug. 23, 1835
Jarvis, Samuel Fermor	Massachusetts	*Dec. 23, 1855
Lowe, John	New York	Nov. 2, 1785
Lowe, John	New York	Nov. 3, 1785
Lyde, Augustus Foster	New York	June 29, 1834
Middleton, John Cavarly	New York	*Mar. 2, 1862

Mills, William Hammond Priest **R.I.** *Aug. 30, 1853

Moscrop, Henry	Rhode Island	Aug. 27, 1786
Moscrop, Henry	Rhode Island	Aug. 30, 1786
Noble, Henry Dutton	New York	June 30, 1844
Ogden, John Cosens	Massachusetts	Mar. 27, 1788
Porter, John C.	Mississippi	Jan. 5, 1830
Spalding, James Field	Massachusetts	May 21, 1869
Taylor, Thomas Jefferson	New Jersey	*Dec. 2, 1860
Usher, John	Rhode Island	July 28, 1793
Usher, John	Rhode Island	July 31, 1793
Van Voast, James	Albany	July 15, 1873
Warren, Joseph	New York	Sept. 18, 1792
White, Ferdinand Elliott	New York	May 1, 1844
Willey, Junius Marshall	New York	May 1, 1844

Deacons, 12; Priests, 17.

ORDINATIONS FOR CONNECTICUT WITHOUT THE DIOCESE BY BISHOPS OF OTHER DIOCESES.

NOTE.—Bishop Hobart of New York was acting Bishop of Connecticut from Oct. 16, 1816, to Oct. 27, 1819.

ORDAINED.	BY BISHOP OF	DATE.
Ashley, Richard Kempton	New Hampshire	Aug. 11, 1873
Brewster, Benjamin	New York (Asst.)	June 20, 1886
Brewster, Joseph	West. New York	June 27, 1847
Bulkley, William Josephus	New York	June 18, 1815
Burgess, Alexander	Rhode Island	Nov. 1, 1843
Clarke, Peter Gilchrist	New York	Oct. 20, 1818
deKoven, Henry	New York	Mar. 3, 1844
Geer, Alpheus	New York	June 12, 1814
Griswold, George Chapman	New York	July 1, 1866
Hall, Charles Henry	New York	Aug. 25, 1844
Holcomb, Origen Pinney	New York	Oct. 20, 1818
Huse, Nathaniel	Eastern Diocese	1811 - 1814
Jennings, Albin Barlow	North-West	Aug. 24, 1865
Johnson, Evan Malbone	Eastern Diocese	July 8, 1813
Jones, Isaac	New York	1812 or 1813
Keeler, James	New York	Oct. 20, 1818
Lanpher, Louis Albert	West. New York	Feb. 1, 1885
Mead, James Banks	West. New York	Mar. 25, 1879
Miller, Alanson Douglas	New York	June 12, 1870
Moreland, William Hall	South Carolina	Aug. 21, 1885
Nichols, Alfred Bull	Massachusetts	June 18, 1884
Pearce, John Thomas	Wisconsin	May 31, 1863
Porter, Edward Clarke	Nebraska	Mar. 10, 1866
Robinson, William Callyhan	Penn. (Asst.)	Feb. 10, 1859
Rossiter, Rodney	New York	April 25, 1818
Shepherd, Joseph Battell	Western Texas	Nov. 5, 1882
Smith, Charles	New York	April 27, 1817
Smith, Charles	New York	Mar. 17, 1818
Smith, Lucius	New York	Jan. 12, 1819
Thomas, Elisha Smith	Rhode Island	May 17, 1861
Timlow, Heman Rowlee	New Jersey	Sept. 24, 1876
Treat, Charles Russell	Rhode Island	Aug. 2, 1883
Vinton, Alexander Hamilton	New York	June 28, 1835
Vinton, Alexander Hamilton	Rhode Island	Sept. 29, 1878
Welton, Alanson Wheeler	New York	May 8, 1814
Wheeler, Eli	New York	May 8, 1814

Deacons, 23; Priests, 13.

DIOCESE OF CONNECTICUT.

LIST OF CLERGYMEN DECEASED

TO JULY 1, 1886.

	DIED.		
Aely, Charles Gardiner	March 22, 1880	69	
Adams, James	October 29, 1868	69	
Ashley, Richard Kempton	December 22, 1884	59	
Baldwin, Ashbel	February 8, 1846	89	
Baldwin, David	August 2, 1862	83	
Beach, John	March 19, 1782	82	
Beach, Stephen	January 14, 1838	48	
Belden, David	March 2, 1832	69	
Benham, Benjamin	October 3, 1854	82	
Bishop, Ethan Ferris	December 7, 1883	59	
Blakeslee, Edward	July 15, 1797	32	
Bostwick, Gideon	June 13, 1793	51	
Botsford, David	June 17, 1822	26	
Bronson, Tillotson, D.D.	September 6, 1826	65	
Browne, Daniel	April 13, 1723	in Eng.	25
Brownell, Thos. Church, D.D., LL.D. (Bp.)	January 13, 1865	87	
Bryant, Hilliard	September 11, 1880	73	
Burhans, Daniel, D.D.	December 30, 1853	91	
Carder, James Dixon, D.D.	August 18, 1866	64	
Chapin, Alonzo Bowen, D.D.	July 9, 1858	51	
Clark, Jacob Lyman, D.D.	January 25, 1877	70	
Clarke, Peter Gilchrist	January 1, 1860	67	
Coit, Gurdon Saltonstall, D.D.	November 10, 1869	62	
Coit, Thomas Winthrop, D.D., LL.D.	June 21, 1885	82	
Colton, Calvin, LL.D.	March 19, 1857	67	
Colton, Jonathan	May 7, 1752	At sea	26
Cornwall, Asa	January 28, 1838	56	
Covell, Joseph Smith	March 15, 1880	83	
Croswell, Harry, D.D.	March 13, 1858	80	
Davies, Thomas	May 12, 1766	30	
Davis, Seth	July 18, 1862	60	
Dean, Barzillai	Lost at sea,	1746	31

	DIED.		AGE.
deKoven, Henry, D.D.	July 10, 1884	66	
Denison, Samuel Dexter, D.D.	September 3, 1880	70	
Deshon, Giles Henry, D.D.	January 1, 1883	63	
Dewey, John Shethar	April 27, 1865	43	
Dibblee, Ebenezer, D.D.	May 9, 1799	84	
Dowdney, John	January 14, 1867	—	
Drumm, John Hetherington, M.D., D.D.	March 5, 1879	52	
DuBois, John Clarkson, D.D.	November 27, 1884	55	
Everest, Charles William	January 11, 1877	63	
Fisher, Charles Richmond	November 24, 1876	58	
Fitch, Henry	March 14, 1886	77	
Fogg, Daniel	June 29, 1815	72	
Footo, David	August 1, 1793	33	
Frisbie, William Henry	January 11, 1853	39	
Garfield, John Metcalf	March 10, 1872	82	
Geer, Alpheus	February 3, 1866	78	
Gibbs, William	March 22, 1777	63	
Gilliat, John Henry	February 24, 1873	66	
Goodwin, Frederick Jordan, D.D.	February 29, 1872	60	
Green, William	December 26, 1801	31	
Gregory, Luther	August 4, 1862	31	
Hallam, Robert Alexander, D.D.	January 4, 1877	70	
Henry, Caleb Sprague, D.D., LL.D.	March 9, 1884	80	
Hoffman, John Wolfgang	September 18, 1879	66	
Holcomb, Frederick, D.D.	May 26, 1872	86	
Holcomb, Origen Pinney	March 23, 1869	75	
Hoyt, Warner	October 18, 1844	35	
Hubbard, Bela, D.D.	December 6, 1812	74	
Hunter, Joseph	April 1, 1882	73	
Huntington, Enoch	September 4, 1876	76	
Husband, Charles	December 20, 1871	34	
Ives, Reuben	October 14, 1836	74	
Jackson, Abner, D.D., LL.D.	April 19, 1874	63	
Jacobi, John Christian	February 9, 1874	74	
Jacocks, James Gilbert	April 26, 1885	66	
Jarvis, Abraham, D.D. (Bishop)	May 3, 1813	74	
Jarvis, Samuel Farnar, D.D., LL.D.	March 26, 1851	65	
Jarvis, William	October 3, 1871	76	
Jay, Peter Augustus	October 11, 1875	35	
Jewett, Stephen	August 24, 1862	80	
Johnson, Edwin Emerson	April 30, 1883	48	
Johnson, Samuel, D.D.	January 6, 1772	76	
Jones, Isaac	May 17, 1850	76	
Jones, Jasper Davis	Aug. 31, 1823	51	
Judd, William Heron	August 7, 1829	—	
Keese, William Linn	* February 19, 1836	—	
Kneeland, Ebenezer	April 17, 1777	54	

*Sept. acc. to Burgess.

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